universität wien

DISSERTATION / DOCTORAL THESIS

Titel der Dissertation /Title of the Doctoral Thesis

Representing Commodified City or Life Space of Residents?

The Image of the City Presented in City Museums in the Age of Globalization

verfasst von / submitted by

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angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doktorin der Philosophie (Dr. phil.)

Wien, 2015 / Vienna 2015

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt / degree programme code as it appears on the student record sheet:	A 792 312
Dissertationsgebiet lt. Studienblatt / field of study as it appears on the student record sheet:	Geschichte
Betreut von / Supervisor:	Univ.-Doz. Dr. Siegfried Mattl Ao. Univ.-Prof. Dr. Johanna Gehmacher

Acknowledgements

My greatest thanks go to both of my supervisors, the late Dr. Siegfried Mattl and Dr. Johanna Gehmacher. Dr. Mattl was one of the few people who trusted in my theme from the beginning, and gave me constant encouragement and direction. And without Dr. Gehmacher's patient and warm support and her precise advice, I could not have finished this work.

I thank the Museum of London, Wien Museum Karlsplatz, and the Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan for their kind cooperation, my classmates for their stimulating comments in seminars, and all of the people who inspired me and helped me in researching and finalizing this paper.

Lastly, my gratitude goes to my parents who have always supported my choices of life, and my aunt who fostered my interest in history and museums.

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to show the role of the city museum in the city which has been going through the dramatic restructuring process under the influence of globalization by examining which images of the city are more strongly represented at city museums: the image of the commodified city (the city's brand image) and the image of the city as the life space of residents.

The city's brand image is created for city marketing, as in the new global economy, the city needs to be entrepreneurial to win the competition among cities for attracting investments and tourists. In this image, the city is seen more as a unit, eliminating inner differences and extracting attractive, innovative or exciting parts of the city. On the other hand, the city is also a place actually lived by millions of people, who have their own image of the city based on their daily experience. The city's brand image, a manifestation of strategies of the city, would not always be compatible to the image of the city as the life space of residents, but which do city museums represent more and why?

After the examination of theories and concepts of globalization, the city and the museum, I analysed both temporary and permanent exhibitions at three city museums in Vienna, London and Tokyo between the 1980 and 2013 in order to see how each museum imagines and represents the city using qualitative content analyses. The results of the research show that the city museum of the most globalized city, London, represents the least the brand image of the city, while the city museums in Vienna and Tokyo tend to represent more the brand image of the city than the city as the life space of residents. These results are explained in relation to the two characteristics identified in the theories of globalization, cannibalization of global and local and individualization, and in relation to Appadurai's concept of the 5-scapes, which enables to elucidate how the image of the city represented in a city museum are influenced by global flows of people, capitals and ideas.

Kurzfassung

Diese Dissertation zielt darauf, die Rolle des Stadtmuseums in einer Stadt, die sich unter dem Einfluss der Globalisierung dramatisch geändert hat, zu untersuchen. Dafür stelle ich die Frage, welches von zwei Images einer Stadt stärker repräsentiert wird: Das Bild der kommodifizierten Stadt (die Stadtmarke) oder das Image der Stadt als „Life Space" für die Bewohner.

Die Stadtmarke wird für das Stadtmarketing geschaffen, weil die Stadt in der neuen Weltwirtschaft unternehmerisch sein soll, um die Konkurrenz mit anderen Städten um attraktive Investitionen und Touristen zu gewinnen. In der „Stadtmarke" wird die Stadt eher als Einheit betrachtet, innere Unterschiede werden eliminiert und die attraktiven, innovativen und aufregenden Elemente der Stadt betont. Andererseits ist die Stadt ein Platz, wo Millionen Menschen wohnen, die ein auf eigenen alltäglichen Erfahrungen basierendes Image der Stadt besitzen. Die Stadtmarke, eine Manifestation der Strategien einer Stadt, wird nicht immer mit dem Image der Stadt als Lebensraum („Life Space") von Bewohnern kompatibel sein, aber welches Image wird im Stadtmuseum mehr repräsentiert und was sind die Gründe dafür?

Nach einer Untersuchung von Theorien und Konzepten der Globalisierung der Stadt und des Museums analysiere ich die Sonderausstellungen und Dauerausstellungen in den Stadtmuseen von Wien, London und Tokio im Zeitraum von 1980 bis 2013. Dabei zeigt sich, dass das Stadtmuseum in London, also in der am meisten globalisierten unter den drei untersuchten Städten, weniger eine Stadtmarke von London repräsentiert, während die Stadtmuseen in Wien und Tokio eher Stadtmarken ausstellen und dem Image der Stadt, als Lebensraum „Life Space" von Bewohnern weniger Aufmerksam widmen. Diese Ergebnisse werden mit zwei in den Theorien identifizierten Merkmalen der Globalisierung in Bezug gesetzt: zum einen mit dem Konzept der Individualisierung und Kannibalisierung des Globalen und Lokalen, zum anderen mit den fünf von Appadurai entworfenen kulturellen Landschaften („Scapes"). Dabei lässt sich zeigen, wie das in einem Stadtmuseum repräsentierte Image der Stadt von den globalen Flüssen von Menschen, Kapital und Ideen beeinflusst wird.

List of Abbreviations

ACE	Arts Council of England
ACGB	Arts Council of Great Britain
DCMS	Department for Culture, Media and Sport
ETH	Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan
GLC	Greater London Council
GLA	Greater London Authority
HMdSW	Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien
MoL	Museum of London
TMG	Tokyo Metropolitan Government
WM	Wien Museum
WMK	Wien Museum Karlsplatz

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Representing Commodified City or Life Space of Residents?
The Image of the City Presented in City Museums in the Age of Globalization

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to show the role of city museums whose object of representation, the city, has been going through the dramatic restructuring process under the influence of globalization since 1980. It does not intend to give any general definition of the role of the city museum, but to try to show how each city museum finds its role in the city differently and why. In this introduction, I would like to briefly present how these three key words in the title—globalization, the city and city museums—connect to each other in my dissertation. Then I will clarify research questions and outline the structure of this paper.

Globalization, The City and City Museums

Although globalization can be seen as a process that has been going on for millennia, many would agree that, at present, globalization's intensity is unprecedented in its compression of time and space. Now people, commodities, information, ideas, and capitals move across borders at speeds incomparable to those of any of the time in the past, and this has changed our life dramatically in the span of only a few decades. As globalization's dynamics flow in and out, the city shows the most condensed picture of the effect of globalization on any aspect of our lives.

The city, at least in developed countries, has undergone a process of reorganization since the 1980s. In post-industrial society, production is no longer the motor of the economy, with service industry having taken over its central role. Changes in employment structures, the cross-border movement of capital, the increasing influence of global companies, and the flow of managerial elites as well as foreign workers all have changed human relations in the city. Mass media, especially the Internet, has also changed our concept of spatial distance.

At the same time, the city needs to be entrepreneurial in order to win the competition amongst global cities for attracting investment or tourists, and this undermines the city's role in equitably distributing of wealth. In order to win at this type of competition, the city needs to advertise its unique cultural values and its business-friendly environment. This is the commodification of the city, since the city needs to be marketed. In city marketing, the city is seen as a unit, eliminating inner differences and negative aspects, while extracting and emphasizing attractive, innovative and/or exciting aspects of the city and of city life. However, do those images represent the life

space of residents?[1]

I will examine exhibitions at three city museums in Vienna, London, and Tokyo to see how each museum, the Wien Museum (WM), the Museum of London (MoL) and the Edo-Tokyo Museum (ETH), imagines and represents the city. My hypothesis is that images of cities presented in city museums should include both images of (1) the commodified city produced by official/private institutions for city marketing and of (2) the city as the life space of residents. These two images are not easily compatible, and the museum's focus is always shifting between these two.

Research Questions

Do city museums present images of the commodified city or images of the city as the life space of residents? This is the question to be answered, with some contextualization at the end of this paper, in order to show how the role of the museum has changed during the last thirty years under the influence of globalization.

Structure of the Paper

In order to answer the question, this paper is composed mainly two of parts. Chapters 1 to 3 elucidate theories and concepts, the following chapters present empirically based analyses of three museums. In Chapter 1, I will give a short explanation of globalization, then focus on two characteristics of globalization as parts of the foundation of this paper. In Chapter 2, the dynamics and complexity of the city in the age of globalization, images of the commodified city, and their tension with the life space of residents will be elucidated. Chapter 3 will outline debates within Museology with regard to the museum in general, and then explain why city museums now deserve attention, and how cities are represented in city museums. Chapter 4 elucidates the method of the analyses, and the subsequent Chapters 5, 6, and 7 present an analysis of each museum mentioned above. In each chapter, the focus is on the changes of the images of the city presented in exhibitions since the 1980s in each museum. Chapter 8 compares the results of analyses and contextualizes similarities and differences with respect to global space.

Selection of the Three Cities as Objects of Research

I have chosen three cities, Tokyo, London, and Vienna and their respective city museums as objects of analysis. It is likely that some might find the three cities a rather unbalanced combination, hence see them as not to be compared with each other, as there are significant

[1] Life space is defined by Friedmann as follows. "Life space is, at once, the theatre of life, understood as a convivial life, and an expression of it." John Friedmann, *Life Space and Economic Space: Essays in Third World Planning* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 2002), 96.

differences in the size and status of each city. While it is generally accepted that London and Tokyo are global cities, including Vienna in this analysis regarding globalization might seem to be rather odd. Vienna is too small compared to the other two. Tokyo has a population of over 10 million, and London over 8 million, while the population of Vienna is less than 2 million. The 2014 Global Cities Index by ATKearney listed London 2nd, Tokyo 4th, and Vienna 16th with respect to global connectivity.[2] According to the Global Power City Index compiled by the Mori Memorial Foundation in 2014, London was 1st, Tokyo 4th, and Vienna 10th.[3] GaWC classifies London as Alpha ++, Tokyo as Alpha +, and Vienna as Alpha -.[4] Vienna cannot be called a global city when we focus on the economic terms that have initially informed globalization theories.

However, in the Innovation Cities Global™ Index 2014 London ranked 3rd, while Vienna took 6th, and Tokyo came in 15th place.[5] According to Quality of Living rankings by Mercer from 2015, Vienna was ranked 1st, while Tokyo was 44th, and London was 40th.[6] This clearly shows that global cities are not necessarily leading cities in all categories, although the well-to-do would find much more opportunities for success and luxury in a "global city."

Furthermore, this work is not a comparative study in a strict sense, but rather it takes the form of case studies. Comparative studies of those three cities encounter methodologically difficulties when it comes to finding common variables among them without limiting the scope. On the contrary, as major premises of this study are that cities are different and that they diversify further due to the different way of perceiving global flows of people, capitals, information and commodities in each city, engaging in research in any city museum would be of great interest. But I chose only from metropolises with unique historical background in terms of cultural diversity. Vienna, which was the capital of the Hapsburg Empire for more than 450 years, has a long history as a multi-cultural city, especially with recent influx of immigrants engaged in labor after WWII. Similarly, London has a long colonial history as the capital of the British Empire. Meanwhile, Tokyo, which is generally regarded as a global city despite being considerably less diverse than most of its counterparts, was closed to the outside world for 300 years until just 150 years ago.

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[2] AT Kearney, "2014 Global Cities Index and Emerging Cities Outlook: Global Cities, Present and Future," accessed June 14, 2015, http://www.atkearney.co.jp/documents/10192/4461492/Global+Cities+Present+and+Future-GCI+2014.pdf/3628fd7d-70be-41bf-99d6-4c8eaf984cd5.

[3] The Mori Memorial Foundation, "Global Power City Index 2014," accessed June 14, 2015, http://www.mori-m-foundation.or.jp/gpci/index_e.html.

[4] GaWC, "The World According to GaWC 2012," accessed June 14, 2015, http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/world2012t.html.

[5] 2thinknow, "The Innovation Cities™ Index 2014," accessed June 14, 2015, http://www.innovation-cities.com/innovation-cities-index-2014-global/8889.

[6] Mercer, "2015 Quality of Living Rankings," accessed June 14, 2015, https://www.imercer.com/uploads/GM/qol2015/h5478qol2015/index.html.

Possible Shortcomings

As analyzing exhibitions with broad range of themes at city museums requires an interdisciplinary perspective, the analysis of some exhibitions can be seen as superficial because of the limitations of time and my own intellectual capacity. But this dissertation aims to outline one possible way of combining multifaceted perspectives for the examination of city museums in the era of globalization.

I define my position in all of the three cities as an observer from outside. As the analysis I present in this dissertation is the one from an outsider's perspective, long-term residents of those cities might have different opinions, which I would welcome as instigating more debates on the theme. But it is my claim that, in increasingly diversified cities, those perspectives should not be neglected simply because they are those of "outsiders." Certain things can be recognized only from the outside, and borders between inside and outside are themselves becoming blurred in the era of globalization.

1 Globalization

The purpose of this chapter is to delineate how globalization is understood in this paper. The term "globalization" should be clearly defined with reference to existing theories of globalization. Out of countless characteristics of globalization recognized in each theory and discipline, two aspects of globalization—the cannibalization of the global and the local (Chapter 1-2) and individualization/longing for a sense of place (Chapter 1-3) —are especially focused on in order to explain the complexity of globalizing society, and I see these aspects as central to the environmental changes taking place in cities and in city museums.

1.1 General Understanding of Globalization

As the term "globalization" is now used everywhere, its usage and meaning has become equivocal. However, most authors seem to agree that globalization can be seen as a process of "stretching of similar economic, cultural and political activities across the globe"[7] through networks of communication, transportation, and trades. It can be argued that globalization is not a process seen only in our era. As is already claimed by some scholars, globalization has always been in progress throughout many phases of human history.[8] But what distinguishes the current epoch of globalization from previous ones is its sheer scale and speed, which has been made possible by the development of transport and information technology. It was never possible to send money in an instant from London to New York or for people to travel between continents within a day. It is now increasingly more difficult to live, especially in the city, without feeling the connectedness of our life to other parts of the world that might physically far away. Therefore, the term "globalization" tends to be associated with the image of the world becoming unified and similar.

This image is partly correct. Globalization is a process that strengthens links on a worldwide level. In terms of economy, not only raw materials or finished products, but also production processes themselves are now borderless, with parts finished in Brazil to be reassembled in Japan, for example. The labor market is no longer structured only locally, and foreign capital investment has become a vital interest for most major cities. Culturally, people wearing jeans, eating McDonalds, watching Hollywood Films, and driving Japanese or German cars can be seen in cities on any continent. Consequently, our lifestyles, especially in big cities, are

[7] John Rennie Short and Yeong-Hyun Kim, *Globalization and the City* (Harlow: 1999, Longman), 3.

[8] See Roland Robertson, "Mapping the Global Condition: Globalization as the Central Concept," in *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity*, ed. Mike Featherstone (London: Sage publications, 1990). Paul Knox, "World Cities and the Organization of Global Space," in *Geographies of Global Change: Remapping the World*, ed. Ron J. Johnston, Peter J. Taylor and Michael J. Watts (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2002). David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell,1993).

becoming similar. In politics, there are international (transnational) organizations such as the UN and the EU, and there are many non-governmental organizations dealing with human rights and the environment.

These examples show that there are indeed dynamics which make the world look connected and homogenized. However, this is only a part of globalization. Globalization is not only homogenizing. Globalization causes localization, particularization, and fragmentation.

1.2 The Cannibalization of the Global and the Local

It is now widely accepted in academic circles that globalization is not only reforming the world as a whole, but that it involves intertwined processes of fragmentation, differentiation, decentralization particularization, and juxtaposition.[9] Robertson used the term "glocalization," which shows the "institutionalization of the two-fold process involving the universalization of particularism and the particularization of universalism."[10] In the economy, global manufacturers adapt their products to local needs, taste, or customs. Global business people still have to adapt to some local particular ways of business. At the same time, what is local also goes global. Food is a good example. In this way, globalization and localization are happening concurrently, as differences or localities are often produced in relation to the global.[11]

In Roland Robertson's concept of "glocalization," however, there is a lack of attention to the internal micro dynamics of the local in questioning what in fact is local. Local is somehow a fixed (institutionalized) entity without any inner differences. For example, in the case of product localization in relation to the global economy, what is local are locally specific demands, namely what the majority of local consumers want. This works within the logic of capitalist markets; therefore, what is local is defined by consumers who can afford to buy certain products or by the majority with certain taste, needs, and/or customs. Localization is not happening in absence of power, in the case of the power of consumption. But in Robertson's "glocalization," although the interaction between global and local is clear, how the global and the local are defined (institutionalized), namely who has the power to define what is local and to determine unevenness within the flow of the global into the local (and vice versa), is not clearly seen.

What is local and what is global might not be a productive question, if such question is asked believing there is something definitively local or global. But by posing such a question, one can

[9] See Anthony McGrew, "A Global Society?" in *Modernity and Its Futures,* ed. Stuart Hall, David Held and Tony McGrew (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993), 74-75.

[10] See Roland Robertson, *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture* (London: Sage Publications, 1992), 102. The term was originally used by Japanese business people for the name of a marketing strategy, but it was popularized by Robertson.

[11] More complicated cases are surging nationalism and fundamentalism, which are also examples of particularization caused by globalization. See Mike Featherstone ed., *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity* (London: Sage Publication, 2002).

see how the local and the global are produced contingently. For example, although immigrants are a part of global flows of people, they are not "global" people, while managerial elites are often called "global" elites. The culture of the latter would mostly be western and capitalist, while people in the former group carry within themselves respective cultures of origins. Both have specific cultures, but the latter is conventionally called global and former is not. This example could show how the "global" is produced in a rather dubious way.

To ask the question of what is local would be more complex. For example, most metropolitan cities now contain great ethnic diversity. Due to the development of communication technologies, immigrants can keep in close touch with people from their respective places of their origin and share a sense of locality with them. The second and third generations of these immigrant populations are born into the culture of their adapted homelands, but they can live in both cultures in one place. They might claim that both cultures are "local," but neighbors who do not share their culture of origin would be unable to accept the claim. Or there might be cultural dispositions which are never strongly felt as "local" until drawn into comparison with other cultures lacking that disposition. Recognition of uniqueness occurs only in relation to others.[12]
In order to see this constant mutual interaction in creating a sense of meaning between the global and the local, Arjun Appadurai's words might be better suited than "glo*c*alization."

> Thus the central feature of global culture today is the politics of the mutual effort of sameness and difference to cannibalize one another and thus proclaim their successful hijacking of the twin Enlightenment ideas of the triumphantly universal and the resiliently particular.[13]

There is no clear difference between universal and particular, and there is no relationship in which one is pervasive and the other always defensive (as was seen in the center-periphery model). There are only sameness and difference, which are almost indefinably interacting, cannibalizing, and changing the shape of each other. This is somewhat similar to what Robertson said in the first place. However, while Robertson's more sociological macro- and system-oriented theory sees the local in a rather unitary way, Appadurai addresses the complexity of cultural interaction from a micro perspective. Appadurai's concepts of globalization try to situate the life of the local in disjunctive flows of globalization, which can better show dynamics and contestation in a place caused by globalization, hence, it helps me to envision the global and the local as cannibalizing each other. In the following, I would like to elucidate some of Appadurai's concepts which make fluid Robertson's rather rigid concepts of

[12] See Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978). Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," in *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. Jonathan Rutherford (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990).
[13] Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 43.

globalization.

Five-scapes/Disjuncture

Appadurai's concepts of five-scapes and disjuncture are widely cited in literature on cultural globalization, as it gives more flexibility for understanding this particular phenomenon in comparison to other globalization theories. Appadurai is clearly frustrated with the rigid modelling or systematizing of globalization, since most theories of global development coming from the Marxist tradition are "inadequately quirky and have failed to come to terms with what Scott Lash and John Urry have called disorganized capitalism."[14]

In order to describe the fluidity of cultural globalization and disjuncture, Appadurai developed the concepts of 5-scapes (ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, financescapes, and ideoscapes) and disjuncture between 5-scapes. Appadurai has coined these terms in order to show the five "building blocks of what (extending Benedict Anderson) [he] would like to call *imagined worlds*, that is, the multiple worlds that are constituted by the historically situated imaginations of persons and groups spread around the globe."[15] The suffix "-scapes" implies that the 5 –scapes are perspectival like landscapes and that such imagined worlds are perceived individually as well as collectively. "Ethnoscape" pertains to "the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live."[16] They are flows of people like tourists, managerial elites, migrants or refugees, who carry with them sources of economic, social, or cultural capital. "Technoscape" means "the global configuration, also ever fluid, of technology,"[17] which moves around and connects the globe at high speed. "Financescape" is to be understood "as the disposition of global capital."[18] "Mediascape" refers "both to the distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information…and to the images of the world created by these media."[19] This includes all sorts of mass media such as television and magazines as well as the global flows of images transmitted by them. "Ideoscapes" are very closely related to Mediascapes, as they are "concatenations of images,"[20] however the former are more politically motivated. The dominant ideoscape is now democracy, but the ideas constitutive of it such as freedom, welfare, and human rights are circulated and can be recomposed with a different manner of coherence. These are the basic concepts for understanding the complexity of global cultural economy, as the complexity stems from disjunctures among the 5-scapes. For example, the ideoscapes of a nation-state based on the idea

[14] Ibid. 33.
[15] Ibid. 33.
[16] Ibid. 34.
[17] Ibid. 34.
[18] Ibid. 34.
[19] Ibid. 35.
[20] Ibid. 36.

of homogeneous citizens are now clearly disjunctive with corresponding ethnoscapes, which are composed of people of different ethnic origins. One's mediascapes could be different from the mediascapes of their neighbors, as their language ability or their cultural origin might change their perception of those mediascapes. It is in these disjunctures where contestations take place. And they are in constant change as they are exposed to constant global flows.

What is important in his concept of disjuncture could be the fact that flows of people, capital, images, technologies, and ideologies are neither without constraint and control nor without influence. Although "globalization" often gives impressions of being an unavoidable occurrence, globalization does not occur naturally in the sense of its being outside human control. Unlike global flows of capital, flows of immigrants or the circulation of particular forms of information are still under the control of nation-states, while tourists and managerial elites face much fewer restrictions. Therefore, despite the development of transportation technology, the rate of ethnic diversity varies from place to place. Consequently, the influence of global flows on a certain place varies endlessly, depending on the local context, which becomes more complicated with more and more disjunctures among five-scapes.

This endless variety makes it difficult to understand globalization as a system. To Robertson, Appadurai's concepts of globalization are rather chaotic.[21] However, it is exactly the point that Appadurai aims to make. His concepts are meant instead to elucidate complexity rather than systematicity; they are meant to convey fluidity, instability, unevenness, and contestation more vividly. For Appadurai, the relationship between sameness and difference is unsystematic and contingent, therefore it is always cannibalizing and a type of struggle. This continuous, struggle-filled, chaotic, unsystematic, and cannibalizing interaction often becomes invisible within globalization discourses framed in terms of economy. And this fluidity, instability, and unevenness are the grounds on which I claim that the cannibalization of the global and the local occur. And a place should be considered within this fluidity, which will be explained later at the end of this chapter.

1.3 Individualization and Longings for a Sense of Place

Another characteristic of globalization that I would like to focus on in this paper is how globalization accelerates the process of individualization which was already moving along quite rapidly in the Industrial Age.[22] One of the most important stimuli accelerating individualization

[21] Robertson, *Globalization*, 103.

[22] For the relationship between individualization and globalization, see Zygmunt Bauman, *The Individualized Society* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000). Ulrich Beck and Elisabeth Gernsheim, *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity* (London: Sage, 1992). Ulrich Beck and Elisabeth Gernsheim, *Individualization: Institutionalized Individualism and Its Social and Political Consequences* (London: Sage, 2001).

recently has been the development of communication technology.[23] The Internet has been especially dramatic in changing the relationship between individuals and other individuals as well as between individuals and institutions on different scales. The Internet provides us vast networks, not only for connecting with familiar people but also for creating new virtual relationships. And unlike in mass media, users are not only selecting information out of what is given, but they are also able to search what they want to know proactively. A massive amount of information is already available before us. It is no longer our direct living circumstances which structure our life, but our life is connected to vast amounts of globalized information.

In order to understand how individualization intensifies in the process of globalization, Anthony Giddens' concepts of "disembedding/re-embedding" and "reflexivity" are useful for understanding how life in our age depends on de-personalized/de-localized knowledge, and how people become more and more reflexive in turn.[24] These concepts clarify two important points concerning the present mode of individualization.

First, our life is not only structured by the immediate environment, but also by "disembedded" global knowledge/information. By disembedding/re-embedding, Giddens means "the 'lifting out' of social relations from local contexts of interaction and their restructuring across indefinite spans of time-space."[25] This explains how our way of life became free from "traditional" communal life based on human relations, customs, hence are open to more possibilities. For example, people used to live in a small community where certain norms or bits of knowledge were communicated face to face. However, now there are vast amounts of knowledge or normative content at the ready which are disembedded from other societies. Globally disembedded norms could be re-embedded in particular communities and influence the lives of people there. Hence human life can no longer be confined strictly within communal society.

Secondly, "reflexivity" explains why our identities are constantly changing. "Reflexivity" is "chronic revision in the light of new information or knowledge.''[26] For example, with globally disembedded medical knowledge, one can constantly check if the treatment being received is correct or up-to-date. And "reflexivity" emphasizes the possibilities of agency as well as the risk inherent in making choices, although they still occur within certain structural confines. Although I do not claim to be so optimistic about human agency, individual reflexivity should not be overshadowed in the theory of globalization. "Globalization, therefore, involved not just 'the objectiveness of increasing connectedness' but also 'subjective and cultural matters.'''[27]

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[23] See Manuel Castells, "Flows, Networks, and Identities: A Critical Theory of the Information Society," in *Globalization: Specialized Application and Resistance to Globalization*, ed, Roland Robertson (London: Routledge, 2003).
[24] Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990).
[25] Ibid., 21.
[26] Ibid., 20.
[27] John Eade, introduction to *Living the Global City*, ed. John Eade (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 3

However, the lack of consideration in Giddens' theory when it comes to culture is criticized by some prominent researchers. Robertson has argued, "I consider his attempt to diminish cultural considerations to be a great weakness."[28] Scott Lash and John Urry also pointed it out and elaborated "aesthetic reflexivity," which has to do with allegories and symbols, in order to fill in the gap created by "cognitive reflexivity," here referring to Giddens' concept of reflexivity.[29] They clarify the difference between cognitive reflexivity and aesthetic reflexivity, with the former being based on "structured flows and accumulations of information" and the latter being based on "structured flows and accumulations of images, of expressive symbols."[30] Lash and Urry claim that people today use not only information but also aesthetic "expert system[s"] reflexively in order "to regulate everyday life."[31] Our choice of styles, fashions, and ways of life are far more diverse than what one saw in the last century or even in the period just after World War II. Consuming/creating symbols and meanings make up an important part of processes of identification, which are our daily activity. With every action, even buying certain brands of food, we are to some extent identifying ourselves.

Therefore, being surrounded by disembedded information, images, and symbols for agents to choose self-reflexively, we are increasingly free from immediate social structures. At the same time, agencies are not simply given "choices," but also they are compelled to make choices, from which we cannot be free, since being able to choose is also a structural condition. It is relative freedom as well as instability, responsibility, and risk. Therefore, according to Bauman, individualization "consists in transforming human 'identity' from a 'given' into a 'task' – and charging the actors with the responsibility for performing that task and for the consequences (also the side-effects) of their performance."[32] Because of rapid changes in society and the weakening hold of immediate social structures such as national identity, political ideology, and traditions, now people's identities become something of a matter of choice. Identities are not given to people, nor are people born into them.

Individualized Processes of Identity Formation and Longing for a Sense of Place

It could be said, therefore, that the process of identity formation is also individualized. As we are now more self-reflexive in light of sheer amount of information, symbols, and images, there are multiple possible ways of forming identity. And these reference points can be found not only in immediate surroundings, but anywhere, real or virtual. However, this does not mean place is not important. Although the nation-state, which presupposes cultural, social, and ethnic homogeneity

[28] Robertson, *Globalization*, 144.
[29] Scott Lash and John Urry, *Economies of Signs and Space* (London: Sage Publication, 1994).
[30] Ibid., 7
[31] Ibid., 54
[32] Zygmunt Bauman, "Identity in the Globalizing World," in *Identity in Question*, ed. Anthony Elliott and Paul du Gay (Los Angeles: Sage, 2009), 4.

in the people living in its territory, is now loosing its validity, a longing for the nation is still to be seen, and there is even an increase in nationalist right movements. There is also a revival of community.[33] It is a paradox that people are now free from certain forms of belonging, forms where they could not have any choice, while they are concurrently more in need of such forms.[34] One of the reasons for longing for certain forms of belonging could be the very fact that human identity is now "a task" rather than "given." In this regard, it could be said that this "being able to choose" could be one of the reasons for a person's feeling of instability, which compels a growing needs for a sense of place.

However, what actually counts as a place in globalization, where geographical demarcation is getting less and less important? Sack defines a place as follows:

> Place implies space, and each home is a place in space. Space is a property of the natural world, but it can be experienced. From the perspective of experience, place differs from space in terms of familiarity and time. A place requires human agency, is something that may take time to know, and a home especially so. As we move along the earth we pass from one place to another. But if we move quickly the places blur; we lose track of their qualities, and they may coalesce into the sense that we are moving through space.[35]

In this sense, what makes space a place is human agency as well as time in which human agency gets to know, give meaning to, and experience the place.[36] A place is a familiar space in which a person's daily life takes place. His comparison of a place with home is especially helpful in understanding the sense of a place. Eade also referred to a person's longing to secure spatial boundaries against the global flow.[37] John Agnew has also put it in terms of "how uneven economic development is jointly produced by dominant practices and discourses but can only be challenged by and on behalf of people in places attempting to recapture concrete (place) space from the abstract space of modern capitalism."[38]

It is now clear that people want to have a sense of place which is somewhere particular, concrete, and experienced. However, there is still ambiguity as to how individuality interacts with more collective senses of the local. As we become more individualized in reflecting information, images, and signs and thus more borderless, each person makes space a place in a personal way, often with strong ties to physically far away places and people. How can we assume that there is some manner of shared locality amongst people occupying a certain geographical area together?

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[33] See Gerard Delanty, *Community* (London: Routledge, 2003), 158–166.
[34] Andreas Huyssen, "Present Pasts: Media, Politics, Amnesia," in *Globalization*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2000).
[35] Robert David Sack, *Homo geographicus: A Framework for Action, Awareness, and Moral Concern* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 16.
[36] See also Yi-fu Tuan, *Space and Place: the Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977).
[37] Eade, "Introduction", 9.
[38] John A. Agnew, "Space and Place," in The SAGE *Handbook of Geographical Knowledge*, ed. John A. Agnew and David N. Livingstone (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2011), 324.

In order to answer the question, I draw again upon Appadurai, whose concepts of de-territorialization and imagination make the problems that individualization poses in creating collective senses of place more visible. In addition, I find the concept of self-reflexivity a bit dubious, as it is too optimistic about human agencies. However, Appadurai's concept is less optimistic about human agency.

De-territorialization, Imagination

De-territorialization is used in the field of Anthropology, and it is not a concept particular to Appadurai. De-territorialization is to remove things from certain specific places or territories to be re-territorialized in different places.[39] Consequently, it emphasizes movements and flows of things between different places. Although Giddens' notion "disembedding" has a lot to offer on this theme, the term deterritorialization focuses more on the tie between culture and place. Deterritorialized people still carry their cultures of origin, and a deterritorialized idea is detached from the territory, but still strongly specific. Although adjectives often associated with globalization such as "borderless" or "cross-border" also give the impression that global flows are culturally neutral, "global" flows carry specific cultural connotations to a considerable extent. Deterritorialization could shed light on this complexity of global cultural flows.

What distinguishes deterritorialization in our time is, according to Appadurai, the type of imagination which fills up the gap caused by deterritorialization in time and space.[40] The gap was not so easily overcome before. However, it is now much easier to fill the gap in time and space with technologies. Living in a new place, immigrants think about their home. The beautified image of their home could remain as simple nostalgia if there were no further contacts with immigrants' respective places of origin, but now it can be fuelled by daily contact with people back home, and probably even more influenced by all kinds of information through mass media, visual images, news, or even propaganda. Therefore, Appadurai has claimed that the type of imagination produced by deterritorialized people through the highly developed mediation that marks our era is its most remarkable feature.

In addition, what is most illuminating about his conceptualization of imagination, at least for this paper, is that it sheds light on both imagination for individual agents and its potential power to form a collective social movement. Imagination takes place with each individual, and as imagination is formed through human contact as well as through the spread information via mass media, it could agitate collective social movements which would not be confined within national

[39] Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (London: Athlone Press, 1988).

[40] Imagination might sound irrational compared to self-reflexivity, but Appadurai has made it clear that imagination is not fantasy. While fantasy works as an "opium for masses," implying passivity and false consciousness, imagination could be active and could even prompt social and political action, when it works collectively. Appadurai, *Modernity at Large* , 8.

spaces. Imagination, for instance, is not only a form of work or social practice but it is also "a form of negotiation between sites of agency (individuals) and globally defined fields of possibility."[41] And imagination can work for social actions, since this type of imagination requires a "group that begins to imagine and feel things together."[42]

So far, I have explained, with the help of Appadurai's concepts, how the global and the local are cannibalizing each other in disjunctive five-scapes and how we are individualized and detached from traditional senses of community and society, but are still attached to specific places through forms of imagination which are highly mediated through mass media. In the age of globalization, place should not be thought of in terms of fixed spatial boundaries with homogeneity, since our daily life now stretches over physical distances. Places are now more permeable and contain diversity.

In this rather chaotic picture, Appadurai's concepts tend to place less stress on the fact that there are still things to be called local and things to be called global. But people still like to demarcate between the global and the local. What we call the global or the local in our society is mostly institutionalized difference and sameness. And the process of institutionalization involves power struggles. However, the nature of any actual agency in making such demarcations is not clear in Appadurai's conceptual framework, except when it comes to the nation-state, as he avoids any grouping or categorizing. Who decides what is local and what is not local? Who controls the flow of globalization that influences our imagination? How do people resist global flows? To answer such questions I think it is necessary to look into a particular place and see how it is constructed. In the next chapter, I would like to look at the city as an example of the local under the influence of global flows as well as at the formation of its images.

[41] Ibid., 31.
[42] Ibid., 8

2 The City[1]

The city has been a fascinating object of research for centuries. At the same time, the city has never been fully defined, and its status as an object of research is sometimes called into question.[2] This is especially so in the age of globalization, when physical boundaries are coming to mean less and less; therefore such questions should be taken quite seriously. Bearing such ontological questions in mind, however, this chapter aims at understanding how the city is consciously created and the power struggle behind it, rather than at questioning its existence. There is a demarcated space called "the city" where millions of people actually live in, and in our imagination it can take diverse forms and meanings.

As is shown in Chapters 1.4, both the cannibalization of the global and the local as well as individualization/longing for a sense of place stand as two characteristics of globalization. These traits are most strongly observed in the city, as diverse people meet in places of maximum density where an overwhelming amount of commodities and information foster their imagination. In this chapter, I would like to briefly explain the paradoxical roles of the city: roles of city governance and of tackling diversity within these new dynamics brought about by globalization. These two roles indicate premises operating in two different images of the city respectively: the image of the commodified city for city marketing (the brand image of the city) and the image of the city as the life space of residents.

2.1 Paradoxical Roles of the City

<u>The City in Disorganized Capitalism</u>

Around the 1960s, most cities in the developed world (with a few exceptions) experienced de-urbanization, and many have predicted then that cities would disappear when urbanization was nearing its end.[3] However, despite such a prediction, cities were regenerated in the process of globalization, as globalization needs "strategic points" with which to control global flows of people, information, capital, and commodities.[4] Global companies offices now sit in the centers

[1] Major cities in the new global network of the city are called "global cities." See Saskia Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001). But "the city" in this paper refers to cities with over a million residents marked by strong influence from global dynamics, which are not necessarily either a world city or global city.

[2] Jan Kemper and Anne Vogelpohl, *"*Eigenlogik der Städte? Kritische Anmerkungen zur einer Forschungsperspektive," in *Lokalistische Stadtforschung, kulturalisierte Städte. Zur Kritik einer "Eigenlogik der Städte"*, ed. Jan Kemper and Anne Vogelpohl (Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 2011).

[3] Neil Brenner and Roger Keil, "Editors' Introduction: Global City Theory in Retrospect and Prospect," in *The Global Cities Reader*, ed. Neil Brenner and Roger Keil (London: Routledge, 2006), 4.

[4] Saskia Sassen, "On Concentration and Centrality in the Global City," in *World Cities in a World-System,* ed. Paul L. Knox and Peter J. Tayler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). Paul Knox, "World Cities and the Organization of Global Space," in *Geographies of Global Change: Remapping the World*, ed. Ron J. Johnston (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2002).

of world's major cities. Inner cities, once occupied by the poor, were gentrified with cultural institutions, chic shopping malls, and residential buildings.[5]

At the same time, the centrality of industrial mass production in wealth production has waned, while service sectors have increased their proportional share therein in the city. Stable employment has been replaced by exploited casual labor, while professionals earn huge amounts of money.[6] As labor power moves around the globe, the class difference between capitalists and workers has been replaced by much more complex social differences, which are now seen in the segmentation of living spaces in the city.[7]

In this new global economy, which is called disorganized capitalism by Scott Lash and John Urry,[8] the differentiation of products has also become a central concern. For example, products are sold not for their use value, but for their image, and that which leads to a surplus based not in processes of labor, but in the design, signs, or meanings products carry.[9] This also applies to the entertainment business, including tourism, which prospers in the city. People visit the city to consume signs and meanings, and at the same time photographs and souvenirs carry signs and meanings around the world.[10]

City Governance and City Branding

In this new environment, neo-liberalism advances and financial help from the state shrinks. And the city needs to be entrepreneurial in order to secure financial sources.[11] David Harvey has already described the transformation in urban politics as occurring "From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism" in his famous essay on the topic from 1989.[12] As cities need to be attractive for investors, for professionals and the global managerial elite, and for tourists—groups who bring the most possible financial sources as well as global command functions to the city—cities compete with each other globally for these limited resources. As a result, cities have to strive to create a better environment for business rather than to create better living conditions or more equitable redistribution of wealth for the residents. As urban entrepreneurialism rests on a public-private partnership, urban investments have become more speculative, prone to the unstable global economy and "obliged to be 'realistic' and 'pragmatic' to a degree which has them playing to the rules of capitalist accumulation rather than to the goals of meeting local

[5] Sharon Zukin, "New Retail Capital and Neighourhood Change: Boutiques and Gentrification in New York City," *City & Community* 8(1) (2009).
[6] David Harvey, The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1993).
[7] Peter Marcuse and Ronald van Kempen, Introduction to *Globalizing Cities: A New Spatial Order?* ed. Peter Marcuse and Ronald van Kempen (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000).
[8] Scott Lash and John Urry, *The End of Organized Capitalism* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988).
[9] Scott Lash and John Urry, *Economies of Signs and Space* (London: Sage Publication, 1994).
[10] John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage Publication, 1996).
[11] It was not the case with London until recently, since the Thatcher government dissolved the Greater London Council in 1986. (cf. Chapter 6).
[12] David Harvey, "From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism," *Geografiska Annaler*. 71 B (1) (1989).

needs or maximizing social welfare."[13] Certainly, attracting investors, global companies, and tourists would bring wealth to the city, and ensuring that the city lives up to a marketed image of being innovative, attractive, safe, and clean would, to some extent, provide better living conditions. However, although the city might be marketed as attractive, safe, and clean, this does not mean that every corner of the city must be so. As the city is an actual place in which to live, images which are far removed from the actual state of the city would not be effective in the long run.[14] However, it is possible to materialize and sustain images in a limited area of the city. The gentrified central areas found in many cities serve as good examples of this. Tourists only visit the regenerated inner city with a "traditional" view of the city and franchises of global conglomerates, while surrounding areas become impoverished. The city's brand images used for self-marketing are hence images of a commodified city. The image communicates certain characteristics of the commodity, in this case "the city," but they are selected, beautified, and simplified for a maximum effect in order to sell the commodity. This commodification of place is one of the motors driving the restructuring of the city. Therefore, city marketing is a major task and "city branding" figures centrally in selling the city

Tackling Diversity

However, this is still only a half of the story. What makes the city complex is human interaction and the relationships that occur between diverse residents. In a global economy, the city tends to be regarded as something that functions as a unit,[15] but the city is also becoming more and more fragmented within itself.

Firstly, polarization between rich and poor is accelerating. Highly skilled people are secure with full-time employment with high wages, while people engaged in low-skill, low-paying work go without the kinds of social protections available only to those in full-time positions.[16] Neo-liberalism has put more pressure on the poor as both the state and firms take less and less responsibility in wealth distribution, as has been mentioned above. In addition, there are the poor with temporary jobs, those without any jobs, and poor immigrants whose cultural background is foreign to the native-born poor. These groupings have become quite diverse.

Secondly, ethnic diversity in cities is growing. As the regulation of global flows of migration loosens, immigrants looking for a better life in developed countries have poured into the cities, living side by side with native residents. The daily practices of two neighboring families can

[13] Ibid., 16.
[14] Lily Kong, "City Branding," in *Cities, Cultural Policy and Governance*, ed. Helmut Anheier and Yudhishthir Raj Isar (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2012).
[15] Peter Marcuse, "Die »Stadt« – Begriff und Bedeutung," in *Die Macht des Lokalen in einer Welt ohne Grenzen*, ed. Helmuth Berking (Frankfurt am Main: Campus-Verlag, 2006), 203-210.
[16] David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*.

stretch over geographical distance by means of television, telephone, and the Internet. In addition, in the city, unlike in the Internet or in other imaginary virtual forums in which contacts with others can be selective and to some extent avoidable, every resident is entitled, as a citizen, to have equal access to public space. Hence, the form of urban life experienced by millions as they share limited space is inevitably one of conflict.

Although there are more differences between genders, sexualities, age, etc.,[17] these two categories mentioned above—economic and ethnic differences—have especially intensified in the city as part of the process of globalization, and they stand as distinct challenges faced by the city. For the peaceful coexistence for a diverse population, the city needs to tackle its diversity while also being entrepreneurial and self-reliant; a city therefore needs to win global city competitions by presenting attractive images of itself. These paradoxical requirements are what the city faces in the age of globalization. It could be possible to meet both requirements without sacrificing the other.[18] However, at the same time, the city contains diverse agencies, struggling for their own interests. There are simply too many stakeholders to reach an agreement, and each are entitled to a voice within the citizen framework. Therefore, it could be said that we would never find a perfect way to deal with these paradoxical roles. It is rather within this struggle, namely the power struggle among all stakeholders, that the city shows its energy and dynamics.[19] Struggles around these two roles can be seen in many aspects of the city, of which this paper focuses on examining the presentation of images of the city in exhibitions at city museums. Before moving on to the museum, it is necessary to explain in more detail two images of the city dealt with in this paper.

2.2 The Image of the City

As most urban scholars now agree, the city is a socially constructed space. While the city is a dynamic space in global networks with diversity in and of itself, rather than being a self-contained static entity with a homogeneous culture, the city is also a politically demarcated space with a physical environment, memory, and meaning. The city is a political, administrative, cultural, imaginative, and practical space for daily lives, which is interacting locally as well as globally in space and time. As is the case with the nation-state, the city is also to some extent an "imagined community,"[20] as it is recognized by residents as limited space, but the whole city is

[17] See Doreen Massey, "Flexible Sexism," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 9 (1991), accessed March 20, 2015, doi: 10.1068/d090031.
[18] Harvey, "From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism."
[19] Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution*, trans. Robert Bononno (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).
[20] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1993).

rarely covered or traversed in the daily life of an individual. Its unity is a product of and is sustained by imagination and administration.

As is shown in Chapter 1, the cannibalization of the global and the local makes sustaining such unity difficult and strengthens the longing of people for a sense of place. However, it is interesting that people's increased longing for place is not necessarily connected to the city, as city identities are discussed almost exclusively in relation to city marketing, but not in relation to the individual identities of residents in urban studies. But this does not mean that people do not have a sense of locality in the city. As Gyan Prakash observes, "Urban dwellers experience their globally situated and connected urban space as decidedly local life worlds, thick with specific experiences, practices, imaginations, and memories."[21] For example, any change in certain landscapes of the city often cause considerable debates and oppositions as each resident has their own individual as well as collective relationships, experiences, memories, and senses of meaning in their immediate surroundings. Such individual attachment to place due to proximity of the city to its residents' daily lives and experiences is what makes the city a "place" (cf. Chapter 1.3), and this is what I see as one of the impetuses for people to act in order to advance their particular images of the city.

The construction of the image of a city is very complex. There are many agencies, but they are also structured and they never create new images out of nothing. Images could be created by using available social, cultural, and historical resources found in the 5-scapes of the city. People perceive and internalize them and they also reproduce/modify them. As all residents might have individual ways of relating to their city, the image of a city should be diverse. Nevertheless, there are certain images of a city which are to some extent shared by residents or expected by visitors.[22] Some of these images might be used as brand images for city marketing by the city government. However, in the process of turning images into a brand, they are simplified and beautified in favor of attracting global investment and tourists. Such brand images do not necessarily represent the city to which all residents feel a sense of attachment.[23] Therefore, the image of the city is inevitably a site of conflict.

> Cities are systems of communication telling us who has power and how it is wielded. The configuration, use, size, internal layout, and external design of the city embodies the nature,

[21] Gyan Prakash, Introduction to *The Spaces of the Modern City: Imaginaries, Politics, and Everyday Life*, ed. Gyan Prakash and Kevin M. Kruse (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 2.

[22] For some works dealing with images of cities, see, Karlheinz Stierle, *Der Mythos von Paris. Zeichen und Bewußtsein der Stadt* (Munich: Dt. Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1998). Lutz Musner, *Der Geschmack von Wien. Kultur und Habitus einer Stadt* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2009). See also Jan Nijman, "Cultural Globalization and the Identity of Place: The Reconstruction of Amsterdam," *Cultural Geographies* 6(2)(1999).

[23] Andrea Insch and Magdalena Florek, "Place satisfaction of City Residents: Findings and Implications for City Branding," in *Towards Effective Place Brand Management: Branding European Cities and Regions*, ed. Gregory Ashworth and Mihalis Kavaratzis (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2010).

> distribution, and contestation of power in society. The power struggle fundamentally evolves around the meaning of the city, what it represents, and what it should represent.[24]

The image of the city is one of the meanings around which the power struggle evolves. Therefore, it is to some extent possible to identify which image serve the interests of which particular party. Lefebvre sees one of the conflicts and contradictions in the city as " the contradiction between abstract space that arises from economic and political practices and social space that arises from the use values produced by the residents in their pursuits of everyday life."[25] As is mentioned above, I would like to focus on two different images; the image of the commodified city and the image of the city as the life space of residents, which could be said to correspond to Lefebvre's abstract space and social space respectively.

The former is the image aiming to win tourists and investments in the global competition between cities, and the other is more closely related to the daily lives of residents. Therefore the former serves the interests of city developers, capitalists, investors, private companies, and the politicians close to them, as well as the tourists who benefit from the global economy. The latter serves the interests of residents of the city (here, residents of the city is meant to include everyone living in the city regardless of their differences). But the economically enfranchised tend to be included in the former group, since this group tends to have more political power, money, and access to knowledge to materialize their image and control space. Below, I would like to explain each image in detail.

2.2.1 The Image of Commodified City – The City's Brand Image

The image of a commodified city, namely the city's brand image, represents the city as a whole in order to attract consumers and investors. But it is not simply created for economic and political reasons out ex nihilo. As "Habitus der Stadt"[26] or "Eigenlogik der Stadt"[27] gives epistemological premises to the existence of certain characteristics of the city, there is something unique about a city. I personally admit that I feel that there is something unique or "local" in each city, as I mentioned in the introduction. This uniqueness can come from cultural elements such as music, fashion, or scenes in a film. It can reside in buildings, the natural environment, or they can even concern a specific atmospheric trait such as being vibrant, romantic, or laid-back. It is difficult to deny that there is a certain shared image or feeling about a city. However, these

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[24] John Rennie Short, *The Urban Order* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1996), 390.
[25] Henri Lefebvre, "Space: Social Product and Use Value," in *Critical Sociology: European Perspective*, ed. J. W. Freiberg (New York: Irvington, 1979), 241, quoted in Robert Rotenberg, Introduction to *The Cultural Meaning of Urban Space*, ed. Robert Rotenberg and Gary W. Mcdonogh (Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey, 1993), xiii.
[26] Rolf Lindner, "Der Habitus der Stadt. Ein kulturgeographischer Versuch," *Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen*, 147 (2) (2003).
[27] Helmuth Berking and Martina Löw, *Die Eigenlogik der Städte. Neu Wege für die Stadtforschung* (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 2008).

images are selective in nature. For example, even if shared images about a city might exist, they can be countless and they may be slowly but constantly changing. However, when a certain image is made into a city's brand image, the question must be asked why it was selected from countless possibilities. Although this process of selection could be considered as something that occurs "naturally," it cannot happen completely without the intentions of some social groups. Indeed there are power struggles behind it.

> The re-imaging of cities has involved urban leaders spending more time on place promotion, investing in new cultural projects, and focusing on selling the city in terms of new lifestyles and experiences, cajoling, manipulating, and stimulating the attachments and emotions individuals feel towards cities.[28]

For example, now many cities organize film festivals, fashion weeks, music events, and sports events. At the same time, inner cities can also be regenerated, for example, in order to keep a traditional appearance with pedestrian and shopping streets, souvenir shops, as well as posh restaurants. Meanwhile, medieval-looking city or a chaotic city would stimulate nostalgic or adventurous feelings for tourists. They are not only creating a positive image of the city and fostering connections for individuals, but the economic effects of such images are also enormous. They attract tourists and investments, and they also help the service industries related to tourism in the city to flourish. Global firms want to have their offices and send their managerial elites to cities with more positive images and more cultural offerings.

But the brand image of the city is not necessarily something that exists only for marketing purposes. Images of the city still affect the ability of residents to share feelings or sentiments which can "create a sense of social solidarity, civic pride and loyalty to place and even allow the urban image to provide a mental refuge in a world that capital treats as more and more place-less."[29] Although the traditional appearance of inner city areas is often more for tourists, residents, especially those who have lived there for generations, might be proud of the traditional preserved landscape, however sanitized and idealized though they may be. Despite many debates concerning the construction of postmodern architecture in such city centers, these too might become a pride of some residents over time, such as the Haas Haus in Vienna and the Guggenheim Museum building in Bilbao. Or even as objects of hate, they can be a point of residents' collective feelings. Therefore, the brand images do not serve exclusively capitalist or political interests.

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[28] Kevin Ward, "Entrepreneurial Urbanism, Policy Tourism, and the Making Mobile of Policies," in *The New Blackwell Companion to the City*, ed. Gay Bridge and Sophia Watson (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 731.

[29] Harvey, "From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism," 14.

However, although the image of the commodified city is shared to some extent by residents, it also invades the life space of those residents. First, brand images do not necessarily include actual living spaces. It is not commonplace for the image of the commodified city to show daily shopping areas lacking any particular character. Secondly, brand images are not only images, but they are often materialized in space.[30] For example, the inner city areas of major cities have become global centers and the surrounding areas might also be gentrified with cultural institutions or shopping areas such as new Waterfront Sub-center in Tokyo and the MuseumsQuartier in Vienna. Brand images can be sustained by segregating things which do not fit those images. Therefore, to a certain extent brand images homogenize power over material space, eliminating or making invisible those elements which do not fit in the image. So what is the life space of residents invisible in the city identity?

2.2.2 The Image of the City as the Life Space of Residents

Now a half of the world's population live in the city,[31] and a metropolis holds over millions of people. These millions of people are occupying and traversing certain space of the city, and each individual's countless actions take place at every moment. When the city is considered as a single unit with city's brand images, it is rather static. But when one thinks about the city as the life space, its intensity could be felt.

Although individuals might not have a strong belongingness to the city, they have their own images of the city based on their daily practices.[32] They pass through the same streets, shop daily in the same supermarkets, and eat in nearby restaurants while meeting regular customers. There is a degree of routine in their life and scenery associated with them. Such images give each resident a feeling of security and orientation, and some of these are sometimes shared by the majority, giving a sense of stability and belongingness to daily life. People have something of a feeling of attachment to the places where they live because the city becomes a place for residents through their knowing, experiencing, and ways of giving meaning to places (cf. Chapter 1.3). One of the purposes of this paper is to call into question the extent to which the brand images of cities reflect such individual attachments to place.

In order to clarify the difference between these two, I would like to borrow from Michel de Certeau's distinction between "strategy" and "tactics." De Certeau (1984) defines strategy as follows:

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[30] Monika Grubbauer, *Die vorgestellte Stadt: Globale Büroarchitektur, Stadtmarketing und politischer Wandel in Wien* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2014).

[31] According to the World Health Organization (WHO), 54% of the total population live in urban areas as of 2014. WHO, Global Health Observatory Data: Urban Population Growth, accessed June 15, 2015, http://www.who.int/gho/urban_health/situation_trends/urban_population_growth_text/en/.

[32] Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press, 1973).

> I call a 'strategy' the calculus of force-relationships which becomes possible when a subject of will and power (a proprietor, an enterprise, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated from an 'environment'. A strategy assumes a place that can be circumscribed as *proper* (*propre*) and thus serve as the basis for generating relations with an exterior distinct from it (competitors, adversaries, 'clienteles', 'targets', or 'objects' of research). Political, economic, and scientific rationality has been constructed on this strategic model.[33]

Strategies could be understood as ways of exercising power of the powerful, an example of which is a city. City planning or city governance is all about the "strategy" of a city which has its own space distinct from other cities. Strategies are made possible "by the flattening out of all the data in a plane projection."[34] Therefore, they are homogenizing, eliminating particularities or differences not fitting within it. Creating the brand images of cities could be seen as a strategy, since it eliminate things unattractive and unsuitable in order to compete with other cities as well as control the place in question. On the other hand, tactic is:

> a calculus which cannot count on a 'proper' (a spatial or institutional localization), nor thus on a borderline distinguishing the other as a visible totality. The place of a tactic belongs to the other…It has at its disposal no base where it can capitalize on its advantages, prepare its expansions, and secure independence with respect to circumstances. The 'proper' is a victory of space over time. On the contrary, because it does not have a place, a tactic depends on time – it is always on the watch for opportunities that must be seized 'on the wing'. Whatever it wins, it does not keep. It must constantly manipulate events in order to turn them into 'opportunities'.[35]

Tactics are by people who do not form any powerful institution as a visible totality from where they might exercise power; therefore, they are the means of the weak. Tactics are everyday practices, and clever tricks, seizing opportunities, and maneuvering under the conditions set by the powerful—the strategies. Through walking, eating, talking, shopping, reading, etc., "people have to make do with what they have."[36]

By giving an example of the view over New York from the 110th floor of the World Trade Centre and the ordinary people's life down below, De Certeau made a clear distinction between strategies and tactics.[37] The view from the 1370-foot high towers was a panoptical and conceptual view with a totalizing power that eliminates details, movements, and daily practices of ordinary people down there. Certainly, because of the development of technology, closed-circuit television (CCTV) can now survey the space of our daily life; and as is seen in the Arab Spring and in the riots of 2011 in England, the use of technology has to some extent

[33] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), xix.
[34] Ibid., 94.
[35] Ibid,. xix
[36] Ibid., 18
[37] Ibid., 92.

changed how people employ resistance tactics and how they try to influence events.[38] However, what I would particularly like to emphasize is that it is in this micro-space that strategies are adapted and resisted by individual agencies on a daily basis. When one wants to look into power struggles between the powerful, who have access to political power, and the ordinary people, who do not usually form any political groups, one needs to look into the life space where their everyday practices take place Their daily tactics might not connect to any political activities and they might go unnoticed even by CCTV cameras. However, their tactics and the self-expression of individual agencies still run through the life spaces of residents. The image of the city as the life space of residents, therefore, should appear as a collage of images of the daily lives of residents, while a city's brand images are a manifestation of strategies of the city.

In the age of globalization, the life space of residents should not necessarily be restricted to immediate physical surroundings. As our imagination stretches out globally, we experience and perceive our immediate environment in infinitely many ways, as explained in Chapters 1.3. However, we are physically in a place. Certain parts of our daily activities are not separable from the actual local settings in which our bodily actions take place. Appadurai refers to the influence of global connectivity on daily life (cf. Chapter 1). But global connectivity does not mean that people are disconnected from actual places. Rather it means that global connectivity might bring some new benefits to daily practices.[39] Therefore, the life space of residents is also the space where ordinary people use new information gained from global interactions for tactics to help in maneuvering within their immediate surroundings. It is possible for there to be a very innovate space of interaction between the global and the local; and this is where the global and the local cannibalize each other on the micro level.

[38] Manuel Castells, *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age* (Cambridge: Polity, 2012).

[39] See also Eric Sheppard, "The Spaces and Times of Globalization: Place, Scale, Networks, and Positionality," *Economic Geography* 78(3)(2002), accessed September 22, 2015, doi: 10.1111/j.1944-8287.2002.tb00189.x.

3 City Museums

City museums are defined in this paper as being funded mostly by the city and recognized as major museums intended to represent the city. Their profiles can be topological, thematic, ethnological, or any other kind. The exhibited objects can reach from daily objects all the way to world-famous art objects. But before discussing city museums in particular, I would like to explain briefly the development of New Museology, which gives a framework for understanding works of the museum in general as well as the museum's relationship to society.

3.1 The New Museology

The most major museums in Europe have their origins as treasure rooms or as the private collections of powerful people. It is after the French Revolution and the rise of the nation-state that museums became public spaces open to all newly created nation-state "citizens." While treasure rooms used to show precious objects without any particular order, museums exhibit objects according to scientific principles. Since then, the core work of the museum has been to collect, conserve, classify, research, and communicate.[1]

In the last half of the twentieth century, museums have seen a great increase in their number and diversity, reflecting growing public interest in culture and history.[2] This first necessitated new research into museum practices. However, especially since the 1960s, society has witnessed a diversification of value, of ways of life, and of ways of seeing the world in itself. Scholars of post-colonialism and feminism, political figures from colonial countries finally winning back their independence, and people participating in the events in 1968, all worked to claim their independence, visibility, and their rights for self-representation and self-determination.

Under such social conditions and in academic new environments, Museology underwent self-critical re-examination, which promoted more historical, cultural, anthropological, and sociological analyses of the museum. This new stream is called the New Museology, after the book of the same name edited by Peter Vergo that was published in 1989.[3] The New Museology called for a more "[t]heoretical framework to guide them [museums] in improving their relationships to their social milieu,"[4] instead of being overly concerning with methods. The New

[1] ICOM defines the museum as follows. "A museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment." ICOM, "ICOM Statutes: ICOM Internal Rules and Regulations," accessed June 15, 2015, http://archives.icom.museum/statutes.html#2.

[2] Steven Hoelscher, "Heritage," in *A Companion to Museum Studies,* ed. Sharon Macdonald (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2008), 201.

[3] Peter Vergo, ed., *The New Museology* (London: Reaktion Books, 1989).

[4] Deirdre C. Stam, "The Informed Muse: The Implications of 'The New Museology' for Museum Practice," in *Heritage, Museums and Galleries: An Introductory Reader*, ed. Gerard Corsana (London: Routledge, 2005), 55.

Museology provides us now with theoretical tools to analyze the museum's relationship to society as well as the detailed history of development of the museum.

3.2 The Role of the Museum

Museums in the Age of Globalization

It is true that new social environments diversifying under the influence of globalization call the very existence of the museum into question, especially of national museums whose premise is the nation-state. While national museums present the national ideology of a given homogeneous national culture and history,[5] the world outside those museums is ever becoming diversified. Jan Nederveen Pieterse observes that "national museums are losing its function and become shrines of nostalgia."[6] In addition, changes in the economic environment also exert an enormous influence on the management of museums as well as the content of their activities. Under the policy of neo-liberalism, financial support from public bodies has consistently decreased and museums have had to be more and more self-reliant with their finances. Museums are no longer indifferent to the number of visitors, as they are a source of income and as they prove legitimacy when it comes to receiving public funds. For the latter purpose, museums also need to show their social relevance while also having good marketing strategies. Relative freedom from the market economy was the thing in the past.

However, interestingly, globalization did not bring only difficulties to museums. Public interest in the history and the past, and consequently in museums, has surged since the 1980s. Hermann Lübbe has theorized that this growing interest in museums is a result of people's longing for compensation for the loss of stability in their lives.[7] Although there might be some counterarguments,[8] it is relatively easy to recognize that the past plays a certain role in our society, as is evident in the popularity of historical literature, historical TV programmes, and UNESCO World Heritage tourism.

All of these social, economic, and cultural changes in the environment of the museum explained above entail museums reconsidering their roles in society. In what follows, I would like to focus on three types of social roles of the museum—the museum as a place for learning and intellectual stimulation, the museum as a place for entertainment and a sense of stability, and the

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[5] On the museum's role played for the nation building, see Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1992). Carol Duncan, "Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship," in *Exhibition Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Washington: Smithonian Institution Press, 1991). Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995).

[6] Jan Nederveen Pieterse, "Multiculturalism and Museums: Discourse about Others in the Age of Globalization," in *Heritage, Museums and Galleries: An Introductory Reader*, ed. Gerard Corsana (London: Routledge, 2005), 164.

[7] Hermann Lübbe, "Zeit-Verhältnisse. Über die veränderte Gegenwart von Zukunft und Vergangenheit," *Zeitphänomen Musealisierung*, ed. Wolfgang Zacharias (Essen: Klartext-Verlag, 1990).

[8] Andreas Huyssen, *Twilight Memories* (New York : Routledge, 1995), 25-26.

museum as a catalyst for social change. The difficulty for public museums is that, as publicly funded educational institutions in neo-liberal environments, they have to try to meet all of these roles.

The Museum as a Place for Learning and Intellectual Stimulation

As the museum is an educational institution, it is not at all a new idea that the museum is a place for learning. However, educational responsibility was rather secondary, although this could not be generalized.[9] However, no one would deny that educational work has gained in significance in the last twenty to thirty years at most museums.[10] There are many tours or seminars organized, targeting audiences from general visitors to schoolchildren. Major exhibitions are often accompanied with related workshops, lectures, or tours outside museums. Museums now offer diverse ways of learning for diverse needs.

Not only the number of activities, but also the material to be learnt and the way of learning in museums, have been changed significantly, as the museum is no longer a temple of knowledge, where visitors should be filled with the "right" kind of knowledge. Knowledge disseminated by museums has become more "democratized" and learning is becoming more participatory, encouraging visitors to think for themselves and to form their own opinions and ideas.[11]

For example, the objectivity of the history told in museums has come under scrutiny. The "linguistic turn" entailed critical reflection not just on what actually happened but on *how* we apprehend and tell what happened in the past. As telling history is a sort of narrative, "*the*" history presented at the museum is just one of a multitude of possible versions which reflect a variety of contemporary conditions and intentions from which a narrative is created.[12] The discovery of everyday life as a topic of investigation and the concepts of "history from below" such as oral history[13] have also contributed significantly to "a process of demonopolization in the production of collective memory."[14] In this way, museums have become more self-critical of the nature of their work, using objects taken from original discourses, deprived of original meaning and use, and been put into new discourses created by museums to serve the needs of

[9] George E. Hein, "Museum Education," in *A Companion to Museum Studies,* ed. Sharon Macdonald (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2008). However, there are exceptional cases. For example, the Museum of London already showed its strong interest in its educational programs early in its history in the first half of the 20th century. See Francis. H. W. Sheppard, *The Treasury of London's Past: An Historical Account of the Museum of London and its Predecessors, the Guildhall Museum and the London Museum* (London: Stationery Office Books, 1991).

[10] Geroge E. Hein, *Learning in the Museum* (London: Routledge, 1998).

[11] In this paper, "democratization" means the process of broadening the definition of culture or of the museum, as impelled by the people.

[12] Hayden V. White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973).

[13] Paula Hamilton and Linda Shopes, "Introduction: Building Partnerships between Oral History and Memory Studies," in *Oral History and Public Memories*, ed. Paula Hamilton and Linda Shopes (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008). Moira G. Simpson, *Making Representations: Museums in the Post-Colonial Era* (London: Rougledge, 1996). Gaynor Kavanagh, *Dream Spaces: Memory and the Museum* (London: Leicester Univ. Press, 2000). Alf Lüdtke, ed., *The History of Everyday Life: Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life,* trans. William Templer (Princeton, NJ : Princeton Univ. Press, 1995).

[14] Ariella Azoulay, "With Open Doors: Museums and Historical Narratives in Israel's Public Space," in *Museum Culture: Histories, Discourses, Spectacles*, ed. Daniel J. Sherman and Irit Rogoff (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 99.

contemporary society.[15] Who creates narratives with which objects, and why? Such questions are now constantly asked by museums. And visitors who come for intellectual stimulus are relatively open to a new interpretation of history, a new way of presentation, and relatively radical themes such as racism and poverty.

However, there is a gap between museums' self-reflexive attitudes surrendering some authority in relation to the visitors' expectation to the museum. To wit:

> It is interesting, then, given the widespread academic and professional debates which have explored the political uses and consequences of museum exhibitions, that audiences nevertheless appear to have retained considerable faith in the museum as a purveyor of objective, impartial truths.[16]

As society has become more individualized and people feel more insecure, some would like to escape from the possibility/responsibility of making choices and making their own judgment, and just be informed with "right" information. To be accessible to wider audiences, museums cannot only be a place for critical thinking and learning.

The Museum as a Place for Entertainment and a Sense of Stability

As the economy matures in developed countries, people have more free time and seek out entertainment. Museums are one of the choices for weekend outings and they are major attractions for foreign tourists. For people looking for entertainment with a touch of educational flair, blockbuster exhibitions with famous objects are well suited. However, in recent years tourists have become much more informed prior to their arrival and they come with certain expectations of how the place looks like, how it is to be felt, how it is to be experienced, all of this being informed by presentations in mass media. Therefore, museums are often expected to fulfill those ready-made expectations of visitors.[17]

There are also people seeking things which give them a sense of stability and reaffirm their personal and sometimes emotional attachments to the past, as Lübbe theorizes. Such visitors are sometimes very resistant to seeing different versions of history.[18] It could generally be said that the public would like to see an account of history that does not disturb their emotion, memory, conscience, and sense of security.

In order to combine education and entertainment, museums change the way of presentation.

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[15] Hilke Doering und Stefan Hirschauer, "Die Biographie der Dinge: Eine Ethnographie musealer Repräsentation," in *Die Befremdung der eigenen Kultur. Zur ethnographischen Herausforderung soziologischer Empirie,* ed. Stefan Hirschauer and Klaus Amann (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1997).

[16] Richard Sandell, "Museums and the Combating of Social Inequality: Roles, Responsibilities, Resistance," in *Museums and their Communities,* ed. Sheila Watson (London: Routledge, 2007), 127.

[17] See John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage Publication, 1996).

[18] Enola Gay Exhibition of the Smithsonian Institute at the USA's National Air and Space Museum stands as an example of such resistance. See Vera Zolberg, "Museums as Contested Sites of Remembrance: The Enola Gay Affair," in *Theorizing Museums: Representing Identity and Diversity in a Changing World*, ed. Sharon Macdonald and Gordon Fyfe (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996).

Replicas of some important objects are exhibited or set out to be touched or made to demonstrate how they were used before. There are touch screens, audio guides, and real-size models with which people can feel and experience the past with all five senses. However, experience-oriented presentations should not be so easily adapted, as happens in theme parks. The example of an exhibition and subsequent visitors reaction cited by Sandell proves particularly interesting here.

> Henrietta Riegel's earlier study of an exhibition in Stuttgart, which sought to immerse visitors in re-creations of war and post-war scenarios, similarly found that some visitors complained about feeling too close to the subject in ways which evoked difficult memories for them.[19]

The exhibition was an attempt to make visitors experience wars and the post-war world more vividly. It could also be true that the younger generation without any experience of wars might understand wars better. However, such an exhibition could be criticized not only for mimicking an experience-oriented theme park, but also for digging up memories that some visitors would want to forget. As it is visited by different generations with different backgrounds and different expectations, the museum's work and the redefinition of the museum in society are becoming even more difficult.

The Museum as a Catalyst for Social Change

There are now trends toward seeing the museum as a public space for communication and social change, such as what happens with the respective ideas of "museums as contact zones",[20] of "the post-museum",[21] of "museums as civic laboratories",[22] of "museums as spaces of negotiation",[23] of "museums as intercultural spaces,"[24] of "elitism for all",[25] and of "museums as public spheres."[26] Although in reality it is rather quite a struggle for museums to tackle social issues,[27] the museum may be expected to play a role in society in the intermediation of differences for the purpose of social change, which also meets the requirement of social accountability that exists as part of the mandate that comes with public funding.

For example, the Museum of London had an exhibition on immigration history in 1992, which

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[19] Richard Sandell, *Museums, Prejudice and the Reframing of Difference* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 127.
[20] James Clifford, "Museums as Contact Zones," in *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*, ed. James Clifford (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997).
[21] Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture* (London: Routledge, 2006).
[22] Tony Bennett, "Civic Laboratories: Museums, Cultural Objecthood and the Governance of the Social," *Cultural Studies*, 19(5) (2005).
[23] Elena Delgado, "Museums as Spaces of Negotiation," in *Museums as Places for Intercultural Dialogue: Selected Practices from Europe*, ed. Sumona Bodo et al. (Bologna: MAP for ID Group, 2009).
[24] Sumona Bodo, "Museums as Intercultural Spaces," in *Museums, Equality and Social Justice*, ed. Richard Sandell and Eithne Nightingale (London and New York: Routledge, 2012).
[25] Karsten Schubert, *The Curator's Egg: The Evolution of the Museum Concept from the French Revolution to the Present Day* (London: Ridinghouse, 2009), 158.
[26] Jennifer Barrett, *Museums and the Public Sphere* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012).
[27] Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, "Towards Plural Perspectives," in *Cultural Diversity: Developing Museum Audiences in Britain*, ed. Eilean Hooper-Greenhill (London and Washington: Leicester University Press,1997).

was followed by the city museums of Amsterdam and Vienna.[28] There are new museums on indigenous people, particular ethnic groups, women, immigrants, etc.[29] Although it is still doubtful if genuine power sharing is occurring between the museum and concerned groups of people,[30] such efforts to establish trust and stable contact, collect new objects related to these communities, and to develop new ways of marketing to attract them all require enormous time and effort on the part of museums.

On the other hand, there are critical points of view as concerns representing minority groups due to the possible "risk of institutionalizing their marginalization as "the others.""[31] At the same time, museums run the risk of losing many of their regular visitors, who are mostly educated middle-class,[32] as they might feel that they are losing their own places in museums. Sandell and Barrett also express doubt for the museum's power for social changes.[33]

It is now increasingly up to each museum and to each society how to define the role of museums. Hence, the roles of the museum are also diversified and museums need constantly to be self-reflexive in order to respond to the changing needs of the society they serve. This paper aims to show three cases by analyzing their exhibitions.

Organizational Change

As communication has become more important in the work of museums, it is also reflected in museums' management of personnel. Firstly, directors are now expected to have managerial skills. "They need training in project management, interpersonal communication skills, conflict management resolution, as well as the opportunity and the encouragement to develop a reflective approach to museological practices."[34] This sounds more like describing a manager in a company, as the museum has to be more like a corporate under neo-liberalism.[35] Museums now need to strive to meet publicly set goals and achieve results, defining a clear image and keeping the institution financially healthy as well as socially accountable.

Financial departments have also been created or strengthened in order to make museums more competitive, since in many developed countries legal changes have removed limitations on cultural institutions and have allowed them to manoeuver with more financial freedom and enjoy

[28] Sylvia Mattl and Peter Payer, "Wien: Der Lange Weg zur "Multikulturellen Weltstadt," in *Gastarbajteri*, ed. Hakan Gürses et al. (Vienna: Mandelbaum-Verlag, 2003), 100.
[29] See Sandell, *Museums, Prejudice and the Reframing of Difference*. Joachim Baur, *Die Musealisierung der Migration. Einwanderungsmuseen und die Inszenierung der multikulturellen Nation* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2009).
[30] Sheila Watson, "Museums and Their Communities," in *Museums and Their Communities,* ed. Watson, Sheila (London: Routledge, 2007), 11.
[31] Nick Merriman and Nima Poovaya, "Making Culturally Diverse Histories," in *Making Histories in Museums*, ed. Gaynor Kavanagh (London and New York: Leicester University Press, 1996), 183.
[32] Sharon Zukin, *The Cultures of Cities* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995).
[33] Sandell, *Museums, Prejudice and the Reframing of Difference*. Jennifer Barrett, *Museums and the Public Sphere*.
[34] Andrea Witcomb, *Re-imaging the Museum: Beyond the Mausoleum* (London: Routledge, 2003), 78.
[35] Richard Sandell, Robert R. Janes, *Museum Management and Marketing* (London: Routledge, 2007).

increased self-governance.[36] Although most museums are still supported to a greater extent by pubic funds, museums cannot expect this stability. The efforts of museums to meet financial needs itself are clearly recognized, and this can be seen in how museums make space for cafés and museum shops, how they rent out spaces, or how they constantly offer blockbuster exhibitions.[37]

Marketing and public relations are also the fastest developing sections in museums.[38] As was mentioned in Chapter 2.2, images are the most important factor when it comes to selling products in the cultural economy. In order to attract visitors, museums strive to establish a clear corporate identity: not only are there attractive posters with clear museum logos of museums as well as other PR activities, but there are also efforts to organize and to collaborate on local events and to provide educational programs that also enhance the visibility of the activities of museums in society.[39]

The position of curators is also changing from the model of a single decision-maker in charge of an exhibition to working in collaboration with other staff members from education and public relation departments.[40] Both managers and staff members need to have not only knowledge of their field, but also the ability to analyze the social surroundings of the museum and their own work critically regarding political and ideological implications. The museum is not only dealing with the past; in order to keep the museum going, it has to be up-to-date and in close touch with society.

Why not the City Museum?

So far, I have outlined changes in museums and the environments of museums on a general level. There is plenty more research on these themes with many individual case studies. However, it is noteworthy that there is very little research done specifically on city museums. There are case studies of some city museums, but there is so far little done systematically on them, focusing on the particular notion of the museum as representative of the city in the age of globalization.[41]

As is shown in Chapter 2, the city exemplifies the best of the society in the era of globalization; its density, diversity, dynamics, speed, and connectivity. The museum now needs constant self-reflection and to keep up with fast-changing social needs while also adapting to new

[36] Examples are seen in the WM and the ETH. See Chapters 5.2 and 7.2.

[37] Unlike museums in the USA, for three museums examined in this paper, finding private sponsors is not a great option to improve their finance. Hence businesses such as cafés, bookstores, or space rental are important source of income along with entrance fees, if those are charged. (Entrance to the MoL is free.) See also Gerald Matt, Thomas Flatz and Judita Loedere, *Kultur und Geld. Das Museum - ein Unternehmen. Ein praxisorientierter Leitfaden* (Vienna: Verlag Oesterreich, 2001).

[38] Fiona McLean, *Marketing the Museum* (London: Routledge, 1997).

[39] Fiona Mclean, "Corporate Identity: What Does it Mean for Museums?" in *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing* 3(1)(1998).

[40] Andrea Witcomb, *Re-imaging the Museum.*

[41] There is a short list of literature on city museums made by the CAMOC which shows that the amount of research on city museums is still very limited. See ICOM, "Reading List," accessed August 31, 2015, http://network.icom.museum/camoc/resources/reading-list/.

political and economic circumstances. All of the changes above are necessary changes when it comes to adapting to new environments in an ever-diversifying society admidst the increasing power of the global economy. As the strategic point of globalization, where global dynamics meet in the most intense of ways, the city is the most challenging environment the museum possibly could have to represent. This is why the city museum is "good to think" about now.[42]

3.3 The Image of the City Represented in City Museums

As has already been delineated in Chapter 2.2, this paper concerns two images of the city, the brand image of the city and the image of the city as the life space of residents. In order to examine those two images as they are presented in the museum, there is a problem to be solved. As I have explained in Chapter 2.2, the paper aims to understand power struggles in the presentations of the two images in city museums.

However, one of the difficulties in seeing power struggles between the brand image of the commodified city and the image of the city as the life space of residents, namely the struggle between the developers, capitalists, investors, private companies and politicians who benefit from the global competitiveness of the city and the residents, is that residents do not form any groups to exercise power, while the former have their own positions from which power can be exercised (cf. Chapter 2.4). Life space is full of tactics, but they are to be found in daily life, not in clear political structures. The struggles between the two images, therefore, do not take place on an equal ground. While the image of a commodified city can be to some extent fixed and describable, the image of the city as a life space is not. How then can one examine power struggles between these two images?

As a public museum, the city museum could be regarded as a part of city's strategies. Certainly, due to work being done within the New Museology (cf. Chapter 3.1), visitors are more and more encouraged to participate, and interdisciplinary perspectives demand the incorporation of more micro perspectives focusing on such topics and methods as micro history, oral history, popular culture, and everyday life. As they are public and educational institutions receiving public funds, it could be said that city museums are more obliged to represent both images than other public and private institutions. However, the problem is that even if city museums do more to represent the life space of residents, it does not mean that residents have more power when it comes to controlling public space and their representation therein. Residents are not a clear political group with a clear aim, and they are not homogeneous. In the end, the agency creating exhibitions is

[42] Arjun Appadurai and Carol A. Breckenridge, "Museums are Good to Think: Heritage on View in India," in *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*, ed. Ivan Karp, Steven D. Levine, and Christine Mullen Kraemer (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991).

the museum.

Therefore, power struggles in the representation in city museums are only indirect, being mediated by museums. This paper can examine the power struggles only indirectly. However, what I argue is that city museums "could" become a place to mediate these two images and be part of the power struggles related to these images, as I have analyzed above. As the city museum is a public space, the image presented there can be reinforced or institutionalized and it can have certain social, political and cultural influence, although such influences might be small compared to those of other media.[43] In the age of globalization and in a consequently neo-liberalized world, public space is increasingly privatized and at the mercy of capitalist logic. In such an era, the meaning of public space and representation therein is not negligible. The museum can not be like "Speakers Corner" in London's Hyde Park or like a cultural center where people freely express and exchange their ideas. But there is the idea, as is mentioned in Chapter 3.2, that the museum can be a place for democracy. It is possible for some museums to take such a direction in defining the museum. Although I have reservations when it comes to seeing the museum as a place to work actively for political aims, it is now necessary to analyze which direction each city museum is going and why.

[43] Sandell, *Museums, Prejudice and the Reframing of Difference*.

4 Method

4.1 Three Museums

The reasons for the choice of three cities were already mentioned in introduction. All three museums, the Museum of London (MoL), the Wien Museum (WM) and the Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan (ETH), stand as the biggest museum run by the city in each respective municipality. They differ in their respective founding histories and collections, but recently they have been experiencing some common structural changes.

Short Description of the Wien Museum

The Wien Museum was founded as the "Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien" (HMdST) in 1887, and it has the longest history of the three museums dealt with in this paper. The idea was already formed 30 years earlier than its foundation amidst the background of the maturing bourgeoisie, the changing cityscape, and developments in the field of critical history.[1] The collection started in various municipal sites before the founding of the museum proper, with coins, medals, armor, and the rest of the buildings (e.g. city gates) demolished for the expansion of the capitol. The collection was further enriched by private donations such as collection of paintings made by the Prince of Liechtenstein. In its early years, the museum also collected historically documentary films,[2] costumes, and paintings, as well as objects related to people's life in the city.[3]

The museum was first housed in the Town Hall. After some unrealized plans for a new building were made, the current building was constructed in 1959 and stands until today in Karlsplatz, just outside the central area, neighboring cultural institutions such as the Musikverein, the Künstlerhaus, and Karlskirche. With museum's increasing activities and changing social significance, the museum finds itself in need of more space. In 2013, after years of long debate over its location, it was decided that the current building will be renovated and enlarged with additional space.

As the museum was founded by a strong initiative of the communal government, the museum operated as a part of its administration under the auspices of Municipal Department 10 (*Magistratsabteilung* 10). However, the museum was separated from the municipal administration (*Ausgliederung*) in 2002. The museum became an individual entity, independent

[1] HMdSW, *Hundert Jahre Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien* (Vienna: HMdSW, 1987).
[2] Ibid., 20.
[3] For more on the history of collecting daily objects, see Reingard Witzmann, "Von Volksleben zur Alltagskunde. Skizze zur Entwicklung einer historisch fundierten Stadtvolkskunde von Wien," in *Hundert Jahre Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien*, ed. HMdSW (Vienna: HMdSW, 1987).

of the city with its own right to set rules and determine its financial responsibilities. In 2003, under the new Director, Wolfgang Kos, the HMdST was renamed the "Wien Museum" which encompasses other small museums.[4] "Wien Museum Karlsplatz" (WMK) is the biggest museum of Wien Museum system. New departments such as its Press & Public relations department were created, and since 2008, its Financial Director has been fully in charge of financial matters. In this thesis, I refer to the museum before 2003 as the HMdST and the museum after 2003 as the WMK. But in comparison to the Museum of London and the Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan, I refer to the HMdST/WMK in general as Wien Museum (WM).

Short Description of the Museum of London

The Museum of London was established in 1975 in the Barbican Redevelopment Area in East London and it officially opened in 1976. The museum was founded as a result of the amalgamation of two museums, the London Museum and the Guildhall Museum.[5] There were initially three supporting bodies for the new museum: the City of London Corporation,[6] the Greater London Council (GLC), and the British government (under the Treasury until 1992, the Department of National Heritage (DNH) until 1997, and the Department for Culture, Media and Sports (DCMS) since 1997). Despite it being a "museum about London," the GLC did not played a positive role in the museum's founding. While the London Museum was supported since its founding instead by private funding, the royal family and the government[7] and the Guildhall Museum was supported by the City of London Corporation, the GLC was reluctant to support the new museum, the Museum of London, as it meant a new expenditure to them. Even after the amalgamation took place, the Museum of London was supported financially by the government, equally sharing expenses with the City of London Corporation after 1986, as the GLC was dissolved by the Thatcher government. It was only in May 2008 that the Greater London Authority (GLA), created under the Blair government in 2000, finally took up responsibility, financial and otherwise, from the DCMS. Since 2008, the GLA and the Corporation have shared expenses equally. The Museum of London is also overseen by the Board of Governors appointed by both bodies.

[4] The Wien Museum is a collective entity, including Wien Museum Karlsplatz and other 18 museums and historical sites such as the Mozartwohnung, the Uhrenmuseum, and the Römermuseum.

[5] Both have had a long history of their own. The Guildhall Museum, established in 1826, was closely related to the City of London district, and the London Museum, established in 1911, was more focused on the area of Greater London.

[6] The City of London, often called "the City," is now mostly known for its financial capacity. "The City" is a world-leading financial center in London and it does not receive any grants from the central government. With its financial capability, the City operates independently from the surrounding Greater London, with its own police force, etc. The City of London Corporation had been closely related to Guildhall Museum since 1826, and since 1976 it has offered financial support and a location in the Barbican Redevelopment Area to the Museum of London.

[7] The London Museum was founded by initiatives of two men of high rank, Sir Lewis Harcourt and Reginald Brett (Later Lord Esher) with a generous donation from an anonymous benefactor, (later known as Sir Harry Waechter). See Francis H.W. Sheppard, *The Treasury of London's Past: An Historical Account of the Museum of London and Its Predecessors, the Guildhall Museum and the London Museum* (London: The Museum of London and Stationery Office Books, 1991).

The collection originated from the two former museums. While the Guildhall Museum's collection was made up mainly of antiquities found from the soil of the City of London, which used to be a center of Roman London, the collection of the London Museum was more diverse. While acquiring royal collections on loan through personal relationships with members of the royal family, the museum also collected things which would not find a place in more conventional museums such as the British Museum, following the London Museum's collecting criterion being "only objects found in London and manufactured in London".[8]

Under the Thatcher Government, the MoL faced financial difficulties and increased its awareness of financial and marketing matters early on relative to the WM and the ETH. In the financial year of 1990-1991, the marketing department had already been created. The financial situation improved later. In the 2000s, they successfully raised funds for the renovation of the permanent galleries, which opened in 2010.

Short Description of the Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan

The Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan (ETH)[9] was founded in 1993 and has only 20 years of history. Tokyo did not have a city museum equivalent to the WM and the MoL, with which to present its own history and culture until the opening of the ETH.[10] The ETH is not a general history museum, but a theme-oriented museum concentrating on the theme of popular culture of Edo-Tokyo after 1603. The call for the city museum was initially made by the Mayor of Tokyo and the Tokyo Metropolitan Government (TMG). With abundant financial resources provided during the growth of the economic bubble, its building far exceeds comparison to the WM and the MoL in terms of physical size, with seven floors above ground and two floors underground (Figure 3.1 in the appendix). The museum stands in the *Shitamachi* area, which is regarded as having retained traditional Edo-Tokyo culture, and it is run by the city-funded Tokyo Metropolitan Foundation for History and Culture.[11]

The collection was started after the decision was made to construct the museum. The collection policy was not particularly emphasized in the planning process, but the Edo-Tokyo Museum Act clearly states that the museum is to collect materials concerning Edo-Tokyo's history and culture.[12] The collection of about 500,000 objects/documents cover everything from Important

[8] Catherine Ross, "Collections and Collecting," in *Making City Histories in Museums*, ed. Gaynor Kavanagh and Elizabeth Frostick (London: Leicester University Press, 1998), 118.

[9] Edo was the old name of today's Tokyo as well as of the period when Edo was the center of politics under the rein of the Tokugawa Shogunate (Edo Period/Edo Era). Edo was renamed Tokyo in 1869 after Emperor Meiji moved his palace from Kyoto to Tokyo.

[10] Although there were some plans in the past, they were not realized because of financial reasons and "lack of enthusiasm". See TMG, *Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan Junbi 1983: Tokyo-to Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan Kensetsu Junbi Gaiyō* [The Edo-Tokyo Museum Construction 1983: An Overview of the Construction Planning of the Edo-Tokyo Museum] (Tokyo: Tokyo-to Seikatsu-Bunka Kyoku, 1984), 5.

[11] In 1990, Edo-Tokyo Foundation for History (Edo-Tokyo Rekishi Zaidan) was founded by the TMG to administer the planning and the management of the Museum. It was merged with the Tokyo Culture Promotion Foundation (Tokyo-to Bukna Shinkō kai) to found the Tokyo Metropolitan Foundation for History and Culture (Tokyo to Rekishi Bunka Zaidan) in 1995.

[12] TMG, *Tokyo-to Edo- Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan Jyōrei 1992* [Museum Act 1992], accessed, August 31, 2015,

Cultural Properties (an official state designation) to daily life objects, a part of which have come from citizen donations. Since 2001, the museum has held exhibitions every year to present the donations (which later in the paper I file under the category of "others"). They particularly showcase the development of the collection of daily objects at the ETH, which prides itself on being a museum of the popular culture of Edo-Tokyo.

Like the other two museums above, the ETH has undergone changes in management. A marketing section was to be found for the first time in the annual report of 1999. A flat-rate subsidy system (*Teigaku Hojo Seido)* was introduced in 2000. In 2006, the Designated Administrator System (*Shitei Kanri Seido)* was adopted, and this allows the ETH to be flexible in financial matters; for example, the museum can make long-term plans, stretching over the budget of a financial year. In 2009, an external appraisal took place and a steering committee composed of outside professionals was established.

4.2 The Structure of the Research

This research aims to show which images of the city have been presented most prevalently in city museums since 1980 in three particular cities. This means looking at the presentations of the brand image of the city and the image of the city as the life space of residents, as well as to what extent the direction of the changes in question are globally or locally oriented. In order to answer these questions, I have first examined the existing literature on globalization, cities, and museums. Based on the theories and concepts elaborated in the preceding chapters, I have chosen qualitative content analysis of temporary and permanent exhibitions as the core method of my research. And I have used expert interviews as a secondary method. Although all three research efforts on the city museums in Vienna, London, and Tokyo are independent case studies based on bodies of source literature that are not equal in size or accessibility, there is a basic framework which encompasses the three investigations.

Although qualitative content analysis tends to be thought of as using small samples of text for deeper analysis, Klaus Krippendorff does not see quantification as a defining criterion for content analysis as such.[13] Although I examine over 600 temporary exhibitions and the depth of the analysis of each exhibition is rather limited, my research does not aim to produce a "numerically based summary of a chosen message set."[14] Since I am examining a relatively large amount of data, I actually deduce some numerical facts from the analysis. However, my

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http://www.seikatubunka.metro.tokyo.jp/bunka/jyorei/jyorei/edohaku.pdf.

[13] Klaus Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology* (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1980), 87.

[14] Kimberly A. Neuendorf, *The Content Analysis Guidebook* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 2009), 14.

analysis does not involve counting words, but rather "reading between lines."[15] Therefore, I define content analysis in the manner of Krippendorff where he maintains that "[c]ontent analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use."[16] And my method here stands as an example of this kind of qualitative content analysis.

Data collection at each museum was done over a period of two years. The first round of data collection of temporary exhibitions at WMK was done between the summer of 2011 and autumn of 2012. Data collection at the MoL followed thereafter in the summer and autumn of 2013, and work at the ETM occurred in the winter of 2013 and in the spring of 2014. As I live in Vienna, the time allowed for data collection in London and Tokyo was somewhat limited. However, the structure and procedures for each round of data collection were made as uniform as possible. Firstly, yearly reports from each museum were examined, as they supply the basic general information of the museum's mission, activities, and management. Lists of temporary exhibitions were generated to get overall impressions of themes of the exhibitions. Then, expert interviews were conducted, and all available exhibition catalogues were examined. Permanent exhibitions were also visited during the course of the research. Qualitative content analysis of temporary exhibitions and permanent exhibitions was conducted on the basis of this information. In the following, I first outline qualitative analysis, which is the core method of my research, in the course of which interviews with experts were planned.

Qualitative Content Analysis

Two separately conducted content analyses are made here: one of temporary exhibitions, and the other of permanent exhibitions. The information below elaborates the process of data collection and the inferences at play in both analyses. The reason for examining all temporary exhibitions rather than a small number of sampled exhibitions is to see what it is that forms a "collage" of the image of the city. In order to see the trend over 30 years, all exhibitions should be taken into account, even though the details of each are somewhat neglected, as the diversity of themes is reflected more in combinations of exhibitions rather than within an exhibition. In addition, in relation to other exhibitions, each exhibition could have different meanings from what was originally intended. On the other hand, qualitative analysis of the permanent exhibitions examined a single exhibition more in depth, focusing on the way of presentation. While analyses of temporary exhibitions show the course of changes in the last 30 years, analyses of permanent exhibitions show the summary image of the city presented in museums today. However, as the

[15] Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology* , 20.
[16] Ibid., 18.

permanent exhibition of the WM was created outside of the period concerned in this paper, and since it was long considered old such that it is now about to be replaced, it was not examined in this paper. Instead, I have chosen three temporary exhibitions for deeper content analysis.

Sources of Data Generation

	Sources	
Temporary exhibitions	WM	208 exhibitions catalogues (pamphlets and leaflets), annual reports (1980–2013), pieces of information concerning past exhibitions found online
	MoL	40 exhibitions catalogues, annual reports (1980–2013 (missing one of the year 2001–2002)), information about past exhibitions found online, archival documents (photographs of exhibitions, photographs used in the exhibitions, press releases, proposal documents, communiqués between staff, and photographs)
	ETH	91 exhibition catalogues, annual reports (1993–2013), information about past exhibitions found online, interviews of some museum staff published online, articles written by/on museum staff
Permanent exhibitions	WM	No analysis of permanent exhibitions took place. Instead, the catalogues of three chosen exhibitions, pictures of presentations, and news articles were examined. One of the three exhibitions was visited by the author in person.
	MoL ETH	All exhibits, panels, and captions in permanent exhibitions, exhibition catalogues, institutional documents related to creating/renewing permanent exhibitions, and academic papers written on them

The sources for data generation are shown in the above list. The sources for the analysis of temporary exhibitions are listed hierarchically. When the primary sources in the list were insufficient, I turned to secondary and tertiary sources. The sources for permanent exhibitions are not listed hierarchically, since all possible sources were examined in equal measure. The process of data generation using sources above as well as the processes of inferences at work are all outlined below.

Data Generation

There were three stages of data generation. The first stage only dealt with the analysis of temporary exhibitions with exhibition catalogues. As this included a relatively large amount of information, more work was necessary to systematically unify the data. Therefore, only titles, lists of objects lenders, forewords, introductions, comments from curators, lists and pictures of exhibits, and other relevant essays in the catalogues were examined to find out (1) the purposes, themes and structures of exhibitions, (2) the period of the theme in question (3) who proposed the exhibition, (4) what were the exhibits, and (5) if there was any sponsor. While items (1) (2), and (3) are to be found in most exhibition catalogues, items (4) and (5) are not always clearly recorded. They were checked only when they were available. Any comment regarding images of the city, the role of the city museum, the policy of collection, and any international collaborations were also noted during data collection.

At the second stage, all other sources were examined fully, since there is relatively less information. They were examined following the five points listed above. And this information was added to the data gleaned from exhibition catalogues for analyzing temporary exhibitions.

Using data generated in the first and the second stage, exhibitions were sorted according five categories, and this categorization stands as the third stage. The details of sources available from each museum are given below.

Exhibition Catalogues

With only a few exceptions, catalogues, pamphlets, and leaflets accompanied most exhibitions at the WM. They were mostly produced by the museum and had forewords given by the museum's director or comments from curators, academic essays for better understanding of the theme, and pictures of the exhibited objects. Although director's forewords have became longer and the presentation of the catalogues has changed with the addition of more colors and pictures over the course of time, the basic style of catalogues from the WM has not changed greatly. Over 90% of the catalogues clearly give the aim and the theme of the exhibition, information on the exhibits, sponsors, and benefactors of the exhibits. In comparison to the other two museums, the catalogues of the WM show the museum's voice quite strongly, even with some self-reflection on the organization itself taking place. While this is favorable for my research, I must be very careful to bear in mind that these clearly written statements of purpose could turn out to be nothing more than hollow words. Therefore, the content of the text should be compared with the selection of the exhibits and the structure of the exhibition.

The Museum of London (MoL) publishes catalogues mostly for major exhibitions or exhibitions sponsored by outside bodies, and they are more "de-personalized" with only eight exhibition catalogues containing director's forewords. Directors' or curators' comments on the choice of the theme of exhibitions or the museum itself are not so pronounced. Recent catalogues tend to be of a more referential nature, not exactly following the structure of exhibitions. On the other hand, the catalogues of art exhibitions and photographic exhibitions are created much more like art books containing relatively less text. Therefore, exhibition catalogues cannot be the only sources for the analysis. In order to fill the gap, I have increasingly turned to institutional records and other materials.

One of the characteristics of exhibition catalogues of the ETH is that they seldom refer to the museum itself. Exhibition catalogues are mostly published only for major exhibitions, which tend to be travelling exhibitions. As the catalogues are shared by other museums, the nature of the catalogues becomes more general, for example, the forewords are mostly given in the names of all participating museums. Even for the exhibitions organized by the ETM, there is no director's comment except in a few cases. In the catalogues, pictures of the exhibits dominate, with general explanations at the beginning of each chapter and catalogue structures that mostly follow those of the exhibitions. There are only a few essays from experts. For the purpose of my

study, these catalogues still show the structure and concept of exhibitions very clearly. Although the direct voice of the museum is absent, the image presented in the exhibition is clear and distinct.

Institutional Records

The annual reports of the three museums are all public, therefore, they are addressed by the museums or the Board of Governors, in case of the MoL, to their founding bodies, the local governments, and indirectly to tax payers. They contain short summaries of all activities, including exhibitions, educational programs, outreach programs, research efforts, publications, as well as organizational and fiscal matters. The annual reports of the MoL also contain photographs of temporary exhibitions, which are also valuable resources. Although the main part of my analysis focuses on exhibitions, I rely on annual reports to observe changes in museum management.

In addition to annual reports, archival documents at the MoL were available listed above. I gave priority to press releases and photographs, since they are made after most of the preparation work for an exhibition has been finished, while communiqués between employees were produced mostly during the process of holding exhibitions. Some press releases are also to be found in newspapers, which mostly contain the same wording as the museum records. But they do not always emphasize the same point as the exhibition catalogues do. While the exhibition catalogues are addressed to more knowledgeable people, the purpose of a press release is to address wider audience. Therefore, they are carefully used only when there are no exhibition catalogues or any online sources available.

Other Sources: The Variety of Information Online in Relation to Temporary Exhibitions

All three museums put the records of former temporary exhibitions online. In the case of the ETH, the general concepts and purposes behind all temporary exhibitions since 2002 are to be found, with information on the structures of exhibitions, main exhibits, locations, sponsors and co-producers. In addition, some major exhibitions sponsored by media companies have their own websites. In case of the MoL, the style of the site is more diverse. Some are created in order to preserve records, but others are interactive, where visitors can learn more about an exhibition prior to or after their visit. For exhibitions based on oral histories, some of the collected voices and stories are available online. The WM has put out a list of exhibitions, in which only exhibitions after 2000–2001 contain a summary. They are more descriptive and lack practical information, such as where the exhibition was held or how it was structured, however this information is available in exhibition catalogues.

Despite all of this information, there are still exhibitions that do not have any information. These exhibitions were categorized using titles only.

Data Sources for Analyzing the Permanent Exhibitions

Everything in the space for permanent exhibitions serves as a source for the data generation. Not only is the text in captions or panels, but the structures of the exhibitions, spatial arrangements, the relationships between the exhibits, and the effects of presentation such as lighting or color are also sources of information.[17] Therefore, data generation from the analysis of permanent exhibitions is not so much structured as in the case of data generation for the analysis of temporary exhibitions. Although it is possible to select some objects to analyze visually in order to find hidden meanings or the effects of them, the reason for selecting content analysis is to see what the permanent exhibitions as a whole tell. Therefore, the selection of themes for sections and particular combinations of exhibited objects are far more interesting than the meaning of each single object. In order to add complexity to the analysis, I have visited both permanent exhibitions a second time a year after the main research period in each city.

Categorizing

Using data generated from these sources, at this stage I examined the image of the city presented at each museum without focusing too much on two images of the city, as a brand image and as an image of the city as the life space of residents. It allows me to some extent to avoid "reading" sources purposefully in order to extract data convenient for my research. It is after the third stage of data generation, categorizing, that the two images can be more systematically examined. Therefore, categorizing is also a part of generation system of inference, since each category must provide a sound basis on which the research question regarding the two images of the city might be answered. This process is imperative, since in Krippendorff's definition qualitative content analysis allows us only to infer "more systematic, explicitly informed, and (ideally) verifiable than what ordinary readers do with text."[18] In order to make my research more verifiable and justifiable, it must be explained in what contexts the data can be related to the research questions. Although the image of the city presented in the museum is multifaceted, I identify four elements of the image of the city: social, cultural spatial, and historical. These are some of the contested terrains for representation. According to this classification, I have mainly sorted temporary exhibitions into five categories: "high culture," "popular culture," "landmarks," "collective memory," and "social issues." The exhibitions which do not come under any of these categories

[17] See Jana Scholze, "Kultursemiotik. Zeichenlesen in Ausstellungen," in *Museumsanalyse. Methoden und Konturen eines neuen Forschungsfeldes*, ed. Joachim Baur (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2010).
[18] Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*, 25.

are sorted under the heading of "others." When there are many exhibitions under the category "others" that form another category, new category will be created. In such cases, the new category will be explained in the relevant chapter.

The process of defining categories is open to revision during the process of data generation. As the data of other museums opened up more perspectives, the categories were constantly changing. This also means that the definition of categories in this paper is specific to the three museums rather than being something that might serve for general use. These categories are only analytical and all exhibitions are to some extent mixtures of all elements. Therefore, to draw a line between categories was difficult in some cases. Although each exhibition appears only under one category, some exhibitions are referred in the analysis of other categories when necessary.

High Culture and Popular Culture

I understand the representation of culture as a field of struggle between ideologies, as the use of the term "popular culture" already implies.[19] There are certainly many groups with different ideologies that serve as agents in these struggles.[20] However for analytical practicality, I have limited my scope to two groups of people in relation to the two images of the city: those who benefit from the commodificaiton of the city and those who are ordinary city residents. These two groups can be roughly regarded as agents for high culture and popular culture respectively, although the distinction is not clear-cut as the border between high culture and popular culture has become very much blurred in the last few decades. And it is also possible that popular culture can also be used for the marketing of the city, as happens with film festivals, fashion week events, and the like. As defining popular culture is very complex, I preliminary do so in terms of one of the six definitions given by John Storey, namely that it is "the culture which is left over after we have decided what is high culture."[21] Therefore, it is necessary to define high culture first.

High culture is generally considered to be something highly aesthetic or intellectual whose values transcend space and time, such what happens with paintings, classical music, and literature. However, as high culture is now more and more incorporated into the system of mass consumption, it is no longer confined to the consumption habits of a small group of elites, and the distinction between high culture and popular culture is blurring.[22] However, it cannot be denied that there are still social differences between people who frequently visit art galleries and those who go to the cinema on weekends.

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[19] See John Storey, *An Introduction to Cultural Theory and Popular Culture* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2001).

[20] Gans lists five distinctive groups: conservative, progressive, youth, black, and ethnic divisions, as agents of particular taste cultures. See Herbert J. Gans, *Popular Culture and High Culture: An Analysis and Evaluation of Taste* (New York: Basic Books, 1999).

[21] Storey, *An Introduction to Cultural Theory and Popular Culture*, 5.

[22] See John Storey, *Inventing Popular Culture: From Folklore to Globalization* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003).

As the purpose of this analysis is to see which images from the two different social groups are more represented at the museum, this social difference between high culture and popular culture should be the basis for the definition of these two categories. Creating as well as appreciating high culture requires a certain freedom from daily concerns for survival.[23] According to Bourdieu, "cultural needs are the product of upbringing and education."[24] High culture requires people to reach a certain level of education in order to appreciate them, as their meaning is not directly sensual and as they require certain ways of "decoding" in order to find beauty or meaning in them.[25] Such ways need to be learned through education as well as through forms of social upbringing, and environments of this type could be provided with sufficient economic resources. Therefore, high culture tends to represent the culture of the affluent, who have access to certain social and cultural capital in the form of Habitus, "a system of disposition."[26] And exhibitions which come under this category therefore require visitors to have a certain level of education in order to appreciate things or they are socially recognized as such, and hence they represent a group of people including managerial elites, educated middle class people, professionals, and part of the cultural tourist population, all of whom are targets of the city's brand image.

Under the category of popular culture, on the other hand, come all exhibitions which do not fall under the category of high culture. However, as Storey's other five definitions show, popular culture could also be "a hopelessly commercial culture" or "the culture which originates from 'the people.'"[27] In order to answer the research questions, it is necessary to separate various popular cultures that relate to the differences between two images of the city, since popular culture can also be used as a brand image of the city.

I use the "culture of everyday life" as a sub-category under the category of popular culture to highlight the difference here. What I would particularly like to make clear for the purpose of the investigation are the agencies who are more strongly represented. Agencies producing "a hopelessly commercial culture" tend to be the cultural industry, although "[a]ll the culture industries can do is produce a repertoire of texts or cultural resources for the various formations of the people to use or reject in the ongoing process of producing their popular culture."[28] When commercial culture is represented in museum exhibitions, it is as a repertoire of texts or resources rather than in the actual tactical application/adaptation/rejection of them by people. On

[23] John Fiske, *Understanding Popular Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), 154.
[24] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 1.
[25] Stuart Hall, "Encoding, Decoding," in *The Cultural Studies Reader*, ed. Simon During (London: Routledge, 2001).
[26] Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, 2.
[27] His other four definitions are "culture which is widely favoured or well liked by many people" (6), "mass culture" which can be a "hopelessly commercial culture" (8), "the culture which originates from 'the people'" (10), "as a site of struggle between the 'resistance' of subordinate groups and the forces of 'incorporation' operating in the interest of dominant groups in society" (10-11), and related to postmodern culture which "no longer recognizes the distinction between high and popular culture" (13). Storey, *An Introduction to Cultural Theory and Popular Culture*.
[28] Fiske, *Understanding Popular Culture,* 24

the other hand, everyday life is defined by John Fiske as "constituted by the practices of popular culture, and is characterized by the creativity of the weak in using the resources provided by a disempowering system while refusing finally to submit to that power."[29] Therefore the exhibition representing everyday life focuses on the visibility of individuals or the particularities of daily practices that are more visible in the life space of residences as an actual locus where daily practices take place.

Collective Memory[30]

As the museum deals with the past, all exhibitions are to some extent related to collective memory. However, in this paper, the category of "collective memory" includes exhibitions in which certain historical periods, historical events, and historical personalities are focused. It also includes exhibitions examining the history of certain themes over long periods of time. They tend to be thematically exclusive, as periods, events, and personalities cannot be exhibited from only one perspective, therefore the size of these exhibitions can also be relatively large.

As is shown by Eric J. Hobsbawm, Pierre Nora, and Benedict Anderson,[31] museums play a central role in creating collective memories. This is selective in nature, as the museum tells one story out of countless possibilities. Therefore, in order to see which of the two images an exhibition represents, the criterion comes down to whose version of the story is told to form a collective memory of the city. For example, selecting political events as themes creates the image of the city as a center of political importance, and such histories of the city tend to be told from the perspective of the powerful. On the other hand, telling history of ordinary people, such as oral histories, creates civic images of the city, hence, they present the life space of residents. However, depending on perspective, the former can also represent the life space of residents. If the history of policing is told focusing not on how to control the public but on how the daily life of people is protected, regulated, or invaded by the city's policing and how people deal with them, it would then represent the life space of residents. Therefore, not only the theme but also the perspective from which the past is told must be carefully examined in the analysis of exhibitions within this category.

The selection of a particular period is also indicative of the social consciousness of museums, as the more recent the period being explored is, the more contested the theme might become. It is especially true that themes concerning the period of the last sixty years or so are not easy to deal

[29] Ibid., 47.

[30] I use "collective memory" rather than "history" considering the difference pointed out by Pierre Nora. I would like to emphasize the connectedness of people's present lives to the past, although the museum tends to be seen as presenting history. See Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," in *Representation* 26 (1989), accessed April 21, 2014, http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0734-6018%28198921%290%3A26%3C7%3ABMAHLL%3E2.0.CO%3B2-N.

[31] See Eric J. Hobsbawm ed., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983). Nora "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire." Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1993).

with, as such themes are still within the time of living memory and contestation.[32] Museums with greater numbers of exhibitions dealing with contemporary history could be regarded as more challenging.

Landscape

The category of "Landscape" includes both natural and constructed landscapes of the city. Under the category of landscape fall exhibitions representing various components of the spatial imagination of the city: nature, gardens, buildings, streets, districts, and physical infrastructure. Some of them are real and others are imaginative, but all of these things are not simply out there occupying physical space, but they are loaded with social meanings. Given the different meanings that come with different buildings, people, lifestyles, cultures, and images, space is the battlefield for representation.[33] Creating a museum and gentrifying the surrounding area is, for example, a manifestation of the power of the new cultural economy that has been prompted by the global capitalism. In this way, landscape is a manifestation of power struggles between agencies in the city. However, while shopping malls are places owned by an enterprise or a private/public proprietor and while they apply strategies to control people's taste, consumer habits, and choices of daily life patterns, places like these are not always used in the way that the strategies underlying them originally envisaged; and commodities and their respective meanings can also be consumed in innovative ways.[34] Therefore, all exhibitions presenting the landscape of the city in a dominant mode will be examined to see not only whose space is being presented, but also to see from which perspective certain places are examined.

Social Issues

The category of "Social Issues" includes exhibitions on social and urban problems. Issues of ethnic diversity, sexuality, environment, over-population, aging in society, poverty, energy problems, congestion, etc. come under this category. As social issues are about contestations, the power struggles represented in the exhibitions falling under this category are relatively clear. Questions being asked in this category include: which social issues are being taken up, how deeply and sincerely are the issues examined, and what kind of changes would the museum like to see. As an educational and official institution, the three museums dealt with in this paper show a balanced view on issues, although sympathy for either side might sometimes be manifest.

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[32] As is cited in Footnote 17 in the Chapter 3, some veterans who fought in WWII were emotionally opposed to the new interpretation presented at the Enola Gay Exhibition of the Smithsonian Institute at National Air and Space Museum of the United States. See Zolberg, "Museums as Contested Sites of Remembrance." See also Susan A. Crane, "Memory, Distortion, and History in the Museum," *History and Theory* 36(4) (1997).

[33] See Rosalyn Deutsche, *Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics* (Chicago: Graham Foundation, 1996).

[34] See De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Fiske, *Understanding Popular Culture*.

This category could also show the extent to which museums are connected to contemporary society, and consequently, how much museums are willing to serve as a site for contestation, for discussion, and even for instigating debate. In addition, this category can show what kind of future for society it is that the museums envisage.

Expert Interviews

As qualitative content analyses of over 600 temporary exhibitions and permanent exhibitions form the core of my research, interviews play something of a supportive role. Within the limited time available, I conducted interviews focusing on discerning the direction of the research. Therefore, out of the three forms of expert interviews differentiated by Alexander Bogner and Wolfgang Menz (i.e. exploratory, systematizing, theory-generating),[35] the method chosen in my research was the exploratory expert interview, as "talking to experts in the exploratory phase of a project is a more efficient and concentrated method of gathering data than, for instance, participatory observation or systematic quantitative surveys."[36] In terms of connecting research results concerning the image of the city presented in city museums to the discourse of globalization (cf. Chapter 8), it is especially imperative to find out the relevant variables for the hypothesis. Therefore, being exploratory in nature but having certain information in focus, it should be semi-structured expert interview. However, the expert interview should not be seen as an easy way to collect information. Interviewers need to have sound knowledge to control the conversation and avoid being treated as a layperson.[37] Considering the limits of my knowledge in finance, I have made interview guidelines with more specific questions for interviewing finance directors.

As methodological considerations, the definition of "experts" and "expert knowledge" should be made clear. What I here call expert knowledge is the practical and insider knowledge and experience of people working in a museum. Following the definition of Bogner and Menz, an expert is a person in a more influential and responsible position for setting the orientation, for the planning, or for finding solutions to problems in their professional/vocational field.[38] Therefore, I chose the responsible person in the relevant departments. However, I did not include directors on the list of people to be interviewed for two reasons. Firstly, their views are relatively more available in sources for data generation. Secondly, in the early stages of research, their authoritative power can be dangerous, especially considering that the nature of their work is now

[35] Alexander Bogner and Wolfgang Menz, "Das theoriegenerierende Experteninterview. Erkenntnisinteresse, Wissensformen, Interaktion," in *Das Experteninterview. Theorie, Methode, Anwendung,* ed. Alexander Bogner, Beate Littig and Wolfgang Menz (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2002).
[36] Alexander Bogner , Beate Littig and Wolfgang Menz, "Introduction: Expert Interviews – An Introduction to a New Methodological Debate," in *Interviewing Experts*, ed. Alexander Bogner et al. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 2.
[37] Michaela Pfadenhauer, "Auf gleicher Augenhöhe reden. Das Experteninterview – ein Gespräch zwischen Experte und Quasi-Experte," in *Das Experteninterview. Theorie, Methode, Anwendung,*, ed. Alexander Bogner, Beate Littig and Wolfgang Menz (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2002).
[38] Bogner and Menz, "Das theoriegenerierende Experteninterview. Erkenntnisinteresse," 45-47.

more like that of managers, a type of work of which I have little knowledge. As the purpose of my research concerns exhibitions more than management, interviewing curators is the priority, although the director at the WM is also a curator of many interesting exhibitions. In regard to curators, I have looked at some exhibition catalogues, which are of particular interest concerning images of the city, and I have chosen the curators of those exhibitions.[39]

Before the interviews took place, the theoretical work was already completed. The list of exhibitions and all yearly reports/annual reviews were looked through in order to learn basic information about the work of each museum. Interviews were conducted partly to find connections between these objective data and theoretical work. Interviews have helped to develop, amend, and in some cases even completely rewrite the hypotheses that I formed in the course of my preliminary research.

Originally, the number of the interviewees was 9 (3×3): one curator, one finance director, and one marketing or public relations director from each museum. However, because of practical difficulties in fixing appointments and institutional rules preventing interviews from being recorded,[40] there was no interview at the ETH. There were two interviews at the WM: with one curator and a Director of Press- and Public Work (*Presse– und Öffentlichkeitsarbeit*). There were four interviews at the MoL: one curator, a Finance Director, a Director of Programmes, and a Director of Education. The latter two were added after examining all annual reviews. It was very clear at this point that social programs and educational programs play different roles at the MoL than they do in the other two museums. As these two interviews were outside my original plan, I used more fixed questions for the same reasons as I did interviews with finance directors. The duration of each interview was between thirty and ninety minutes.

The Structure of the Following Three Chapters

The following three chapters are the result of the research undertaken. Using the data sorted according to categories, they are examined in order to see how the city is presented since 1980 under each category. At the end of each chapter, I summarize the presented image of the city in each museum, and find answers to the research question: which is more represented, the commodified city or the life space of residents. Then the reason for the prevailing images will be analyzed in relation to the cultural and developmental policies of the city government. The

[39] I chose exhibitions *Wien in Film. Stadtbilder aus 100 Jahren* (2010) at the WM, *1920s: The Decade that Changed London* (2003), and *The 400 Years of Nihonbashi: The Foremost Landmark of Edo-Tokyo Seen in Art* (2012) at the ETH. One of the curators of the first two exhibitions was interviewed.

[40] There were three more interviews / personal talks which could not be recorded. There was one written communication. From ethical considerations as well as their requests, they will not be named here. However, I owe some insights to them, and would like to show my gratitude.

results of the analyses of the three museums are compared in the concluding chapter (Chapter 8) in relation to globalization.

5 Analysis: Wien Museum

5.1 Temporary Exhibitions

There are three different sizes of temporary exhibitions at the WM. The museum's largest exhibitions were held in the nearby Künstlerhaus,[1] a two-story building. The next largest exhibitions were exhibitions held using two or three special exhibition rooms on the ground, first, and second floors of today's Wien Museum Karlsplatz (WMK) building. Then exhibitions using only the exhibition space on the ground floor comprise the next largest rank, and other exhibitions held in a special exhibition space on the second or the third floor, or in an atrium are the smallest. As the size of each exhibition was not recorded in exhibition catalogues or official Cultural Reports (*Kunst- und Kulturbericht der Stadt Wien*), only exhibitions in the Künstlerhaus were marked in the list in the appendix (List 4).

As many were exhibitions held abroad, I made a special category "international," under which these and exhibitions on foreign cultures fell. This category clearly represents the marketing image of the city. After sorting all exhibitions into categories, I have grouped temporary exhibitions according to the direction period of each director: Robert Waissenberger (1974–1987), Günter Düriegl (1987–2003), and Wolfgang Kos (2003–2015), in order to see changes in theme selection over 35 years. However, below, I will treat Waissenberger's and Düriegl's periods together, comparing them to the period after 2003 under Kos' direction. Firstly, Waissenberger's time cannot be completely analyzed in this thesis. Secondly, his unexpected and sudden death makes it difficult to draw a clear distinction. And finally, from the content analysis, changes under Waissenberger and Düriegl were not as fundamental as those that occurred between them and Kos.

There was no chapter on the WM's permanent exhibition, as it was created outside the period dealt with in this paper. Instead, I looked at three selected exhibitions for more detailed analysis of their presentation.[2] The exhibitions *Traum und Wirklichkeit – Wien 1870-1930* (1985) (under the category collective memory), *Alt-Wien. Die Stadt, die niemals war* (2004) (under the category popular culture) and *Kampf um die Stadt. Politik, Kunst, Alltag um 1930* (2009) (under the category collective memory). They were all held at the Künstlerhaus, and therefore they can be seen as exhibitions into which the museum invested particular energy and importance.

[1] The Künstlerhaus is an exhibition building built between 1865 and 1868 by the Austrian Artists' Society (*Gesellschaft bildender Künstler Österreichs*), which stands near the WMK.

[2] The criteria for choosing these exhibitions are: (1) initiatives for exhibitions must come from the museum, (2) they show a holistic view of the city, (3) the exhibited objects and themes are diverse.

The Number of Temporary Exhibitions

It is clear that the average number of temporary exhibitions has increased, and this is especially after the years 1990 and 2002, which saw leaps from four to six per year on average and from six to nine respectively (Table. 1.1). Over thirty years, the number of temporary exhibitions in the same museums has doubled, which is quite significant. As Kos put in the Cultural Report of 2003, the WMK needed to attract more attention from the media to establish their position in the Viennese museum landscape, as the museum landscape has become more crowded, the competition has become severe for each museum.[3] Furthermore, the "Ausgliederung" (cf. Chapter 4) in 2002 required more self-reliance from the city museum. Increasing the number of temporary exhibitions by introducing smaller and shorter exhibitions was one of the strategies undertaken to increase the museum's publicity and its visitor numbers.

5.1.1 High Culture

High culture exhibitions were dominant (over 42%) at the Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien (HMdSW), while they currently represent 27% of the temporary exhibitions at the Wien Museum Karlsplatz (WMK). As the Wien Museum (WM) holds relatively good collections of art, this presents a natural way for it to identify and brand itself, plus there is an obligation to show this art collection to the public.[4] However, considering that the HMdSW was not an art museum but a history museum, 42% is an unusually high proportion. Even 27% at the WMK is a high proportion compared to all other categories, coming in second to popular culture (35%). This reflects Kos' policy of "Kunst Plus."[5] Since there were so many exhibitions on high culture, I divided them into paintings/sketches, photographs, and others in what follows.

Paintings/Sketches

Painting/Sketches is the dominant genre, making up about 52% of the category. Although high culture exhibitions were reduced in their relative proportion at the WMK, exhibitions on painting/sketches still make up 33% of the category. They are still visibly important at the WMK.

Before 2003: The Shift from the Brand Image of "Wien um 1900" to Contemporary Arts

[3] Magistrat der Stadt Wien, *Kunst- und Kulturbericht der Stadt Wien (2003)* (Vienna: Magistrat der Stadt Wien, 2004), 148-149. In Vienna, the "MuseumsQuartier" was founded in 1990.
[4] The collection dates back to 1894, when the museum received the donation of the collection of the Duke of Liechtenstein. The museum also has the largest collection of Klimt sketches.
[5] See WM, "Unser Leitbild," accessed July 24, 2015, http://www.wienmuseum.at/de/ueber-uns/unser-leitbild.html.

As the list of exhibitions with paintings/sketches is very long, I sorted them according to the active period of the artist presented in exhibitions. In Table 1.2, it is clear that artists around 1900 (Wien um 1900) were dominant themes until 1991, but that they faded after that. As will be shown in Chapter 5.1.3, the HMdSW had an enormous influence on popularizing the theme "Wien um 1900" with its hugely successful exhibition *Traum und Wirklichkeit* (1985) visited by 600,000 people. The theme "Wien um 1900" could have had great appeal in attracting visitors to the museum in the 1990s. However, the theme was set aside relatively quickly. This tendency is also seen in all categories except for exhibitions abroad (cf. Chapter 5.1.6). This indicates that the museum did not cling to the successful branding of "Wien um 1900," but moved on to explore contemporary arts. The theme came back to the list only after 2003.

On the contrary, since 1989, there were ten contemporary art exhibitions altogether. Most painters were Austrians, connected to the city through their birth, education, and/or profession. The first exhibition on contemporary arts, *Arnulf Rainer* from 1989, was an international touring exhibition. From the "Acknowledgements" in the catalogue to the exhibition, it is clear that financial support largely came from Austria and Vienna.[6] The exhibition was a sign of the city's (and probably Austria's) great interest in showing contemporary Austrian arts in Vienna as well as abroad in order to foster new creativity within the city and a new modern image *of* the city. However, the question is how contemporary art exhibitions were related to the city and its people, as the relationship between contemporary arts and contemporary Vienna was ambiguous.

Certainly, artists dealt with in those exhibitions have close ties with the city, and some paintings were the critical reflections of the life of the city. For example, *Franz Zadrazil. Wien-Bilder 1968–1993* (1993) exhibited Zadrazil's paintings of the "Vorstadt"[7] where he grew up. He painted the façades of buildings, local shops, casinos, and nightclubs, which made up the cityscapes of his childhood and were already disappearing at the time of the exhibition. This exhibition presented the painter's personal experience and life space as a resident. However, except for this, it is very difficult to see any close relation between works of painters in other contemporary art exhibitions to the city itself without presuming a high degree of informed contemplation on the part of viewers, as the paintings in those exhibitions were mostly abstract and/or did not directly depict cityscapes or urban life. In *Adam und Anima. Rudolf Hausner – 80 Jahre* (1994), Hausner was introduced as an artist whose work represents "Vienna, a city of complex identity, a hard but fertile ground for artistic talent,"[8] however his paintings are surreal.

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[6] Tomas Krens, "Acknowledgments," in *Arnulf Rainer*, ed. Rudi H. Fuchs (Vienna: ARGE Wimmer & [u.] Sailer, 1989), 7–8.

[7] The "Vorstadt" is made up of the areas outside of the ring road (*Ringstraße*) and the Beltway (*Gürtel*) in Vienna.

[8] "Wien, eine Stadt von komplizierter Identität, ein harter, aber fruchtbarer Boden für künstlerische Talente, hat in Professor Rudolf Hausner einen Künstler hervorgebracht, der die Herausforderung seiner Geburtsstadt annahm." Helmut Zilk, "Vorwort" to *Adam und Anima. Rudolf Hausner – 80 Jahre*, ed. Renata Kassal-Mikula (Vienna: HMdSW, 1994), 4.

The exhibition *Florentina Pakosta* (1995) also presented highly abstract paintings. Those exhibitions gave artistic and creative images to the city, but did not show the city itself.

Considering the number of contemporary art exhibitions, the museum or the director must have had a strong belief in holding art exhibitions being a role of the WM. In the catalogue to the exhibition *Johann II. von und zu Liechtenstein. Ein Fürst beschenkt Wien 1894-1916* (2003), which was probably one of the last exhibitions with which Düriegl was involved, he wrote, "I thank her [the curator],[9] as she showed how indispensable it is to show arts as arts in a history museum. Aesthetic education is a demand on the museum which nothing could revoke."[10] He also explained the reason for presenting Franz Rosei's sculpture in the museum, as his works could be not rationally understood but rather that they were to be emotionally and aesthetically experienced.[11] Furthermore, he understood the museum's collection as "an indispensable archive for the cultural achievement of human being."[12] But considering how popular culture, especially the culture of everyday life, is not represented very much during his directing period (cf. Chapter 5.1.5), his view of cultural achievement of human beings would seem not to include everyday culture but aesthetic high culture. Although generalization is risky, the comments by Albrecht Goeschel summarized by Michael Wimmer on the generation born in the 1930s as understanding art and culture as the representation of timeless values deprived of subjectivity in opposition to an arduous everyday life best describe Düriegl's attitude toward the arts.[13]

At the same time, such repeated comments on the importance of presenting high arts in a history museum in exhibition catalogues[14] give an impression of slight overstatement, hence some uneasiness about it is shown. This could suggest that there might have been different ideas within the museum, considering that Düriegl's comments on the museum were rather detached from the active theoretical debates on museums in the New Museology (cf. Chapter 3). Especially since 2000, when more themes on popular culture started to appear on the list of temporary exhibitions (cf. Chapter 5.1.5), there could have been some tension between Düriegl and people who understand arts and culture in a broader sense. This will be examined in Chapter 5.2.

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[9] Curator was Renata Kassal-Mikula. Günter Düriegl, "Dank," in *Johann II. von und zu Liechtenstein. Ein Fürst beschenkt Wien. 1894-1916*, ed. HMdSW (Vienna: HMdSW, 2003), 4.

[10] "Ich danke ihr [der Kuratorin], weil sie damit zeigt, wie unverzichtbar es ist, Kunst als Kunst auch in einem Geschichtsmuseum zu zeigen: Ästhetische Erziehung ist eine durch nichts aufhebbare Forderung an das Museum." Ibid., 4.

[11] Günter Düriegl, "Vorwort" to *Franz Rosei. Skulpturen 1970–2000*, by Franz Rosei (Vienna: HMdSW, 2001), 7.

[12] "Die Sammlungen des Museums sind das unverzichtbare Archiv für die kulturellen Errungenschaften des Menschen." Magistrat der Stadt Wien, *Kunst- und Kulturbericht der Stadt Wien (1998)* (Vienna: Magistrat der Stadt Wien, 1999), 38.

[13] See Michael Wimmer, *Kultur und Demokratie. Eine systematische Darstellung von Kulturpolitik in Österreich* (Innsbruck: StudienVerlag, 2011), 272.

[14] He also stated that the museum is the right place for presenting Kurt Welther's paintings of women, since the most important theme for the museum is the human being, and his works represent threatened human existence. See Günter Düriegl, "Einstimmung," in *Kurt Welther, Frauen*, ed. HMdSW (Vienna: HMdSW, 2001) (no page number given).

"Wien um 1900" Returns after 2003

After 2003, it is very interesting to see that the number of contemporary exhibitions decreased and that the theme "Wien um 1900" was back at the WMK. "Wien um 1900" was the theme for four art exhibitions out of nine since 2003. In contrast, there was no contemporary art exhibition at the WMK. However, this cannot simply be read as a return of the brand "Wien um 1900." The perspective on the art of the period around 1900 is different to the one seen in the 1980s.

In the 1980s, three exhibitions (on Egon Schiele [1981], Oskar Kokoschka [1982] and Gustav Klimt [1984]) were organized with a great deal of help from private art collector Serge Sabarsky, who showed his collection at the HMdSM. In the exhibition *Richard Gerstl (1833-1908)* (1983), which showed a little-known painter from the period around 1900, most objects were not from the HMdSW's own collection.[15] There was therefore a tendency where loaned objects were the major attractions of exhibitions on the theme "Wien um 1900." In comparing the two exhibitions on Klimt's sketches in 1984 and 2012, the trend is also clear that the former showed more objects on loan from the United States, while the latter mostly exhibited the museum's own collection, which until then had little chance to be presented to the public.

And most importantly, while all exhibitions in the 1980s on "Wien um 1900" and other art exhibitions before 2003 were centered on the artistic quality of works and on artists' biographies, exhibitions after 2003 put artworks/artists in wider socio-cultural contexts, and were characterized more by an interdisciplinary orientation.[16] For example, the exhibition *Makart* (2011) had the subtitle "An artist ruled the city" (*Ein Künstler regiert die Stadt*). The foreword by the director began with a description of society, contrasting the old and the new, the poor and the affluent, in metropolitan Vienna of the time.[17] Although the exhibition was a co-operative effort with the Belvedere and the Künstlerhaus, the underlining theme of the exhibition was the relationship between the artist and society, examining the artist's influence on cultural scene as a trendsetter and the reasons for the artist's popularity in dynamic society with the rising bourgeois. The exhibition also analyzed the artist's self-marketing strategies.[18] Marketing is a new perspective that was probably brought in by the new director Kos, who had long experience in journalism. With this perspective, activities of artists were analyzed as being closely bounded to the society the artist lived in, reflecting also the sense of value of contemporary society, in which marketing has a considerable power. Such perspectives were also the theme for the exhibition *Schiele & Roessler. Der Künstler und sein Förderer – Kunst und Networking im frühen 20.*

[15] In the catalogue, only 6 out of 43 works were from the HMdSW.

[16] This difference could also be seen in comparing two exhibitions on Kinetismus: *Kinetismus. Wien entdeck die Avantgarde* (2006) and *Franz Cizek – Pionier der Kunsterziehung (1865–1946)* (1985). The former was concerned mostly with Franz Cizek's biography and his education. The latter was focused on his painting in the background of the artistic trends and education of his time.

[17] Wolfgang Kos, "Vorwort" to *Makart. Ein Künstler regiert die Stadt*, ed. Ralph Gleis (Munich: Prestel, 2011), 6.

[18] Ralph Gleis, "*Makart. Ein Künstler regiert die Stadt. Zur Ausstellung*," in *Makart. Ein Künstler regiert die Stadt*, ed. Ralph Gleis (Munich: Prestel, 2011), 15–16.

Jahrhundert (2004). This exhibition aimed at examining iconic artworks the museum owns from contemporary perspectives. To wit:

> During the planning of the exhibition, we consciously bring in today's customary terms such as "promotion," "agent," "manager," "image construction" or "networking," in order to illustrate the constellation of the early 20th century with their catalytic effects.[19]

Themes dealing with the period 1900 were taken up with full attention being given to different images. Those exhibitions could be understood as contrasting with the old exhibitions from the 1980s, in order to show topics from different angles.

However, it should not be forgotten that the theme "Wien um 1900" is still one of the best selling points of the city, and these exhibitions were still more like arts exhibitions with paintings at the center in their presentation. Therefore, arts exhibitions at the WMK could be understood as re-interpreting the brand "Wien um 1900" with new keywords like "marketing" and "networking," which are fashionable terms in contemporary capitalist society, using the same historical materials. Nevertheless, re-imagining the theme popularized by the HMdSW shows the WMK's strong self-awareness as a new museum as well as objective reflections on the need of their work to be more related to contemporary society.

Photographs

As is shown in List 1.1, there was only one artistic photographic exhibition before 2003, while there were seven artistic photographic exhibitions at the WMK. This clearly shows a democratization of the definition of arts and artists at the WMK. In addition, the handling of photographers was different between the two periods. For example, in the exhibition *Erich Lessing. Die ersten fünfzig Jahre Fotografien 1943–1993* (1994), his photographs and his biography were not contextualized in relation to the culture and society in which his photographs were produced. But in the exhibition *Trude Fleischmann – Der selbstbewusste Blick* (2011), the museum's intention was described as follows.

> To present Trude Fleischmann is to present a star photographer whose pictures always embody a piece of Vienna's cultural history. The exhibition concept deliberately avoids presenting an isolated solo artist and instead places her biography and oeuvre in a social context.[20]

[19] "Bewusst haben wir bei der Planung dieser Ausstellung heute übliche Begriffe wie 'Promotion', 'Agent', 'Manager', 'Imageaufbau' oder 'Networking' ins Spiel gebracht, um mit ihrer Katalysatorwirkung Konstellationen des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts zu veranschaulichen." Kos "Vorwort" to *Makart*, 7.

[20] Wolfgang Kos, Foreword to *Trude Fleischmann. A Self-Assured Eye*, ed. Anton Holzer and Heile Herrberg (Vienna: WM, 2011), 7. (Originally in English.)

She was seen as a part of wider cultural circle of her time, and her career as female photographer presenting a photographic series of the naked expressionist dancer Claire Bauroff and contemporary intellectuals made it so she was seen as one of the newly admired women who strived for their emancipation in her time. This perspective of "artist set in the society" was also seen in the analysis of painting/sketches exhibitions given above.

Others

It is clear from List 1.2 that the trends detected above mostly apply: there were seven exhibitions on "Wien um 1900" until 1991, then there came many contemporary art exhibitions. After 2003, there was a comeback of the theme "Wien um 1900."

The most remarkable characteristic in the list is that architecture was a dominant theme at the HMdSW. Since 1987 (after the directorship went from Waissenberger to Düriegl), exhibitions on architecture increased suddenly. Düriegl regarded architecture exhibitions as a tradition of the HMdSW,[21] as there were close co-operative efforts between architects such as Hans Hollein and Boris Podrecca and the HMdSW in exhibitions like *Die Türken vor Wien – Europa und die Entscheidung an der Donau 1683* (1983), *Traum und Wirklichkeit* (1985), and *Bürgersinn und Aufbegehren. Biedermeier und Vormärz in Wien 1815-1848* (1987).[22] It was especially the case with *Traum und Wirklichkeit* that the role of the architect Hans Hollein was significant, as he was responsible for the overall presentation on a conceptual level, which led to the impressive aesthetics of the exhibition (cf. Chapter 5.1.3). This close relationship could partly be because architecture was often a hotly theme debated in Vienna as well as in the wider world.[23] However, as most architecture exhibitions fell under the category of high arts rather than landscape, the museum mostly reacted to the intellectual demands of people who have more interest in the aesthetic and technical aspects of architecture, rather than its role in space politics. It is in the exhibition *Das ungebaute Wien 1800–2000. Projekte für die Metropole* (1999) (cf. Chapter 5.1.2) that the relationship between architecture and space politics was shown analytically.

After 2003, architecture exhibitions did not focus on contemporary "prominent" architects, but examined rather sober architecture built after the break down of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, putting it in the context of the social background of the time. Especially significant was the exhibition *Werkbundsiedlung Wien 1932. Ein Manifest des neuen Wohnens* (2012), which was mainly concerned with the two-month model house exhibition that became later a housing estate.

[21] Magistrat der Stadt Wien, *Kunst- und Kulturbericht der Stadt Wien (1993)* (Vienna: Magistrat der Stadt Wien, 1994), 71. Magistrat der Stadt Wien, *Kunst- und Kulturbericht der Stadt Wien (1995)* (Vienna: Magistrat der Stadt Wien, 1996), 62.

[22] Hans Hollein was in charge of the presentation of the former two exhibitions, and Boris Podrecca was responsible for the latter.

[23] Recent example in Vienna was the debate on the new building of the MuseumsQuartier. See Monika de Frantz, *Capital City Cultures: Reconstructing Contemporary Europe in Vienna and Berlin* (Brussels: Lang, 2011).

The exhibition situated the Werkbundsiedlug exhibition in the wider context of the period, analyzing it in relation to the contemporary dominant housing and lifestyle programmed by the so-called Red Vienna movement, the contemporary trend focusing on functionality, the influence of the Great Depression, and the emerging power of National Socialism. At the same time, it showed the exhibition's marketing role for the Viennese-designed furniture that decorated the houses.

> In the First Republic, it ["der Österreichische Werkbund"] was an important cultural political power, which developed quality-rich figures for modern society. Architecture, art, and artistic handicrafts became synergized. The intersection between arts, industry, and handicrafts was newly discussed, and individual design in each realm was contrasted with the industrial mass productions made for the wider population. 24

One finds in the citation above an echo of today's cultural economy, and the selection of the theme indicates the museum's interest in the creative industries.

While there was no comeback of the theme "Wien um 1900" in regard to architecture, "Wien um 1900" came back with more focus on design. In Vienna, for a long time it was not designers but architects, who were more trusted in relation to design.[25] It was only recently that designers have begun to receive more attention in Vienna. Vienna Design Week started in 2007 and it can be seen as embodying such changes. The small installation in the permanent exhibition space *Loosgelöst. Eine Installation des Designers Robert Stadler im „Looszimmer" im Wien Museum* (2008) was a contribution to the event.

"Wiener Werkstätte" became a theme in exhibitions *Kreative Dichte – Die Wiener Werkstätte* (2003) and *Glanzstücke – Emilie Flöge und der Schmuck der Wiener Werkstätte* (2008). While the one in 2003 was on occasion of the 100th anniversary of Wiener Werkstätte and emphasis was put on showing the museum's collection of the production community to the public, the focus of the latter was not on jewelry as objects made of valuable materials, but on the values of ideas.[26] The exhibition also skillfully combined the Wiener Werkstätte with Klimt's painting of Emilie Flöge. She was famous for her long, multi-year relationship with Klimt and for wearing jewelry from the Wiener Werkstätte, and the painting is one of the most important artworks of the museum. Many objects were on loan from the private museum Neue Galerie New York to be shown for the first time in Austria, and all of the jewelry given as gifts from Klimt to Flöge was

[24] "In der Ersten Republik war er [der Österreichische Werkbund] eine wichtige kulturpolitische Kraft, die für die moderne Gesellschaft qualitätsvolle Gestaltungen erarbeitete. Architektur, Kunst und Kunsthandwerk wirkten zusammen, das Miteinander von Kunst, Industrie und Handwerk wurde neu diskutiert, das individuelle Design für den Einzelnen dem industriellen Massenprodukt für die breite Bevölkerung gegenübergestellt." Andreas Nierhaus und Eva-Maria Orosz, "Die Wiener Werkbundsiedlung 1932/2012," in *Werkbundsiedlung Wien 1932. Ein Manifest des neuen Wohnens*, ed. Andreas Nierhaus and Eva-Maria Orosz (Vienna: WM, 2012), 13.

[25] Tulga Beyerle and Peter Stuiber, "On the exhibition 2000–2010. Design in Vienna," in 2000–10, *Design in Vienna*, ed. Tulga Beyerle (Vienna: Metroverlag, 2010), 13.

[26] Wolfgang Kos, "Vorwort/Zur Ausstellung," in *Glanzstücke. Emilie Flöge und der Schmuck der Wiener Werkstätte*, ed. Paul Asenbaum and Wolfgang Kos et al. (Stuttgart: Arnoldsche Art Publication, 2008), 9.

also shown at the exhibition. The marketing image of the city "Wien um 1900" is clearly emphasized in this category with new images of modern creative designs.

5.1.2 Landscape

Interest in landscapes increased after 2006, as there were eleven exhibitions within eight years, while landscape was a relatively minor theme in the 1980s and 1990s. Natural geographical characteristics such as the Danube (*die Donau*), the Vienna River (*der Wienfluss*), the Vienna Woods (*der Wienerwald*) were seldom the theme of exhibitions.[27]
In what follows, I have grouped entries in the lists cityscape with landmarks, Vienna as a whole, and focus on specific places.

Cityscape with Landmarks

Under Düriegl's direction, actual landmark buildings were not presented all that much. One exception in the list (List 1.3) was the exhibition *850 Jahre St. Stephan. Symbol und Mitte in Wien 1147–1997* (1997). As St. Stephen's Cathedral (*Stephansdom*) has been the center of the Vienna's cityscape over centuries, it is a very important theme for the museum.[28] The exhibition was one of a series of exhibitions organized by the city to celebrate its 850th anniversary, and the exhibition chronologically presented events related to the cathedral during its 850-year history. It resembles blockbuster exhibitions under the collective memory category such as *Traum und Wirklichkeit* (1985) with its exclusive content, which was characteristic of the HMdSW in the 1980s (cf. Chapter 5.1.3). In addition, the exhibition focused on the history of the cathedral as a "symbol and center of yarning for indivisible humanity."[29] St. Stephen's Cathedral was regarded not as a symbol of the city of Vienna, but of humanity. It is to some extent reasonable, as it is a religious building. However, it could be said that the tendency of the period toward putting humanity or universal values over the city of Vienna and its residents typical of Düriegl's period is to be seen here as well.
In the period of Düriegl's direction, there were two exhibitions on unrealized plans: *Otto Wagner und das Kaiser-Franz-Josef-Stadtmuseum. Das Scheitern der Moderne in Wien* (1988) and *Das ungebaute Wien.* (1999). The former showed not only an unrealized plan for the museum

[27] The exhibition *Die Donau. 1000 Jahre Österreich – Eine Reise* (1996), which took place on the occasion of the millennium of Austria's existence, was the only exhibition organized by the museum on the theme the river Danube, but it was exhibited outside of the museum focusing on national identity. The Danube is probably associated more with the monarchy than it is with the city of Vienna. There was also an exhibition on the Vienna River in 1980, *Der Wienfluss*.
[28] There was a section on St. Stephen's Cathedral in the permanent exhibition at WMK, which is now under redevelopment.
[29] "St. Stephan ist Symbol und Mitte jener Sehnsucht nach unteilbarer Humanität, die zu erringen es des Zusammenspiels von menschlicher Vernunft und menschlichem Gefühl bedarf." Günter Düriegl, "'Sant Steffans thurn und stifft. Mit Kunst die andern überdrift' (Hans Sachs)," in *850 Jahre St. Stephan. Symbol und Mitte in Wien 1147-1997*, ed. Renata, Kassal-Mikula (Vienna: HMdSW, 1997), 4.

building by Otto Wagner, but it also conveys a slight sense of a resentment toward the past for its rejection of the plan which "could have conveyed till today the historic and cultural identity of Vienna in an exemplary way."[30] Considering that the exhibition was held on the occasion of celebrations for the hundredth anniversary of the museum, the selection of such a theme indicates a lack of positive esteem for the current modern building by Oswald Haerdtl,[31] and it is reflected the HMdSW's nostalgic self-identification with the theme "Wien um 1900," which was characteristic of the HMdSW up to 1991.

On the other hand, the latter was based more on the realization of the space politics. Presenting unrealized plans chronologically alongside their reasons for being rejected showed the various conflicting ideas concerning the physical outlook of the city and possible political influences on selecting the final plans of each period. A variety of unrealized plans could also make visitors realize that the cityscape today is also a result of certain politics of space. However, as all buildings in those exhibitions were never realized, Vienna's actual cityscape, with its symbolic buildings, was not strongly represented.

There were four exhibitions at the WMK on landmarks of the city. The exhibition *Wiens erstes Hochhaus – eine Stadterregung. Dokumentation in der Vitrine des Hochhauses* (2006) was about the first tower block in Vienna, a building which was only a 50 m high (16 stories) and which caused fevered public debates at the time of its construction in the early 1930s. Such themes could evoke visitors' interest in the history of the battle over cityscapes. In the same year, there was the first exhibition on public transit stations at the WMK, *Grosser Bahnhof. Wien und die weite Welt* (2006). As most historical stations have now vanished from Vienna, this exhibition could also be seen as presenting lost landmarks. However, they have once existed and their existence nonetheless reflected the social situations of the period. Therefore, while monumental architecture, building techniques, construction developments, and station demolitions were chronologically presented, the underlining concept of the exhibition was the stations' social meaning and their impact, such as in changing the spatial perception of people, in the acceleration in the pace of life, and in new movements of people. It was more about the history of the city's development and changes in society through the history of these stations. There was little nostalgic feeling toward the stations that have now disappeared from the Viennese cityscape. It was rather future looking. Kos mentioned in his foreword how little conscious people are about what the construction of the new Vienna Central station means, and so this

[30] "Mit der Verneinung seines baukünstlerischen Wollens verneinte man auch jene Ideen, die Wagners Bau zu einem Museum gemacht hätten, das durch großzügige Planung und multifunktionale Nutzung die historisch-kulturelle Identität Wiens in einer auch heute noch beispielhaften Weise vorgetragen hätte." Günter Düriegl, "Vorwort" to *Otto Wagner und das Kaiser-Franz-Josef-Stadtmuseum. Das Scheitern der Moderne in Wien*, by Peter Haiko (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1988), 9.

[31] In the exhibition *Hundert Jahre Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien*, which also celebrated the 100th anniversary, the building received no particular focus, while there was an exhibition called *Fifty Fifty – Kunst im Dialog mit den 50er Jahren* (2009) on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the museum building, in which the cultural value of the building was positively examined.

exhibition had a very contemporary dimension, encouraging visitors to think about the meaning of it.[32] In addition, the choice of transit stations as a theme for the exhibition itself indicates the perspective shifted from static pictures of the city to more dynamic ones, as stations represent movement, meeting, and the passing of people with connections to the world outside of the city. Selecting such a theme could give an image of the city not confined to certain geographical/administrative areas, but characterized by connectivity, which could be seen as reflecting a perception of space in the age of globalization.

The exhibition *Der Dombau von St. Stephan – Die Originalpläne aus dem Mittelalter* (2011), on the other hand, was primarily about the construction of the cathedral. Presenting the original plans of the construction, which were now registered as part of the documentary heritage of the peoples of the world by UNESCO in 2005, it showed the history of the cathedral's construction focusing on its financial and technical background. Showing valuable objects from the collection and research work of the museum on the medieval era is very important. However, even in such exhibitions, the museum's constant efforts to re-interpret history is to be seen in a rather awkward small additional chapter about the history of St. Stephen being a symbol of the city in the exhibition's catalogue.[33]

Vienna as a Whole

The exhibitions in List 1.4 presented Vienna with various places or scenes captured in vedute, films, and photographs, with which exhibitions tried to show Vienna as a whole with various elements of landscapes. Interestingly, they all included not only landmarks or symbolic places in the inner city, but also the "Vorstadt" and the daily lives of people. With photographs and films, ordinary people and their life space were most visible in the exhibitions at both the HMdSW and the WMK that fall under this category.

While vedute presented in the exhibition *Der Verlag Artaria – Veduten und Wiener Alltagsszenen* (1981) showed Vienna with more staged daily landscapes of the city for propaganda purposes intending to show the city as new and modern,[34] other exhibitions with photographs and films were clear in their intentions to show the city in its diversity. All of the exhibitions showed various places in Vienna from various times, and they presented ordinary people, places for residents' daily activities, and hidden places along with famous landmarks and inner city as elements forming the whole picture of Vienna. And the exhibition *Wien am Screen*

[32] Wolfgang Kos, "Vorworte/Dank," in *Grosser Bahnhof. Wien und Die weite Welt*, ed. Wolfgang Kos and Günter Dinhobl (Vienna, WM and Czernin Verlag, 2006), 20.
[33] Wolfgang Kos, "Erkennbarkeit garantiert. Bildgeschichte des Stephansdomes von 1500 bis heute," in *Der Dombau von St. Stephan. Die Originalpläne aus dem Mittelalter*, ed. Michaela Kronberger and Barbara Schedl (Vienna: Metroverlag, 2011), 112–119.
[34] Robert Waissenberger, "Vorwort" to *Der Verlag Artaria. Veduten und Wiener Alltagsszenen*, ed. HMdSW (Vienna: HMdSW, 1981), 5.

– *Eine filmische Spurensuche von Schüler/Innen* (2012) even included students' perspectives as filmmakers recording cityscapes of the present. *Wien am Screen* indicated that the museum started to regard films as a means for documenting contemporary society, and this could be seen as a positive step forward, with the museum not only conserving records from the past, but proactively creating records of people today.[35] But, overall, the life space of residents was visible both in periods before and after 2003, probably because photographers already found peripheries to be attractive subjects for their work beginning in the 1980s.[36]

However, they were put under the title "Wien" and became a component of the whole image of the city. On the contrary, the exhibitions in List 1.5 focused not on Vienna as a whole, but on specific places in Vienna. And this explains the increase in the number of exhibitions falling under this category after 2007, therefore the difference between before after 2003 as well.

Focus on Specific Places

Michael Zwetkoff – Neue Donau – Neue Welt. Fotografien aus dem Jahr 2001 (2002) was the first exhibition which focused on newly developed leisure areas and showed people enjoying their free time on Danube Island (*Donauinsel*). When the city was predominantly imagined in terms of cultural and historical heritage of humanity under Düriegl, presenting a contemporary leisure area as a main subject indicated that the shift of perspective had already occurred before 2003. Following this exhibition, places such as swimming pools, holiday destinations outside Vienna, Erdberg, Morzinplatz, and Schwedenplatz became themes of exhibitions under Kos's direction after 2003.[37]

Focusing on specific places rather than the city as a whole could mean that the museum sees the city as more fragmentary with various places with different characteristics, histories, and complexities. For example, the exhibition *Platz für die Stadt. Morzinplatz/Schwedenplatz – Projekte und Perspektiven* (2011) showed how a place in the city center developed over the years as a part of city planning after the devastation of World War II. Comparing the development of Morzinplatz/Schwedenplatz to the changing landscape of the southeastern edge of the city with industrial buildings or houses being built for workers since the 1960s, which was shown in the exhibition *Elfriede Mejchar – Fotografien von den Rändern Wiens* (2008), it became clear that cityscapes of Vienna were quite diverse and that they were experiencing

[35] A similar trend was already detected in the 1980s at the MoL(cf. Chapter 6.1.6).

[36] Lisa Wögenstein, "Die Stadt im Blick," in *Wiener Linien. Kunst und Stadtbeobachtung seit 1960*, ed. Wolfgang Kos, et al. (Vienna: Folio Verlag, 2004), 17.

[37] Outside of the list, there are also one more exhibition related to specific places in the city, *Der Michaelerplatz. Von den canabae legionis zu einem biedermeierzeitlichen Malerwerkplatz* (2004) (under the category of "others"). It was an archaeology exhibition with finds from the Roman ruins found at the site.

different changes. Therefore, focusing on specific places could be regarded as showing the museum's consciousness of such variety.

The exhibition *Um die Schule herum ist Erdberg – Eine Ausstellung der 3A* (2011) showed what is probably another turning point. This small exhibition showed the film work of schoolchildren researching the area around their school in Erdberg. It was participatory, and the perceptions of ordinary people who passed through certain places were made part of the exhibition. The exhibition *Wien Aussen – Ein Fotoprojekt von Didi Sattmann* (2013), which showed the periphery of the city "through atmosphere and social constellations" and "through gesture and pose of people,"[38] clearly demonstrated how the museum now perceives the cityscape. Ordinary people and their life space became the theme of an exhibition, with clear recognition that they form the city.[39]

In contrast to those smaller exhibitions above, an interesting instance of considering landscape came with how Karlsplatz was thematized in the exhibition *Am Puls der Stadt – 2000 Jahre Karlsplatz* (2008). As the museum is situated in Karlsplatz, it is a very reasonable choice. However, considering that Karlsplatz is not only cultural and touristic, with institutions such as the Musikverein and Karlskirche, but it has also often been associated with drug dealing and homeless people in the images communicated by mass media, this choice of theme requires sensitivity to contradictions and plurality. But such negative sides were a little bit overshadowed by the entire history of the place, with only a small space being given to such current issues.[40] In addition, this exhibition could be regarded as a sign of the museum's active participation in the project "Kunstplatz Karlsplatz" promoted by the city.[41] The image of the place was created with it being center of cultural activities and a center of the city's traffic network, while the place as a life space is rather secondary. The place marketing of the museum's location would also benefit the improvement of the image of the WMK itself. Considering that there were three exhibitions after 2003 on the theme related to places for leisure activities and tourism (2004, 2007 and 2011 entries under the category of popular culture), place is more and more seen in relation to tourism and leisure activities after 2003, while a variety of landscapes has also been recognized at the WMK.

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[38] "Die „Peripherie" wird weniger über die Topografie als durch Atmosphäre und soziale Konstellationen erfahrbar – und durch Gesten und Posen der Menschen. " WM, "Wien Aussen – Ein Fotoprojekt von Didi Sattmann," accessed September 12, 2015, http://www.wienmuseum.at/de/aktuelle-ausstellungen/ansicht/wien-aussenein-fotoprojekt-von-didi-sattmann.html.

[39] *Im Vorbeigehen . Ein Fotoprojekt der Gruppe „Blickfänger"* (2006), which falls under the category of popular culture, also showed people as central objects of photographs, regardless of their particular background.

[40] I personally visited the exhibition. Themes such as drug dealing, violence and homeless were also presented in the exhibition toward its end, as the exhibition was chronological. They were visible, but the intention of the exhibition was rather to change images like these. See also Elke Doppler ed., *Am Puls der Stadt. 2000 Jahre Karlsplatz* (Vienna: Czernin, 2008), 494-98.

[41] "Kunstplatz Karlsplatz" is a project proposed by the city of Vienna to develop the area. See Magistrat der Stadt Wien, "Konzept für den 'Kunstplatz Karlsplatz'", December 2, 2004, accessed May 2, 2015, https://www.wien.gv.at/rk/msg/2004/1202/015.html.

5.1.3 Collective Memory

The category of collective memory represents 17% exhibitions at the HMdSW and 8% at the WMK, which is not particularly strong. However, most exhibitions under this category before 2003 tend to be greater in size. Four out of six exhibitions held in the Künstlerhaus fall under this category, and three of them were in the 1980s. Massive historical exhibitions were preferred at the HMdSW in the 1980s. On the other hand, collective memory became a relatively minor theme at the WMK, although one major exhibition at the Künstlerhaus was dedicated to the period around 1930. In what follows, I sorted the list according to themes concerning certain periods, historical events, the history of particular communities and historical personalities.

Periods

As there are three exhibitions held at the Künstlerhaus in List 1.6, exhibitions on certain historical periods were of particular importance at the WM. They were concerned with the Biedermeier Period, the years around 1900, and the time of Red Vienna. Especially noteworthy was the exhibition *Traum und Wirklichkeit* (1985), which was the most successful exhibition in the history of the museum, attracting about 622,000 visitors, which has been unmatched by any exhibition at the museum until today.

In order to show the different attitudes toward forming collective memory of the city held by the HMdSW and the WMK respectively, I would like to compare two exhibitions *Traum und Wirklichkeit* and *Kampf um die Stadt* (2009). The difference is particularly clear, since Kos consciously takes up the theme *Kampf um die Stadt* against the dominant collective memory created by *Traum und Wirklichkeit*.

> The golden gleam of the brand "Wien um 1900" has evidently resulted in a partial blindness to other key phases of recent Austrian History as a consequence. Shedding a stronger light on the period around 1930 is an especially unavoidable challenge for history and cultural history museums.[42]

These two exhibitions would therefore strongly characterize both the HMdSW and the WMK.

Traum und Wirklichkeit

The exhibition *Traum und Wirklichkeit* was an exemplary exhibition of other exhibitions under collective category at the HMdSW with exclusive content covering the social, economic, and

[42] "Der goldene Glanz der Marke „Wien um 1900" hatte offenbar eine partielle Blindheit für andere Schlüsselphasen der neueren österreichischen Geschichte zur Folge. Einen Scheinwerfer verstärkt auf die Zeit um 1930 zu richten, ist speziell für historische und kulturgeschichtliche Museen eine unumgängliche Herausforderung." Wolfgang Kos, "Zur Ausstellung," in *Kampf um die Stadt. Politik, Kunst und Alltag um 1930*, ed. Wolfgang Kos (Vienna: WM and Czernin Verlag, 2010), 11.

cultural situation of the period. The museum's director, Robert Waissenberger, proposed the original idea of the exhibition, but the presentation and actual formation of the exhibition were executed by Austrian architect Hans Hollein, who was also responsible for the presentation of the exhibition *Die Türken vor Wien* (1983). The theme was chosen because of the "need" to show the Viennese theme, which was becoming popular abroad, in Vienna itself and using its own resources.[43] In a sense, this exhibition meant to claim "Wien um 1900" as its own, and it was overwhelmingly successful in establishing the brand of the city.

The space occupied by the exhibition was one of the biggest, comprising 24 sections. It attempted to show the growth of modernity through influential people such as Arnold Schönberg, Sigmund Freud, and Ludwig Wittgenstein and their artistic/intellectual works. There was a clear tendency of the HMdSW to find representative roles of certain times and to seek the "Zeitgeist" in historical personalities, especially in fields of art and academics. Rather than defining modernity in social terms, which could have certainly showed different pictures of the "Wien um 1900," modernity was represented in terms of arts and intellectual activities with some minor references to political and economic events.

The shadow of modernity was also explored as the "reality" (*Wirklichkeit*) of the period, as stated in the title. But the "reality" presented in this exhibition was nothing more than established historical facts: the market crash just after the opening of the World Exposition in Vienna, political movements and mobilizations of working people, World War I, collapse of the Empire, Red Vienna, and market crash in Wall Street in 1929. Relatively little space was allocated to these themes. The contrast was also very aesthetic throughout the presentation. For example, a painting of Empress Elisabeth (Sisi) was placed next to a painting by Albin Egger-Lienz, *Den Namenlosen 1914* (Figure 1.1). The explanation in the catalogue of the painting *Den Namenlosen* was all about how it was painted and where it was originally exhibited, and it did not touch on the fates of nameless soldiers, the subjects of the painting. While "Dream" (*Traum*) was represented with famous artworks of great size, the mobilization of workers was represented with small-scale photographs or banners. Among more rooms with furniture, the jewelry of the Wiener Werkstätte or paintings, the presentational effects of sections dealing with "reality" was very weak.

What is skillfully hidden in the flair of aesthetic presentation was the "real" reality of the city around this time. There was a discrepancy between social groups such as aristocrats, the bourgeoisie, and workers. But embedded in the contrast between artistic flash and harsh political and economic events, the contrast between dream and reality was presented superficially without

[43] Hans Hollein, "Das Konzept zur Präsentation der Ausstellung „Traum und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870–1930"," in *Traum und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870-1930*, ed. HMdSW (Vienna: HMdSW, 1985), 36.

showing people and their life. Compared to the image of "Wien um 1900" in arts exhibitions focusing mostly on the opulent side of the period, the exhibitions successfully presented some critical perspectives by giving a socio-economic overview of the period, covering topics from domestic and foreign politics to economic and technological development and to cultural achievements, as is shown in the timetable of over sixty pages in length at the end of the exhibition catalogue.[44] However, despite its title, the dynamic story of society at the time was not brought to the fore. What caused this contrast? Where were the ordinary people? What was their life like? How did the dream and the reality interact with/confront each other? Such questions became the central theme only in the exhibition *Kampf um die Stadt* in 2009.

Kampf um die Stadt

The director Wolfgang Kos was responsible as a curator for the concept. The theme was "Wien um 1930," which was not a new theme, as the exhibitions *Traum und Wirklichkeit* and *Das Rote Wien. 1918–1934* (1993) had already covered the period. However, despite previous works on the period, Kos regarded the exhibition as being experimental in character.[45]

This exhibition showed the battle for power over the city of Vienna in terms of politics, culture, and everyday life from the creation of the Republic of Austria in 1919 until its annexation by Nazi Germany in 1936. The theme was the opposition between the two ideologies of metropolis and anti-urbanism, which was very well summarized by the use of the word "battle (*Kampf*)" in the title. While "dream and reality" imply a static contrast with certain nostalgic and melancholic effects, "battle" overtly signaled that the exhibition's focus was more on dynamic and aggressive confrontations between interest groups, seeing the city as a conflict zone. This was also clearly seen in the structure of the exhibition, in which the arts were instead an additional element, coming after all battles, such as those of metropolis against province and of democracy against dictatorship, were shown, even though the arts were given the largest space.

But what conveyed the concept of contrast most effectively was its presentation. In *Traum und Wirklichkeit,* the entrance hall was decorated with mannequins wearing costumes designed by Makart for the "Festzug" (the pageant on the occasion of the silver wedding anniversary of the imperial couple), with banners of the Hapsburg Empire alongside red drapes hanging from the ceiling on which a gorgeous chandelier produced stunning effects. The entrance to the exhibition *Kampf um die Stadt*, on the other hand, was very simple. It avoided rich decorations, but the orange color of the first room after the entrance showed the intention of the exhibition, not to give a relaxing space for reverie, but instead to send sharp and provocative messages.

[44] See the Time Table (Zeittafel) in the exhibition catalogue. HMdSW, *Traum und Wirklichkeit. Wien 1870-1930* (Vienna: HMdSW, 1985), 734–795.
[45] Kos, "Zur Ausstellung," 11.

Furthermore, the use of newspapers, daily objects, films, posters, advertisements, flyers, and many pictures was impressive (Figure 1.2). Especially noteworthy was how this intense contrast was successfully shown in the section on politics, presenting the political violent confrontations around 1930 in Vienna chronologically. Visitors could see so many people in action on the streets in photographs and films and they could see how mass media was used to agitate people. In contrast to the presentation in *Traum und Wirklichkeit* in which most rooms had a spacious atmosphere with minimum exhibits so as not to disturb aesthetic balance, *Kampf um die Stadt* presented more objects using more space with captions and explanation on panels, with which visitors could contextualize the objects. Such presentation allowed visitors little nostalgic feeling, and communicated the atmosphere of the city as a conflict zone more vividly.

In terms of content, the focus was more on media and daily life than it was on intellectual and artistic works from the period. Showing themes such as urban traffic, films, weekend leisure time outside city, tourism in alpine regions, and new media such as photographs and radio, urban life and provincial life were vividly depicted, while some of the items were also critically analyzed as a part of propaganda campaigns of contrasting two ideologies, for and against urban life in big cities. With the use of pictures, people were much more visible in *Kampf um die Stadt*, examples being ordinary people on the streets, women in swimsuits, and children playing in fields. Even in rooms exhibiting political confrontations, the central figures were not politicians, but rather they were people involved in violent confrontations on the streets. Flyers circulated en masse also presented the propaganda campaigns aimed at ordinary people. Political fights over education, religion, and history were instead presented subsequently after that. As the living space of people and space "in action" were visible, the city also became visible in the exhibition. While in *Traum und Wirklichkeit* the city was almost just a fixed conceptual container in which all social, political, economic, and cultural activities happened, in *Kampf um die Stadt* the city was the actual space of living and an object to be imagined and the meaning of which could be contested. The images the exhibition produced were "changes," "dynamics" and "chaos," and they could be understood as reflecting the attitude of the WMK as to confronting contemporary instability rather than searching for a stable past.

However, since there were so many objects loaded with political and ideological meanings, understanding the intention of the exhibition required quite a high level of cognitive ability to critically observe the optical images of the exhibits as a means of propaganda in a way that would go past just passively appreciating the images. In this regard, it must be mentioned that the exhibition *Kampf um die Stadt* was not an easy exhibition, as it clearly targeted highly educated visitors.

Historical Events

There were more exhibitions on historical events at the HMdSW. However, six out of twelve were related to World Wars I & II (exhibitions in shadow in the List 1.7). The exhibition *Der Novemberpogrom 1938. Die Reichskristallnacht in Wien* (1988) was one of the series of events organized by the city to foster social discussion of the past.[46] It was an important step in re-interpreting the history of Austria, accepting involvement in anti-Semitism, rather than casting themselves as the first victims of the NS regime. *Verkauft. Enteignet. Verbüchert. Wiener Liegenschaften 1938-1945. Eine Dokumentation des Vereins Forschungsbüro im Auftrag der Kulturabteilung der Stadt Wien* (2005) was also closely in line with other local activities concerning restitution and confiscated Jewish property.[47]

More Epochal Events Before 2003

After removing exhibitions on the World Wars, there remain seven exhibitions, out of which four exhibitions were held in the 1980s and 1990s. They were on epochal events: The Sieges of Vienna (1980, 1981), the French Revolution (1989), and the Revolution of 1848 (1998). As the WM holds the so called "Türkenbeute", a famous collection of weapons, tents, and other memorabilia from the Siege of 1683, this siege was one of its popular topics.[48] Having the exhibition *Die Türken vor Wien* (1983) at the Künslterhaus reflected the popularity of the theme. However, the Vienna Siege did not come back after 1983, probably because it was too nostalgic and because it might reproduce the old picture of "us versus Turkish people." Considering that there has been an influx of Turkish immigrants since the 1960s and that the world is becoming increasingly globalized, such themes can no longer find space at the museum so easily.

The Exhibition *Freiheit, Gleichheit, Brüderlichkeit auch in Österreich? Auswirkungen der Französischen Revolution auf Wien und Tirol in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum* (1989) and *1848 – „das tolle Jahr". Chronologie einer Revolution* (1998) both dealt with revolutions. Both were very informative, and especially the latter, which detailed the event chronologically going from March to December 1848 touching the issues pertaining to gender, students life, Jewish experience, and issues of identity. The structure of the exhibition was similar to that of exhibitions larger in size such as *Traum und Wirklichkeit*, with its informative nature and exclusivity. However, after these exhibitions, there

[46] There was also an exhibition called *Heilige Gemeinde Wien* (1988) in City Hall.
[47] On the request of the municipal council of Vienna research was started in 2003 into confiscated Jewish property in the city of Vienna in relation to the history of National Socialism.
[48] The success of the exhibition in 1883 on the Vienna Siege of 1683 was one of the catalysts in founding the HMdST. See HMdSW, *Hundert Jahre Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien*, 16.

was no historical exhibition in the 1990s except for two war-related exhibitions. The theme of collective memory lost its importance after 1994.

Local Contemporary Events after 2003

On the other hand, three exhibitions after 2003 focused on local events. The exhibition *Flucht nach Wien – Ungarn 1956* (2006) looked at the Hungarian immigrants forced to flee their country after the revolution in 1956, and the exhibition *Besetzt! Kampf um Freiräume seit den 70ern* (2012), which dealt with the occupation of buildings in Vienna. These two local events are rather minor in comparison to revolutions or foreign invasions, but they are very important parts of the local history. The museum saw the occupation movement as an especially key event in the rather eventless recent history of Vienna after years of stable government under the Social Democratic Party of Austria (SPÖ).[49] The selection of these events as themes sent an overt message that the museum's interest lies in contemporary history. As the Occupy movement was claiming free space for their self-expression against the systematic control of the local government, it also showed the history of people rising up to fight for their space. Therefore, the exhibition *Besetzt!* could be regarded as being in the same vein as the exhibition *Kampf um die Stadt*. The museum reinterprets the collective memory of the city as one of confrontation. In addition, exhibited photographs and posters produced by the participants of the Occupy movement communicated their voice, life, and culture inside the occupied buildings vividly, and participants were the center of the exhibition. It strongly showed the life space of the people.

The exhibition *John F. Kennedy – Special: Gipfel Wien 1961 – Chruschtschow und Kennedy* (2005) produced in co-operation with German History Museum was, on the other hand, on an international event. However, instead of emphasizing the image of Vienna on the international stage, Kos wrote that two world politicians were not our guests but they used the city just because it was neutral.[50] The exhibition clearly kept a distance from the image of Vienna as an international player in the time of Cold War. The focus was more on the image built over the two days of the summit by mass media as well as on Kennedy's biography.

History of Particular Communities and Historical Personalities

There are eight exhibitions on particular communities and historical personalities. While exhibitions at the HMdSW in List 1.8 mostly dealt with certain social groups, all exhibitions at the WMK were on historical personalities. But in the latter cases, although a person's name was

[49] Wolfgang Kos, "Vorwort" to *Besetzt! Kampf um Freiräume seit den 70ern*, ed. Martina Nußbaumer and Werner Michael Schwarz (Vienna: WM and Czernin Verlag, 2012), 12.
[50] Wolfgang Kos, "Vorwort" to *Die Augen der Welt auf Wien gerichtet: Gipfel 1961. Chruschtschow-Kennedy*, ed. Monika Sommer and Michaela Lindinger (Innsbruck: WM und Studienverlag, 2005), 8.

used as a title, the content of exhibitions were more focused on the period the person in question lived. For example, *Hieronymus Löschenkohl – Sensationen aus dem alten Wien* (2009) did not examine his biography, but rather his works. As a memorial exhibition on the 50th anniversary of the museum, the WMK chose the same theme as the very first exhibition at the opening of the HMdSW in 1959 with an intention to present the theme from a different viewpoint. While the latter resembled an art exhibition with a chronological presentation of his artworks and of his biography, Kos wrote in the foreword to the catalogue to the exhibition in 2009 that "'Löschenkohl' was, in the jargon of contemporary advertising, a successful brand"[51] and that he saw his works even as forerunners of the journalistic use of images, and the exhibition provided minimal biographical information on him.

The exhibition *Angelo Soliman – Ein Afrikaner in Wien* (2011), which will also be examined in the next chapter in relation to the theme of diversity, was in the same vein of re-narrating the history of 18th century Viennese society in relation to racism and slavery. Kos wrote in the catalogue, "Soliman's biography can be judged as a lucky life of an immigrant, but only when slavery and oppression was brought in an argument."[52] While the overall structure of the exhibition followed his life chronologically, the interdisciplinary examination of his life created multifaceted discourses on him.

On the other hand, Bruno Kreisky, to whom the HMdSW dedicated an exhibition in 1998, was instead a national figure, being the chancellor from 1970 to 1983. This exhibition was a travelling exhibition to be shown throughout Austria as well as in New York, London, and Berlin. With a catalogue written both in German and English, the exhibition was clearly aimed to foster collective memory on the part of Austrians as well as to let know the world about Austria's pride in its politician. The exhibition was more connected to the marketing of the image of Austria than of Vienna.

In regard to particular social groups, there were five exhibitions on them altogether before 2003. Two exhibitions on freemasonry were on the occasion of celebrations for the 200th anniversary of the construction of the first lodge in Austria and for the first reconstruction of a lodge respectively. *200 Jahre Rechtsleben in Wien. Advokaten, Richter, Rechtsgelehrte* (1985) was initiated by legal professionals. *Ein Stück Österreich – 150 Jahre "Die Presse"* (1998) was an

[51] "'Löschenkohl' war, im Jargon der heutigen Werbesprache, eine erfolgreiche Marke." Wolfgang Kos, "Einleitung. Die Ausstellung zum Jubiläum," in *Hieronymus Löschenkohl. Sensationen aus dem alten Wien*, ed. Monika Sommer (Vienna: Brandstätter, 2009), 7.

[52] "Solimans Biographie kann als die eines geglückten Migrantenlebens bewertet werden, aber nur, wenn Sklaverei und Unterdrückung mitgedacht werden." Wolfgang Kos, "Zur Ausstellung," in *Angelo Soliman. Ein Afrikaner in Wien*, ed. Philipp Blom and Wolfgang Kos (Vienna: WM and Brandstätter, 2011), 7.

exhibition on a conservative newspaper *Die Presse*, proposed by a chief editor of the newspaper who was inspired by an exhibition about *The New York Times* in New York.[53]
Although there was no clear connection mentioned, freemasonry and the legal community could have asked for an opportunity to show their history at the museum.[54] Considering their social positions, this is hardly impossible. Meanwhile it took ages for immigrants or minority groups to gain a chance to show their history in the city museum. Such unevenness or even just an impression of such unfairness was certainly carefully avoided by Kos, as there was no exhibition after 2003 on socially powerful groups. This could also be regarded as a benefit of the "Ausgliederung" that removed the museum from the direct control of the city government.

5.1.4 Social Issues

The number of the exhibitions on social issues at the WM is very small. Some efforts to showcase under-represented social groups such as ethnic minorities, women, and the poor are visible, although the percentage of them compared to the whole has been quite minor. Although List 1.9. is very short, I would like to compare exhibitions concerning the theme of diversity and poverty in order to examine the trends in this category more carefully.

Diversity

Being influenced by the temporary exhibition *The Peopling of London: 15,000 Years of Settlement from Overseas* (1993) at the Museum of London, immigrants already became a theme of the exhibition at the HMdSW *Wir. Zur Geschichte und Gegenwart der Zuwanderung nach Wien* (1996), which was held two years after the very first exhibition on the theme *Die Anderen. Fotografien Harry Weber* (1994). The latter was a photographic exhibition which intended to show people regarded as "others." The exhibited photographs captured "the others" in their living space, gathering, working, or praying. Harry Weber, the photographer, said in his interview that he wanted to show that "the others" are also human beings like us with human emotions.[55] Focusing on the normality of their daily life and on the common feelings that all human beings share, this was one of the rare exhibitions at the HMdSW in which ordinary individuals and their lives were the central focus.

[53] Andreas Unterberger, "Die Liebe zur Zeitung," in *150 Jahre Die Presse. Ein Stück Österreich*, ed. HMdSW (Vienna: HMdSW, 1998), 9. The exhibition in New York is not identified.
[54] In case of the exhibition *Ein Stück Österreich*, the idea was proposed to the members of the municipal government. Ibid., 9.
[55] Harry Weber, "Reporter der Menschlichkeit," (An interview with Harry Weber by Angelica Bäumer) in *Die Anderen. Fotografien von Harry Weber*, ed. Angelica Bäumer (Vienna: HMdSW, 1994), 133.

However, the title "Die Anderen*"* clearly shows the separation between "us" and "the others." The exhibition was not for "the others" but spoke to "us," the Viennese, who were encouraged by the exhibition organizers to welcome "the others" with openness, since controlled immigration is necessary for economic development, as well as out of moral and humanitarian considerations.[56] And by doing so, the city can prove that no other place enjoys as great a harmony between "us" and "the others" as Vienna does.[57] Although the photographer must have had profound insight into the issue, since he himself experienced anti-Semitism, and even though his sincere interest in people and human life were clearly to be seen in his photographs with people in center, the comments from the organizers in the catalogue could not help but give an impression of there perhaps being some kind of politically motivated optimism behind these images of the ethnic diversity in Vienna.[58]

On the other hand, *Wir* (1996) showed a more inclusive attitude, naming immigrants not as "others" but "we." It tried to elucidate how "the others" were actually historically long time a part of "us" and how they contributed to the economy and culture of Vienna. While the exhibition *Die Anderen* was more meant to evoke moral and humanitarian sympathies toward "the others," the exhibition *Wir* treated the issue as a social issue. In articles in the catalogue on each ethnic group, migration politics and living conditions of immigrants in contemporary Vienna, immigrants' historical contributions, as well as the difficulties they experienced were all explained. Since "Vienna after 1989" was especially detailed with sections on education, family, work, religion, living, and leisure time, it is also clear that the museum and the city were conscious about contemporary racial issues caused by new political and social situations after the collapse of the Eastern Block and the Austria's entry into the EU in 1995. The exhibition was successful in defining the city as historical and cosmopolitan, and in positioning current problems within a wider socio-historical context.

However, what motivated the museum to hold the exhibition could have been a more strategic decision of the city than something motivated from below. Considering that the exhibition was also a part of events celebrating the millennium of the founding of Austria and that Austria just became a member state of the EU in 1995, the exhibition could be understood more for the purpose of setting forth a new image of the city of being open to the issues of diversity, which agrees with European standards. In addition, although the history of immigrants was visible, immigrants themselves were not actually visible in the exhibition. The writers of contributions

[56] Helmut Zilk, (No Title) in *Die Anderen. Fotografien von Harry Weber*, ed. Angelica Bäumer (Vienna: HMdSW, 1994), 7.
[57] Ibid., 7
[58] There were also forewords from Günter Düriegl, Cardinal Franz König (former Archbishop of Vienna [1956–1985]) and Barbara Frischmuth (Austrian writer). There was no comment from "the others." All comments were focused on moral responsibilities and the definition of "us" and "the others," but not on the actual situation of "the others".

on each ethnic group in the catalogue were mostly Austria-born academics with Master's or Doctoral degrees.[59] Some might be immigrants or in the second generation, but contributions described and "explained" the history of each community rather than telling from any personal view or on the basis of any personal experiences. Without the use of oral history, immigrants became objects to be described and understood, rather than subjects with their own voices. Furthermore, the period between 1945 and 1989 received only minor attention. The history of guest workers (*Gastarbeiter*) became a topic only after 2003.

The exhibition *Gastarbajteri – 40 Jahre Arbeitsmigration. Eine Ausstellung der Initiative Minderheiten und des Wien Museums* (2004) presented the forty years of history of immigrant workers chronologically up to 2004 predominantly with pictures. Unlike the case of the Hungarian revolution (cf. Chapter 5.1.3), the perception of the immigrant workers by the Austrians was not so welcoming. Immigrant workers were regarded as "guests," and "terms such as integration, assimilation, adaptation etc. were in those years foreign words."[60] There were neither the social and political systems nor the public sentiment needed to support them in settling down. The exhibition highlighted the difficult experiences of these guest workers as well as their social, political and cultural backgrounds.

The exhibition was fundamentally different from the previous two exhibitions, which took the approach of claiming that they are also human beings and they have a long history contributing to "our" society. In *Gastarbajteri*, it is not "us," the majority of Viennese, but immigrants who told the story. This was possible because *Gastarbajteri* was mainly organized, not by the museum, but by a NGO (*Initiative Minderheiten*).[61] In the catalogue, Cemalettin Efe presented his experience as a child who came to Austria with his parents as the concept underlining the exhibition.[62] There was a photographic project by a son of one of the first immigrant workers using photographs sent by his father from Austria in order to show differences between the story told by the photographs, what his father told during his holidays at home, and the real life of his father in Austria. There was also a film shown on three female immigrant workers. From these, it is evident that "Gastarbajteri," a Serbo-Croatian loan word from "Gastarbeiter" intentionally chosen by organizers as a title, tried to give a voice to immigrant workers by developing "a narration from the immigrants point of view."[63] In addition, the exhibition clearly understood itself as providing a critical counter-narrative to the dominant discourse, and organizers were

[59] Biographies of contributors are available. See Angelica Bäume ed. *Die Anderen. Fotografien von Harry Weber* (Vienna: HMdSW, 1994), 162–163.

[60] "Die Begriffe Integration, Assimilation, Anpassung etc. waren in jenen Jahren Fremdwörter." Cemalettin Efe, "Am Anfang waren die Anekdoten (Idee zur Ausstellung)," in *Gastarbajteri. 40 Jahre Arbeitsmigration*, ed. Hakan Gürses (Vienna: Mandelbaum-Verlag, 2004), 21.

[61] Cornelia Kogoj and Gamze Ongan, "Die Ausstellung *Gastarbajteri.* 40 Jahre Arbeitsmigration. Migrationsgeschichte aus NGO-Perspektive," in *Museum und Migration. Konzept - Kontext - Kontroversen*, ed. Regina Wonisch and Thomas Hübel (Bielefeld: transcript, 2012), 90–91.

[62] Efe, "Am Anfang waren die Anekdoten (Idee zur Ausstellung)."

[63] Wolfgang Kos, "Winken zum Abschied, Winken zum Aufbruch: Vorwort und Dank ('The making of')," in *Gastarbajteri: 40 Jahre Arbeitsmigration*, ed. Hakan Gürses (Vienna: Mandelbaum-Verlag, 2004), 14.

also keen to discuss how such counter-narratives were and are communicated through media or at schools.[64] The story told in the exhibition was not anything that showed the city with harmonious diversity lasting for centuries, but rather it put different versions of histories of the city on display.

However, interestingly, the WMK has not given any initiative to any groups outside the museum to organize exhibitions since the *Gastarbajteri* exhibition.[65] In the exhibition *Besetzt!* (2012) (cf. Chapter 5.1.3), the curators in charge have not any direct experience of the event, because Kos thought that the personal distance from the event would allow the curators to separate facts and myths, to explore new possible relationships, and to ask questions from contemporary perspectives.[66] He academically valued objective perspectives in the formation of concepts of exhibitions, although *Besetzt!* was also based on interviews of the people involved in the event.[67]

While there were no more major exhibition on the theme immigrants or ethnic diversity under this category, there were some exhibitions related to ethnic diversity outside the list above: *Flucht nach Wien* (2006) on Hungarian immigration in 1956 (under collective memory), *Türkei Modern – Photografien von Othmar Pferschy* (2007) (under high culture) and *Angelo Soliman – Ein Afrikaner in Wien* (2011) on an African immigrant from the 18th century (under the category of collective memory). In a sense, all of these showed relatively "successful" or "happy" examples of immigration. *Flucht nach Wien* showed how humane and open the Austrians were in receiving Hungarian immigrants after the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. Othmar Pferschy was a successful Graz-born photographer and Angelo Soliman was an African who achieved a respectable position in Viennese high society in the 18th century, although his body was made a display in a museum after his death. As the black population is still small in Vienna in comparison to the U.K. or France, this exhibition could contribute to establishing a discourse concerning the historical continuity of African immigrants in Vienna. At the end of the exhibition, there was a section on African people currently living in Vienna, and a film showing what they would like to ask Soliman if he were here, since he was regarded as an early example of African immigration. With many exhibits being on loan, the exhibition reflected the efforts of the museum to make him part of the collective memory of Vienna. All of these examples show that the WMK has not forgotten the theme. The theme did become minor however.

Along with ethnic diversity, women became a theme twice at the HMdSW, presenting the history of emancipation of women (1989) and women's contributions to reconstructing the city

[64] Initiative Minderheiten, "Stimme von und für Minderheiten # 50: Statements zu einem Projekt," accessed September 11, 2015, http://minderheiten.at/stat/stimme/stimme50c.htm.
[65] In 2015, there was an exhibition on Romani people, which was organized in corporation again with "Initiativen Minderheiten."
[66] Kos, "Vorwort," to *Besetzt!*, 14.
[67] Ibid,. 14. The catalogue also includes examples of them.

and society after World War II (1995). There were also exhibitions on female photographers at the WMK, here placed under the category of high culture.[68] However, other than that, women were not represented with any particular focus at the WMK, although gender issues were incorporated into some exhibitions.[69] Gay and lesbians, criminal offenders, people with mental diseases, and refugees, all populations on whom the MoL held exhibitions in the 1990s and 2000s (cf. Chapter 6), were not represented at the WM, either. The exhibition *Coole Kids – fotografiert in Wien von Didi Sattmann* (2000), on the other hand, was an interesting small photographic exhibition showing the culture of teenagers, which was also often underrepresented in the museum. Around 2013 there began to be more exhibitions directly involving young people though.[70]

As can already be seen above (cf. Chapter 5.1.3), the history of relatively privileged groups was more represented at the HMdSW. There were two more photographic exhibitions on those groups under this category. The exhibition *Journalisten. Jäger und Gejagte. Fotos von Didi Sattmann* (1994) clearly showed the personal connection to members of the city government in the inclusion in the exhibits of photographs of Helmut Zilk (Mayor), Düriegl (the museum's Director) and Ursula Pasterk (The City Councillor of Cultural Affairs). Considering that both Zilk and Pasterk worked in journalism before becoming politicians, *Journalisten* could have been strongly supported by them, if not in fact proposed by them. For the exhibition *Legenden aus dem Wiener Kunstbetrieb. Fotos von Didi Sattmann* (2002), 72 photographs of famous people were chosen out of Didi Sattmann's 150,000 negatives,[71] and again they included portraits of Pasterk and Düriegl. It could be asserted that there must have been considerable influence by members of the municipal government on the selection of the themes of the exhibitions at the HMdSW (cf. Chapter 5.2)

Poverty

There were two exhibitions concerned with the theme of poverty: The exhibition *Armut* (2002) and *Ganz Unten. Die Entdeckung des Elends – Wien, Berlin, London, Paris, New York* (2007). *Armut* was meant to show a historical and sociological analysis of poverty. The exhibition was organized according to thematic groups such as the destitute (*Mittellos*), the hopeless (*Aussichtslos*) and the homeless (*Obdachlos*), and each of thematic groups was historically

[68] See exhibitions on Barbara Pflaum (2006) Karin Mack (2007), Trude Fleischmann (2011) and Edith Tudor-Hart (2013). There was also a small installation *Männerwelt und Frauenzimmer. Intervention 3 in der Dauerausstellung* (2005) in the permanent exhibition.

[69] Such as *Die Sinalco-Epoche. Essen, Trinken, Konsumieren nach 1945* (2005) and *Baby an Bord. Mit dem Kinderwagen durch das 20. Jahrhundert* (2007) (both under the popular culture category).

[70] See, for example, *Stadt lernen – SchülerInnen und Studierende arbeiten mit dem Wien Museum* (2011) (under the category of "others"), *Um die Schule herum ist Erdberg – Eine Ausstellung der 3A* (2011) (under the landscape category) and *Wien am Screen – Eine filmische Spurensuche von Schüler/Innen* (2012) (under the category of popular culture).

[71] Ursula Storch, "Ausstrahlung für immer. Über Didi Sattmanns Porträtfotografien," in *Legenden aus dem Wiener Kunstbetrieb. Fotos von Didi Sattmann* (Vienna: HMdSW, 2002), 13.

examined from medieval times until today. This structure made it possible to connect the theme to the present era, including photographs that capture streets scenes from the city today. As the exhibits were mostly paintings and photographs including works from famous painters such as Rembrandt, Waldmüller or Picasso, the theme of poverty was to some extent aestheticized in the exhibition space, in which "the atmosphere is gloomy and the presented images create a feeling of depression and irritating ambiance."[72] At the same time, historical explanations as to how perceptions of the poor have changed could also give different perspectives on and new understanding of the issues surrounding poverty. However, although the exhibition was meant to show that they are poor, and that society is responsible,[73] it was not set forth in detail how responsible society was/is. There were a few questions regarding the social and economic systems that create the poverty with only a small section on how Capitalism and Socialism handled the issue. Furthermore, the tendency toward generalizing the theme as a "human" concern was seen here as well. As exhibition's forward puts it: "How little has the museum discussed the issues of poverty as a theme, which more than anything is inescapable for human beings in their existential exposure: it can happen to anyone by chance."[74] The poverty is literally universalized, which can happen to anyone, although the poverty is not only by accident, instead being also socially structured.

At the same time, the exhibition was created with help of six homeless people, and the opening speech was planned to be held not by a politician, but one of the people affected,[75] which reflected a less paternalistic attitude towards the people concerned. There were accompanying programs, one of which called into question the role played by the people in exploiting and profiting from the system of global neo-liberalism. Although the exhibition approached the theme from a "safe" distance that would not disturb the mostly middle-class and educated visitors by directly raising such questions, there were certainly more critical approaches to the theme on display. Considering that in the 1990s there were mostly high culture exhibitions at the WM, such an exhibition was a great step forward for a cultural history museum, which in reality resembled something more of an art museum. With the exhibitions *Armut* and *Gastarbajteri*, there must have been a different attitude towards the selection of themes of the exhibitions and more critical reflection on the relationship between the representation and the represented in exhibitions at the HMdSW after 2000.

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[72] "Die Atmosphäre ist trist, hier präsentieren sich Bilder und Objekte, die ein Gefühl der Bedrückung, eine irritierende Stimmung erzeugen." Erich Woschitz, "Investieren Sie in Armut!" in *Armut,* ed. Hannes Etzlstorfer (Vienna: HMdSW, 2002), 179.

[73] Günter Düriegl, "Vorwort" to *Armut,* ed. Hannes Etzlstorfer (Vienna: HMdSW, 2002), 7.

[74] "Wie kaum jemals zuvor diskutiert das Museum mit "Armut" ein Thema, das den Menschen unentrinnbar in seiner existentiellen Ausgesetztheit zeigt, wie kein anderes: 'jeden treffen Zufall und Zeit.'" Ibid. , 7.

[75] Woschitz, "Investieren Sie in Armut!" 177-79; The speech was planned by one of the people affected. However no reference was available to confirm whether it really took place or not.

The exhibition *Ganz Unten* (2007), the second exhibition on the theme of poverty, could have taken a step further to tackle the issue more critically. But it took another direction. The main theme of the exhibition was not poverty, but rather showing how poverty was discovered, and how it became a socially sensational theme in media and literature in the period between 1820 and 1930. The presentation was highly aesthetic and it focused on the power of expression, as the exhibition was described as a "group show," and there are only hints at the social contexts of documenting poverty of the period.[76] The theme was not poverty, but documentation, reportage, literature, and films on poverty and the effects of such artifacts. It was discussed exclusively from an observers' perspective.[77] An international comparative perspective between metropolises of the period that was part of the show was new and academically interesting, but at the same time, it had the effect of neutralizing the problem by showing it as a "global standard."

The reasons for objectifying the theme of poverty as a sensational theme in journalism and in the arts of the 19th century could be found in curators' self-critical considerations of what museums can do with the issue. The dilemmas and limitations of representing poverty were recognized by them. The exhibition was therefore about "the limit of presentation, about which distress or misery can not really be presented."[78] But although the exhibition was based on such critical examinations and even though the catalogue gives sufficient information about them, focusing on the expressive effects of visual materials presenting poverty rather than showing the limitations of them in the exhibition, would serve better in satisfying the curiosity and intellectual thirst of middle-class visitors.

In addition, there was another cautious attitude on display. Although the period covered in the exhibition was 1830–1930, most exhibits regarding poverty in Vienna were from the period around 1900. But poverty in Vienna around 1900, the mark of the city's cultural status, was rather understated. Although he referred to the Belle Époque and to Gründerzeit, it is rather awkward that he did not mention "Wien um 1900" at all in his foreword.[79] This could lead to the interpretation that the museum was reluctant to unnecessary emphasize contrasts between the gleaming culture of Vienna at the Jahrhundertwende or turn of the century and the poverty seen at the same time. This supports the hypothesis advanced in Chapter 5.1.1 that the reimagining the brand "Wien um 1900" has instead taken place for the purposes of the city's self-marketing.

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[76] Wolfgang Kos, "Vorwort" to *Ganz Unten. Die Entdeckung des Elends. Wien, Berlin, London, Paris, New York* ed. Werner Michael Schwarz, et al. (Vienna: Brandstätter, 2007), 7.

[77] There was a similar exhibition at the MoL, *Street Cries* (2011). See Chapter 6.1.5.

[78] "Schließlich sei "Ganz unten" auch eine Ausstellung über die Grenzen der Darstellungen, darüber, Elend nicht wirklich darstellen zu können, meinte Kurator Werner Michael Schwarz. " Editorial Office of Der Standard, "Wir zeigen, wie Elend gezeigt wird," *Der Standard*, June 22, 2007, accessed September 16, 2015, http://derstandard.at/2917235/Wir-zeigen-wie-Elend-gezeigt-wird.

[79] Kos, "Vorwort" to *Ganz Unten*, 6–7.

5.1.5 Popular Culture

It is unmistakably clear that there was a huge increase in the presentation of popular culture at the WMK after 2003. An increase from 13% to 35% stands as the greatest change in all categories. Although it should not be forgotten that high culture still makes up 27% of exhibitions at the WMK, popular culture was increasingly emphasized in the last 10 years. In what follows below, I first analyze the exhibitions on popular personalities and music, and then I look into exhibitions dealing with popular visual arts, including photographs and films, and finally into the remaining exhibitions.

Popular Personalities and Music (List 1.10)

Actors have frequently appeared as themes at the HMdSW (1980, 1991, 1993, 1996, 2001), since theatre was regarded by the museum as being an indispensable part of Viennese life.[80] Alongside with actors, music was also a frequent theme at the HMdSW. For example, *FleZiWiCsà & Co. – Die Wiener Operette*[81] (1984) showed the museum's enthusiasm toward the theme of music, with a huge collection on loan from other museums. The exhibition *Musik in mittelalterlichen Wien* (1986), on the other hand, presented more of the museum's research efforts. Declaring it to be the first exhibition of this kind,[82] it clearly aimed to claim a leading position internationally in the field of music research as well as to reinforce the image of the city as a metropolis of music by substantiating it academically and historically. *Johann Strauß. Unter Donner und Blitz* (1999) was a large-scale exhibition and it was the first touring exhibition to China, globally marketing the image of Vienna as a city of music. With exhibitions on music falling under high culture category,[83] it could be said that the HMdSW very strongly supported the brand image of the city with music and theatre.

On the contrary, after 2003, there were only two exhibitions of this sort: *Die Ernst Jandl Show* (2010) and *Blutrausch – Stefan Weber und Drahdiwaberl* (2013). Ernst Jandl was an Austrian poet and writer, but he was also regarded in the exhibition as almost like a pop star spanning generations and language differences.[84] The latter was an exhibition on the Viennese band "Drahdiwaberl," described by the museum as one of the "chaos-troops born out of Viennese Actionism."[85] By presenting a '"pop-star" poet and a popular but radical band using provocative and taboo expressions, exhibitions themes became more oriented toward local popular culture.

[80] Günter Düriegl, "Begegnung," in *Veit Relin*, ed. Wilhelm Deutschmann (Vienna: HMdSW, 1991), 5.
[81] The title was formed using the first letters of four famous operetta in Vienna.
[82] Walter Pass, "Einleitung" to *Musik im mittelalterlichen Wien*, ed. Adelbert Schusser (Vienna: HMdSW, 1986), 9.
[83] Exhibitions on Mozart (1990), Schönberg (1991) and Schubert (1997).
[84] WM, "Die Ernst Jandl show," accessed, May 21, 2015, http://www.wienmuseum.at/de/aktuelle-ausstellungen/ansicht/die-ernst-jandl-show.html.
[85] "Die aus dem Geist des Wiener Aktionismus geborene Chaos-Truppe." See WM, "Blutrausch – Stefan Weber und Drahdiwaberl," accessed March 18, 2015, http://www.wienmuseum.at/de/aktuelle-ausstellungen/ansicht/blutrauschstefan-weber-und-drahdiwaberl.html .

But they also garnered international recognitions. As the former was active in the international avant-garde and the latter was as a part of Viennese Actionism, the marketing image of the city as an active centre of contemporary international cultural scene is also recognizable in the selection of these themes.

Exhibitions Dealing with the Popular Visual Arts

In place of the theme of popular personalities and music, visual art exhibitions have increased since 2000 (List 1.11). 15 out of 42 popular culture exhibitions have popular visual art as a central theme.

Toward 2003: Touristic Images and Celebrities

Two exhibitions prior to 2003 can be seen as presenting touristic images of the city. The theme of the exhibition *Blickfänge einer Reise nach Wien. Fotografien 1860-1910 aus den Sammlungen des Historischen Museums der Stadt Wien* (2000) centered on the history of the creation of modern tourism around 1900. As the exhibition was organized as a memorial retrospective of a 10-day tour in Vienna with photographs, the exhibition showed more of a reconstruction of a trip to Vienna around 1900 rather than a critical analysis of how photographs, postcards, and other images were used to create images of the city. Certainly, it is mentioned in the catalogue that pictures, postcards images, and travel guidebooks also meant "de-individualization of experience" (*ent-individualisierung des Erlebens*),[86] creating the prototype of trips to must-see places within limited time of a visit. But as pictures were meant to show the old cityscape enjoyed by tourists a hundred years ago, the intention might also have been to connect tourism with the "Wien um 1900" brand as well as to reinforce the image of the city as an international tourist destination with its history, especially considering that the exhibition was also shown abroad (in Moscow, Sofia, and Nagoya, cf. Chapter 5.1.6).

Der Dritte Mann. Wien auf den Spuren eines Filmklassikers (2002) was an exhibition showing the city just after World War II. It has been said that "no other film captured not only contemporary history but also the Viennese cityscape in such expressive images and in precise documentary forms, in which film and the history of the city merged so seamlessly."[87] The film was used as a historical record of the city and its cityscape without considering that the city shown in the film was actually made up of the images constructed by the narrative of the film.[88]

[86] Susanne Winkler, "'Wenn jemand eine Reise thut…'. Wien zwischen 1860 und 1910," in *Blickfänge einer Reise nach Wien. Fotografien 1860-1910 aus den Sammlungen des Historischen Museums der Stadt Wien*, ed. Susanne Winkler (Vienna: HMdSW, 2000), 8.

[87] "Kein anderer Film hat die Zeitgeschichte, aber auch Stadtlandschaft Wiens in so eindrucksvollen Bildern und in so dokumentarisch-präziser Form eingefangen und damit Film- und Stadtgeschichte nahtlos miteinander verschmelzen lassen." WM, "Der Dritte Mann. Wien auf den Spuren eines Filmklassikers," accessed April 14, 2015, http://www.wienmuseum.at/de/aktuelle-ausstellungen/ansicht/der-dritte-mannwien-auf-den-spuren-eines-filmklassikers.html.

[88] Compare this to the exhibition *Wien in Film – Stadtbilder aus 100 Jahren* (2010) discussed below.

Touristic images of the city with the ferris wheel (*Wiener Riesenrad*) and espionage were rather reinforced than questioned or deconstructed.

The exhibition *Alles Leinwand. Franz Antel und der österreichische Film* (2001), on the other hand, presented photographs of scenes from films by famous film producer Franz Antel as well as from other Austrian films. From the structure of the catalogue, however, it did not stress the social history of Austrian film-making, but the focus was clearly on honoring Franz Antel with sections on his life, his prominent friends, and prizes that he won. With many (personal) comments from his friends, with comments from a federal chancellor, ministers, a mayor (Zilk), journalists etc. being included in the catalogue, the exhibition was more like a memorial put on by his small circle of friends in power.

Therefore, although the themes of these exhibitions were popular culture, the image shown in these exhibitions was at some remove from anything showing the daily life space of residents.

Socio-cultural Analysis with a Focus on Consumerism and the Deconstruction of Images

The number of the popular visual art exhibitions suddenly increased after 2003. It is especially remarkable that there were six poster exhibitions. This indicates not only that the WMK was no longer a place for presenting only the high arts, but also that visual art objects were to be analyzed and to show the wider social context in which they were produced. For example, this was clearly seen in the first exhibition on posters, *Kraftflächen Wiener Plakatkunst um 1900* (2003). Kos wrote in the catalogue that the exhibition tried to show posters as a "battle ground" (*Kampfplatz*), as posters fought for the attention of passersby on the street.[89] This again epitomized Kos' view of the city as a battlefield for various interests. In addition, it could also be a part of the then-new director Kos' attempts to give a new image to "Wien um 1900" as a modern consumer society. Posters from the Vienna City Library (2008, 2009, and 2011) are also shown as representing political, social, and cultural changes in the city between the 1950s and 1970s.

Consumerism also became a central concern in popular visual art exhibitions like *Hutsalon Susi & Milchfrau Rosa – Wiener Verkaufskultur fotografiert von Petra Rainer* (2003), which presented photographs of disappearing/disappeared old shops and their owners as well as changing patterns of retail, consumption, and daily life in the city through them. Two photographic exhibitions, *Aufgeputzt. Weihnachtsbeleuchtung in der Innenstadt. Fotografien von Didi Sattmann* (2007) and *Window Shopping – Eine Fotogeschichte des Schaufensters* (2010), analytically presented consumer cultures of the present and of the beginning of the 20th century respectively. The former questioned the commercially motivated "Christmas mood"

[89] Wolfgang Kos, "Vorwort und Dank" in *Kraftflächen. Wiener Plakatkunst um 1900*, ed. Ursula Storch (Vienna: HMdSW, 2003), 6.

(*Weihnachtsstimmung*) in his photographs,[90] and the latter was concerned not only with consumer culture, but also with aspects of modern urban life, such as women being able to move around the city freely.[91] In addition, the theme of "shopping" could be used to show continuity in daily life between the turn of the century period and today. They all partly depict the life space of residents, since shopping is a daily activity of people. At the same time, the image of the city associated with consumerism became a new perspective on display at the WM after 2003.

In contrast to the two above-mentioned exhibitions on film from before 2003, two exhibitions on film after 2003 indicate a totally different handling of the theme by the museum. The major exhibition *Wien in Film – Stadtbilder aus 100 Jahren* (2010) analytically presented changes in the constructed images of the city in films. As they state: "The city in film is a narration space and not a mere reflection of physical urban space."[92] The exhibition examined images of Vienna created by films from spanning images of it as an imperial city with the waltz and its palaces to images of a necropolis between the East and the West.[93] As will be seen in the section below, exhibitions at the WMK were characterized by a strong awareness of the constructed nature of the images of the city in the wake of the *Alt-Wien* exhibition (2004). The exhibition *Wien in Film* indicates that the Museum's approach to these topics did not change until 2010.

Others

List 1.12 makes the diversification of themes after 2003 very clear with exhibitions on foods, buggies, sports, and weekend destinations, which are all familiar parts of people's everyday lives, while there were no popular culture exhibitions until 1997 except for the ones on the themes music and actors. As is the same in the category of social issues, there seems to be a line around 2000, as it was around this time when the themes became more diverse.[94] However, around 2000 popular themes were being rather passively taken up in exhibitions. For example, the exhibition *Engelhauch and Sternenglanz Advent- und Weihnachtskalendarium aus Wien* (2000) was brought about by a private collector. The exhibition *Vom Pfennig zum Euro aus Wien* (2002) was presented on occasion of the introduction of the Euro currency. And the exhibition *Dem Glück auf der Spur – 250 Jahre Österreichisches Zahlenlotto* (2002) celebrated the 250th anniversary of the lottery in Austria. Considering Düriegl's preference for showing high arts at

[90] WM, "Aufgeputzt: Weihnachtsbeleuchtung in der Innenstadt. Fotographien von Didi Sattmann, " accessed March 12, 2015, http://www.wienmuseum.at/de/aktuelle-ausstellungen/ansicht/aufgeputztweihnachtsbeleuchtung-in-der-innenstadtfotografien-von-didi-sattmann.html.

[91] Susanne Breuss, *Window Shopping. Eine Fotogeschichte des Schaufensters* (Vienna: WM and Metroverlag, 2010) 38-41.

[92] "Die Stadt im Spielfilm ist ein Erzählraum und kein bloßes Abbild des physischen urbanen Raums." Christian Dewald, Michael Loebenstein and Werner Michael Schwarz, "Erzählte Stadt, gefilmtes Wien. Der Stadtraum als Handlungsraum im österreichischen und internationalen Kino," in *Wien in Film. Stadtbilder aus 100 Jahren*, ed. Christian Dewald, Michael Lebenstein and Werner Michael Schwarz (Vienna: Wien Museum and Czernin Verlag, 2010), 13.

[93] Ibid.,17.

[94] The exhibition *Papierspiel & Bilderbogen aus Tokio und Wien 1780–1880* (1997), falling under the international category, was the first exhibition which dealt with daily objects. Hence the change was underway slightly earlier, although it did not become so clear until 2000.

the museum, as is shown in Chapter 5.1.1, it is difficult to think that he was fully supportive of showing popular culture at the museum. Hence, it was only after 2003, when theme of popular culture really came to the fore.

Deconstructing the Image of Old Vienna – Alt-Wien. Die Stadt, die niemals war

This fundamental change came with Kos becoming director. It was clearly demonstrated in the Künstlerhaus exhibition *Alt-Wien. Die Stadt, die niemals war* (2004). This was a very ambitious exhibition showing the museum's new direction under the new director, who is a historian and journalist.[95] It critically analyzed and deconstructed the image of old Vienna, "Alt-Wien," by showing the constructed nature of that image.[96] It also aimed to show "Vienna's intimate and sometimes even pathological relation to their own transfigured past,"[97] and that the museum was not an innocent participant in creating the images.

The concept was developed by the director and as curator he was responsible for the exhibition along with another curator from outside the museum. The exhibition was chronologically arranged to show images of old Vienna during certain periods. The objects exhibited were diverse but they were predominantly visual materials, ranging from vedute to posters and photographs, all of which have long been a part of the museum's collection, but not presented that often in exhibitions.

Kos' aim with this exhibition was to establish the way of presenting new images of the city as dynamic, conflictive, and self-generative (shown later in the exhibition *Kampf um die Stadt* [2009] and other exhibitions) in opposition to the static "old Vienna." Kos wrote, "People who refuse to accept the fact that the city is 'working in progress' cling to the idea that there was then in old Vienna a constant ideal state."[98] As has already been seen above, Kos portrays the city as a battlefield in many exhibitions. In this regard, it could be said that *Alt-Wien* was his first instance of how the WMK re-imagined the city in a way reflecting dramatic social changes since the 1980s. It was a reflection of the museum's consciousness about the diversification and individualization of society, as the term "battlefield" indicates the various interest groups confronting each other in the limited space of the city. The city "working in progress" also indicates recognition of the pressure for constant self-reflection in order to be sensitive to issues examined in the New Museology as well as to be responsive to the fast-changing social and economic environment.

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[95] He worked as a radio journalist for ÖRF (*der Österreichischer Rundfunk*) from 1969–2003.

[96] See Monika Sommer and Heidemarie Uhl, ed. *Mythos Alt-Wien. Spannungsfelder urbaner Identitäten* (Vienna: StudienVerlag, 2009)

[97] "Das Thema der Ausstellung ist also Wiens inniges und manchmal ins Pathologische übersteigerte Verhältnis zur eigenen, verklärten Vergangenheit." Wolfgang Kos, "Vorwort und Dank" to *Alt-Wien. Die Stadt, die niemals war*, ed. Wolfgang Kos (Vienna: Czernin, 2004), 8.

[98] "Wer sich weigert, die Stadt als 'working in progress' zu akzeptieren, wird sich an die Vorstellung klammern, dass es 'damals im alten Wien' einen konstanten Idealzustand gegeben habe." Ibid., 9.

However, while the new radical re-direction within the concept was clear, it is rather questionable, if the concept was fully visualized in the presentation. The atmosphere of the exhibition space was mostly bleak, with white wall and normal lighting. The exaggerated theatrical and aesthetic effects seen in the exhibition *Traum und Wirklichkeit* were mostly avoided. However, in presenting objects used to create the image of "Alt-Wien" or objects representing it, the exhibition space tended to be more about recreating the image, if visitors were not well guided. Although it was explained in the catalogue how "Alt-Wien" was a constructed piece of folklore or myth, the presentation through various images of the old cityscapes, bronze figures wearing old costumes, and a room reconstructing the "Altstadt" theme park[99] with real size photographs could have merely reiterated the imagery of "Alt-Wien" rather than deconstructing them (Figure 1.3).

What was skillfully hidden was, again (as was the case with *Traum und Wirklichkeit*), the reality of the city around this time, with which these constructed images could have been contrasted. Although Kos was very critical of the images of the Vienna produced in the past, in general, so far very few temporary exhibitions have thoroughly examined the socio-political realities of the time such as poverty (cf. Chapter 5.1.4) and class differences, especially during the imperial period including the years around 1900. This would be not only because of the lack of objects but also because the images of imperial Vienna or "Wien um 1900" are firmly established as magnets for tourists and as points of pride for the residents. The images could be given different perspectives, but not be disturbed. As a museum, it would not be necessary to alter images dramatically, however, more critical presentation might have been possible, which was to some extent realized in an exhibition with a similar theme, *Wiener Typen – Klischees und Wirklichkeit* (2013). As is to be seen in the subtitle, "Cliché and Reality" (*"Klischee und Wirklichkeit"*) were seriously confronted, as the exhibition touched upon the themes of child labor and the appalling working conditions of musicians, street vendors, and "Wäschermädl," whose image as "Wiener Typen" served to represent old Vienna.[100] Starting the exhibition with the question of the historical origin of peddlers and street vendors, the exhibition put not the image, but people in the center of the exhibition. Although the exhibits can still convey nostalgic feelings, the strong colored walls of the exhibition space minimized such effects.

From Foods (Local Contemporary Daily Life) to Lifestyle (Leisure, Design, and Fashion)

After the *Alt-Wien* exhibition, there came a variety of exhibitions on daily life. Food and eating were especially dominant themes up until 2007, with exhibitions appearing one after another:

[99] The replica of the old scenery of "Hoher Markt" around the end of the 17th century was established in 1892 as an attraction for the now-destroyed International Exhibition for Music and Theater in the Prater.

[100] Wolfgang Kos, "Einleitung" to *Wiener Typen. Klischees und Wirklichkeit*, ed. Wolfgang Kos (Vienna: Brandstätter, 2013), 16.

Die Sinalco-Epoche. Essen, Trinken, Kosumieren nach 1945 (2005), *Um die Wurst. Vom Essen und Trinken im Mittelalter* (2005), and *Im Wirtshaus. Eine Geschichte der Wiener Geselligkeit* (2007). Considering that the HMdSW only presented a single exhibition on "Kaffeehaus" in 1980, having exhibitions on the theme of food/eating indicates a drastic shift in the theme selection for exhibitions. Certainly the theme of food can never be far away from brand images of the city, since trying out local culinary specialties is an important part of tourists' activities. The title "Im Wirtshaus. Eine Geschichte der Wiener Geselligkeit" suggested that the "Wirtshaus" (pub) embodies Viennese sociability (*Geselligkeit*) and that such an image would make tourists to arrive in droves looking for some "authentic local" experience. But the exhibition catalogue referred to changing images associated with "Wirtshaus" within Viennese society, deconstructing the recent aestheticized image of the "Wirtshaus." And structuring the exhibition with sections focusing on the "Wirthaus" as workplace, meeting place, and place for daily eating, the daily lives of people spending time there was vividly shown.

Considering that *Die Sinalco-Epoche* (2005) was actually held as a part of Austrian Jubilee year, the exhibition might have shown Austrian modern culinary history in ideological or nostalgic ways. But this was avoided to some extent by showing culinary history from interdisciplinary multifaceted perspectives, touching on themes such as the food situation after World War II and during the Cold War, the changing social position of women and children, the acceleration of the tempo of life, and the standardization of taste.

In the later years between 2000 and 2010, free time and leisure, fashion and design came up more frequently as topics. In regard to free time and leisure, there were exhibitions on football (2008), travel (2008, 2013), and games (2012). In the exhibition *Wo die Wuchtel fliegt – Legendäre Orte des Wiener Fußballs*, the local Viennese and their enthusiasm toward football were presented along with historical matches and legendary footballers. Although the exhibition was very analytical of the relationship between football and politics, touching on issues of race and shedding light on areas of Vienna that are relatively underrepresented at the museum, the theme itself was also accessible to ordinary people. Especially noteworthy was how the exhibition was structured with sections on districts, stadiums, and other football related places, allowing locals to find connections to their life space. While re-imaging the city with football on occasion of the UEFA European Football Championship Finals, the exhibition represented also the life space of residents.

However, after *Wo die Wuchtel fliegt*, exhibitions drifted away from themes related to contemporary Viennese local culture. The major exhibition *Zauber der Ferne – Imaginäre Reisen im 19. Jahrhundert* (2008) was about the boom of "imaginary" tourism, with dioramas and magic lanterns. A major exhibition *Spiele der Stadt – Glück, Gewinn und Zeitvertreib* (2012)

was concerned with plays from the 18th century until today, but contemporary plays were not presented all that much in the exhibition. Another major exhibition in 2013, *Österreichische Riviera – Wien entdeckt das Meer* (2013), detailed the history of the Adriatic coast called the Austrian Riviera, a popular tourist destination between 1890 and 1914. The latter exhibition followed the three former exhibitions on leisure destinations, *Riviera an der Donau. Sommerfrische Kritzendorf* (2004), *Am Gänsehäufel – Ein Strandbad wird 100* (2007) and *Neusiedlersee – Das Meer der Wiener* (2011).[101] In comparison to the exhibition *Blickfänge einer Reise nach Wien* (2000) examined above, these exhibitions did not only present the history of each leisure destination of Viennese people and how they used to enjoy their leisure time there, but also how their respective images and social roles changed in the course of the Nazi regime and the Cold War. However, in this series of exhibitions, the perspective shifts from local to distant places, and from local ordinary Viennese people at the swimming resort near the city to relatively affluent people on the Adriatic coast. Kos wrote in the catalogue to *Österreichische Riviera*, "Anyone who is familiar with the program line of the Wien Museum knows that the field of view of a metropolitan museum must go beyond Vienna."[102] The exhibition presented the image of Vienna's cosmopolitanism with lifestyles of relatively well-off residents of the time.

As has already been seen in Chapter 5.1.1, design became an important theme at the WMK. The exhibition *2000–2010. Design in Wien* (2010) was an exhibition on designers in the commercial field, presenting the daily work of designers in studios, the problems of accessing the market, and the trans-locality of designers. Compared to another design exhibition *Eva Riedl. Zeitlos* (1991), and even to the recent *Glanzstücke* (2008) (both under the category of high culture), design is now clearly regarded as an industry by the museum. The museum recognizes that culture and economy are now inseparable.

Like design, the theme of fashion also reflects increasing focus on cultural economy at the WMK. The exhibition *Großer Auftritt – Mode der Ringstraßenzeit* (2009) could be understood not only a chance to show the museum's rich collection of fashion, but also as an opportunity to renew the image of traditional Vienna during the "Ringstraßenzeit" as a fashionable city. The exhibition *Mehr also Mode – Die Sammlung Katarina Noever* (2012) showed not only the avant-garde culture of Vienna, but also its cosmopolitanism in fashion in the 1970s. Vienna is imagined as a city sensitive to international fashion trends.

[101] All of these are swimming resorts in and around Vienna.

[102] "Wer die Programmlinie des Wien Museums kennt, weiß, dass der Blickraum eines Großstadtmuseums über Wien hinausgehen muss." Wolfgang Kos, "Vorwort" to *Österreichische Riviera. Wien entdeckt das Meer*, ed. Christian Rapp and Nadia Rapp-Wimberger, (Wien: Wien Museum/Czernin Verlag, 2013), 9.

5.1.6 International

Exhibitions at the WM on Foreign Cultures:

List 1.13 shows exhibitions on other cultures at the WM. The exhibitions in labeled in *italics* were probably held as a part of cultural exchange schemes, as the WM also held exhibitions in the country/city thematized in these exhibitions (see items labeled in *italics* in List 1.13). As they do not show the images of Vienna, they are not examined here in detail. But there is one characteristic worth mentioning. Although most exhibitions before 2003 were primarily artistic exhibitions or presentations of brand images of each country/city, exhibitions after 2003 were concerned more with dynamic urbanity. For example, when two exhibitions on Nagoya in 1999 and 2008 were compared, *Samurai und Bushido – Der Spiegel Japans – Nagoya und Einheit des Reiches 1550–1867* (1999) handled a theme which showed a rather typical image of Japan. Nagoya is a sister city of Vienna, and it was shown as the origin city of the Tokugawa Shogun family. On the other hand, *Nagoya. Das Werden der japanischen Großstadt* (2008) presented Nagoya as a city with an automotive industry, new technologies, and the modern lifestyle of contemporary Japanese people.

The exhibition *Big City – New York Street Photography* (2009) also showed street photographs of New York for the first time in Austria. In the same year, *Hongkong/Lee Tung Street – Eine Straße als Museum* (2009) presented part of the documentation of the "community museum project," which fought against the demolition of the famous "wedding card street" in Hong Kong in order to make a space for the construction of new skyscrapers. It exemplified the change of and battle over urban space. As the two exhibitions were in the same year celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the museum, and since the Künstlerhaus exhibition *Kampf um die Stadt* also took place in the same year, it could be said that international comparative perspectives and strong interest in urbanity and its dynamics were shown as being central to the WMK and its work.[103]

Exhibitions outside Austria

One of the most remarkable differences between the WM and other two museums dealt with in this paper is its international activities, especially those that took place in the 1990s. As the complete list of temporary exhibitions in the appendix only contains exhibitions at the WM, I made an additional list of exhibitions held outside Austria organized by the WM (List 1.14).[104] The length of the list is already impressive, considering that the WM is a city museum with

[103] The exhibition *Ganz Unten. Die Entdeckung des Elends. Wien, Berlin, London, Paris, New York* (2007) also reflected the museum's increasing interest in the international comparisons.

[104] As cultural reports are available only after 1988, information before 1988 came only from exhibition catalogues.

relatively less international recognition in comparison to other national museums in Vienna.[105] Especially important is how the number of exhibitions abroad increased dramatically in the 1990s. This must be because of the breakdown of the Eastern Block and consequent changes in the city's cultural policy (cf. Chapter 5.2). While Japan and the United States appeared in the list during the 1980s, countries and cities in the former Eastern Block became major destinations for external exhibitions. Examples include Moscow (1990 and 2001), Prague (1991 and 1998), Slovakia (1994), Bratislava (1994 and 1998), Zagreb (1995), Cracow (2000), Belgrade (2001), and Sofia (2001). However, the number of exhibitions overseas has increased further since 1996, and the destinations have become global, including Syria (1996), USA (1998), Japan (2001, 2003, 2009), Canada (1996, 2001), China (1999) and Austria (2011).

In terms of content, while there were some exhibitions on contemporary architecture or shared historical themes in nearby cities or countries, they tended to be more art exhibitions in distant cities and countries without strong historical connection, and they especially dealt with arts around 1900. Although the theme "Wien um 1900" was set aside after 1991 at the HMdSW, the exhibitions abroad have continued to sell the brand internationally.

Considering the collection of the WM, which has a relatively large art collection but is not comparable those of art galleries, it is rather unusual for the WM to organize such art-oriented exhibitions overseas. However, it might owe a lot to the success of the exhibition *Traum und Wirklichkeit* (1985), which might have given the museum the status of being representative with its exhibition of the theme. But most importantly, these exhibitions abroad were organized by the HMdSW, which was a municipal department, which indicates that the city was a very active agent in city marketing using the historical and cultural resources of the city. As many exhibitions probably took place on an exchange basis, there must have been very active cultural exchanges between the cities, especially with cities in Eastern Europe. Considering that the MoL and the ETH only held a few exhibitions overseas,[106] the HMdSW was the most international city museum among the three museums. But it could also be said that the HMdSW was the one most actively used for the purpose of the international city marketing.

After 2003, the number of the external exhibitions has dropped. This might partly be because of the "Ausgliederung," in which the museum became independent of the city's administration, and its need to establish its new profile in Vienna, as well as because of the shift in the cultural policy of the city (cf. Chapter 5-2). At the WMK, there were more exhibitions on theme of popular culture and everyday life, which were critically acclaimed in mass media in and outside

[105] For example, The Art History Museum (*Kunsthistorisches Museum*) was visited by over 1,321,600 visitors in 2013 while the WM was visited by 267,000 people. Magistrat der Stadt Wien, *Vienna in Figures 2015* (Vienna: Magistrat der Stadt Wien [Magistratsabteilung 23], 2015), accessed September 15, 2015, https://www.wien.gv.at/statistik/pdf/viennainfigures.pdf.

[106] The ETH held no exhibitions overseas. The MoL showed two exhibitions in 1992 in Germany and Japan: *London World City 1800-1840* and *The River Thames* respectively.

of Austria.[107] It could be said that the WMK did not bring their exhibitions overseas as often, but that they increased international visibility by establishing a clear corporate brand with internationally acclaimed exhibitions at home.

[107] Director of Press and Public Relations, interviewed by the author, March 8, 2012.
Kos also cited media coverage on temporary exhibitions in the Cultural Reports of 2003 and 2004. See Magistrat der Stadt Wien, *Kunst- und Kulturbericht der Stadt Wien (2003)* (Vienna: Magistrat der Stadt Wien, 2004), 150–153. Magistrat der Stadt Wien, *Kunst- und Kulturbericht der Stadt Wien (2004)* (Vienna: Magistrat der Stadt Wien, 2005), 108–112.

5.2 The Image of the City of Vienna since 1980 as a Conclusion to Content Analysis of Exhibitions at the Wien Museum

It is clear from the above analysis that the themes of temporary exhibitions at the WM changed greatly after 2003. However, some signs of change were also detectable around 1990, 2000, and 2007. In what follows, I would like to show the images of the city presented in both periods with attention to these caesurae in relation to the cultural policy of the city.

Through the 1980s until 1996, in Vienna the position of the City Councilor of Cultural Affairs was occupied by the Social Democratic Party[108] (*SPÖ: Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreiches* – Helmut Zilk [1979–83], Franz Mrkvicka [1983–87], and Ursula Pasterk [1987–96]). In 1996, the position was taken over by Peter Marboe from their coalition partner, the Austrian People's Party (*ÖVP: Österreichische Volkspartei*) between 1996 and 2001. However, in 2001, the SPÖ won back the majority and a City Councilor of Cultural Affairs was again appointed by the SPÖ, Andreas Mailath-Pokorny. As there is no cultural policy with clear aims and strategies comparable to those seen in London (and Tokyo since 2000), I would like to examine how each Councilor's policies relate to the results of the analysis of exhibitions at the WM. Although three caesurae do not exactly correspond to the change in city councilors, from the research results it seems that they were not unrelated.

Until 2003

Until 2003, themes mainly dealt with aesthetics, universal values, static descriptive history, and contemporary issues only from an artistic perspective. In particular, Vienna was imagined as a city of high culture, of talented artists and architects, with 63 out of 128 exhibitions having names of these figures in the titles. In addition, The HMdSW saw itself as an upholder of the cultural heritage of humankind created by the exceptionally talented people of the city. This is clearly expressed in the exhibition, held on occasion of the designation of the city's old town as a World Heritage site, *Die Kunst, als Mensch menschlich zu leben. Wiens Beitrag zum Welterbe – 2000 und mehr* (2001), which proudly presented what the museum considered Vienna's contributions to the world heritage: St. Stephen's Cathedral, paintings, literature, classical music, politicians, scientists, philosophers, and photographers.

However, at a closer look, a focus on the theme "Wien um 1900" and blockbuster historical exhibitions at the Künstlerhaus were particularly prevalent in the 1980s. 14 out of 43 exhibitions were on "Wien um 1900", and five out of seven blockbuster historical exhibitions were held at

[108] In 1991, it renamed Social Democratic Party of Austria from Socialist Party of Austria.

the Künstlerhaus between 1983 and 1990.[109] While there was only one exhibition on social issues, there were four popular culture exhibitions on music, theatre, and cafés in the 1980s. Considering that Vienna has developed its brand images such as "*Alt-Wien*", "*Wiener Werkstätte*", or "*Welthauptstadt der Musik*" (World capital of the music) relatively early, i.e. since 1890s,[110] it is clear that these brand images never left the museum. However, these images appeared in very limited ways in the 1980s in smaller size exhibitions, while the dominant brand image of the 1980s was "Wien um 1900."

Considering that "Wien um 1900" was a relatively recent brand for the city, the frequent appearance of the theme in the 1980s should be regarded as a more positive action in establishing the new brand. The role played by the museum in this was decisive, which was evident in the success of the exhibition "Traum und Wirklichkeit." In addition, as the exhibition was also shown in Paris and New York, the museum's participation in international marketing of the city's brand was also clear. This strong presence of the city museum in the city marketing could be explained by the cultural policy of the time. In the 1980s, politicians such as Helmut Zilk and Ursula Pasterk undertook major initiatives on behalf of blockbuster exhibitions at museums.[111] As Zilk later became Mayor in 1984–1994, the museum's social role could have been well recognized by his government. Between 1976–1989, spending on museums/collections in Vienna doubled, in contrast to the nation-state and other states (*Bundesländer*).[112] In the City Development Plan of Vienna of 1985, Vienna was defined as "a city of culture" and "Vienna's status as an international cultural center was to have been further developed by the inclusion of federal theatres and museums in the cultural activities of the City of Vienna."[113] In addition, the cultural policy of Vienna in the 1980s and 1990s was characterized by the "festivalization" of public space with spectacular events, according to Lutz Musner.[114] Having five exhibitions at the Künstlerhaus and arts exhibitions with objects on loan from international institutions could be understood as a part of city's spatial strategy of "festivalization" than as something representing life space of residents.

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[109] Türken vor Wien (1983) Traum und Wirklichkeit (1985), Bürgersinn und Aufbegehren: Biedermeier und Vormärz in Wien 1815–1848 (1987), Zaubertöne: Mozart in Wien 1781–1791 (1990), and Warteraum des Todes: Das Ghetto in Lodz 1940–1944 (1990)

[110] Siegfried Mattl, "City Brandings. Stadtentwicklung und Gefühlsdemokratie," in *Phantom Kulturstadt: Texte zur Zukunft der Kulturpolitik II*, ed. Konrad Becker and Martin Wassermair (Wien: Löcker, 2009), 20. Roman Horak and Siegfried Mattl, "≫Musik liegt in der Luft ...≪ Die ≫ Weltkulturhauptstadt Wien≪. Eine konstruktion," in *Stadt·Masse·Raum. Wiener Studien zur Archäologie des Populären*, ed. Roman Horak, et al. (Vienna: Turia+Kant, 2001).

[111] Gerald Matt, "Das Wien Museum – eine vertane Chance für Wien," in *Heute* September 9, 2014, accessed March 03, 2015, http://www.heute.at/freizeit/kultur/art23668,1067498.

[112] Michael Wimmer, *Kulturpolitik in Österreich. Darstellung und Analyse 1970–1990* (Innsbruck-Wien: Österreichischer StudienVerlag, 1995), 124.

[113] Magistrat der Stadt Wien, *Viennese City Development Plan: Abridgement* (Vienna: Magistrat der Stadt Wien [Magistratsabteilung 18], 1985).

[114] Lutz Musner, "Ist Wien anders? Zur Kulturgeschichte der Stadt nach 1945," in *Wien. Geschichte einer Stadt. Von 1790 bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Peter Csendes and Ferdinand Oppl (Vienna: Bohlau, 2006), 784-785.

In the 1990s, exhibitions of massive size went away, and the theme "Wien um 1900" also disappeared from the list of the temporary exhibitions at the HMdSW. Exhibitions on collective memory decreased by fifty percent, while social issue exhibitions and high culture exhibitions increasing proportionally. Important here is the fourfold increase in contemporary exhibitions (art and architecture) from four to sixteen. This was a clear reflection of the cultural policy of Pasterk, who took office in 1987. Her strong emphasis on contemporary culture could be seen in her achievements during her period in the office: the establishment of the *Kunsthalle* (exhibition space for contemporary arts) and the creation of the *Wiener Moderne* (contemporary classic music festival). In the cultural report of 1988, she also named contemporary arts as one of four pillars of her cultural policy, along with "democratization of the term culture," "preservation of the great tradition of Vienna," and "internationalization of the Viennese cultural scene."[115]

The SPÖ has seen culture as an important element in the party's social politics since the Kreisky era of the 1970s.[116] Pasterk also overtly claimed that "cultural politics are social politics" ("Kulturpolitik ist Gesellschaftspolitik"),[117] and she increased the budget for culture[118] in order to achieve the four pillars of her cultural policy. However, while the great tradition of Vienna is well preserved at the museum, and contemporary art exhibitions would promote internationalization of the Viennese cultural scene, the question remains: Do contemporary arts exhibitions at the city's history museum encourage the democratization of culture?

This could be explained by how Pasterk understood culture. Referring to Ulrich Beck, she saw the role of culture as produce not things, but other perspectives on the production and distribution of things.[119] This means that cultural politics was more like a guiding concept of how the whole of society should be discussed, as she expressed in "cultural politics are social politics." And she saw her role as follows: "One of the essential duties of cultural politics is to help bring the potential of freedom of the arts into full effect."[120] From this rather conceptual and abstract understanding of culture, showing contemporary arts at the museum could be understood as providing with the means artists to present their perspectives and ideas, and visitors with opportunities to be stimulated by them, which in the end is supposed to contribute to the party's aim of improving the organization of society and the quality of life of the people.

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[115] Magistrat der Stadt Wien, *Kunst- und Kulturbericht der Stadt Wien (1988)* (Vienna: Magistrat der Stadt Wien, 1989), 7.

[116] But at the national level the SPÖ was losing its grip on cultural policy because of its inability to realize the overly idealistic aims of their cultural policy, especially in the later 1980s. See Wimmer, *Kulturpolitik in Österreich*, 143.

[117] "Gesellschaftspolitik" and "Sozialpolitik" are two different terms in German, however they cannot be translated into English with perfect fidelity. "Gesellschaftspolitik" is more like a generic term, in which "Wirtschaftspolitik" and "Sozialpolitik" are included. Therefore, the saying "Kulturpolitik ist Gesellschaftspolitik" means more than "cultural politics is social politics".

[118] The cultural budget doubled between 1988 and 1995. See Magistrat der Stadt Wien, *Kunst- und Kulturbericht der Stadt Wien (1995)* (Vienna: Magistrat der Stadt Wien, 1996).

[119] "Denn: Kultur "erzeugt" keine Dinge, sondern vielmehr andere Perspektiven des Produzierens und Verteilens von Dingen."
Ursula Pasterk, "Aktuelle Aspekte in der Konkurrenz der Metropolen. Wie auf dem Weg zu einer europäischen Kulturstadt," in *Österreichisches Jahrbuch für Internationale Politik 1990*, ed. Österreichische Gesellschaft für Außenpolitik und Internationale Beziehungen, Wien und Österreichisches Institut für Internationale Politik, Wien. (Vienna: Böhlau, 1990), 91.

[120] "[E]rscheint es mir eine der wesentlichen Aufgaben der Kulturpolitik, dem Freiheitspotential der Kunst zu seiner vollen Wirkung zu verhelfen." Ibid., 92

Such an understanding of culture is top-down,[121] broadening access to high culture but not appreciating the culture of daily life as practiced by ordinary residents. This might explain why daily life was so underrepresented at the HMdSW, along with Düriegl's rather restrained attitude toward popular/everyday culture (cf. Chapter 5.1.1). The democratization of culture was not the democratization of the definition of culture, as far as the museum's exhibitions were concerned. While urban developmental plans encouraged participation and self-determination[122] and even though the city's cultural policy included the section "everyday life" with budget hugely increased in 1992,[123] there was no sign of popular participation in creating exhibitions or in the process of assembling collections at the HMdSW. Therefore, it could be said that in the early 1990s the museum was given more of a representational role by the city government.

In addition, there were more exhibitions which were clearly connected to the cultural policy of the city. For example, exhibitions on immigrants reflected Pasterk's concerns about emerging nationalism after the opening of the Eastern border, which was repeatedly reflected in her forewords to the cultural reports between 1990 and 1993. Architecture exhibitions could also be explained by the city's urban development plan, where, in 1985, the coming years were labeled a "new founding period" (*Neuen Gründerzeit*).[124] There were also exhibitions proposed because of personal relations to members of the city government. Such influence could be the reason for the weakening influence of curators, similar to how in their later study on the museum Matt, Mattl, and Miessgang observe that the power and rights of curators to make proposals and suggestions have been pushed more and more to the background since the middle of the 1990s.[125] The municipal government must have wielded a great deal of influence in the decisions of exhibition themes.

The sudden increase in the number of international exhibitions in 1996 could be explained by the change in the position of Councilor from Pasterk (SPÖ) to Peter Marboe (ÖVP) in 1995. Looking at the four pillars of her policy, it is clear that Pasterk was also conscious of the role that culture plays in international dialogs and in new global city competitions.[126] However, while international exhibitions outside of Austria were relatively minor at the HMdSW under Pasterk,

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[121] See also Musner, "Ist Wien anders? Zur Kulturgeschichte der Stadt nach 1945", 748.

[122] See Magistrat der Stadt Wien, *STEP 1994. Stadtentwicklungsplan für Wien* (Vienna: Magistrat der Stadt Wien [Magistratsabteilung 18], 1994), 199-206.

[123] The Wiener Festwochen led by Pasterk was described as "frechen Tummelplatz freigeistiger Weltdeutung" by Mießgang. See Thomas Mießgang, "Kultur? Zurück in die Zukunft," in *Kampfzonen in Kunst und Medien. Texte zur Zukunft der Kulturpolitik*, ed. Konrad Becker, Martin Wassermair (Vienna: Löcker, 2008), 116. For information on the budgetary increase, see Magistrat der Stadt Wien, *Kunst- und Kulturbericht der Stadt Wien (1992)* (Vienna: Magistrat der Stadt Wien, 1993), 8.

[124] Magistrat der Stadt Wien, *STEP 1994. Stadtentwicklungsplan für Wien*, 1. See also Gerhard Meißl, "Ökonomie und Urbanität. Zur wirtschafts- und sozialgeschichtlichen Entwicklung Wiens im 20. Jahrhundert und zu Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts," in *Wien. Geschichte einer Stadt. Von 1790 bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Peter Csendes and Ferdinand Oppl (Vienna: Bohlau, 2006).

[125] Gerald Matt, Siegfried Mattl, and Thomas Mießgang, *Vorstudie zu einem Leitbild für ein Wiener Stadtmuseum. Endbericht* (Vienna: 2002), 25.

[126] See also Pasterk, "Aktuelle Aspekte in der Konkurrenz der Metropolen. Wie auf dem Weg zu einer europäischen Kulturstadt."

cultural exchange and international city marketing may have been particularly encouraged by Marboe, which is clear from the report on Marboe's comments on cultural policy in 2003 after he left the position, appealing to the necessity of financial support for international engagement with galleries and exhibition curators in central and eastern Europe.[127] He also gave a high degree of recognition to the role of the *Wiener Festwochen* as a forum for international cultural exchange.[128]

He has especially encouraged cultural exchanges with Eastern Europe, which were not confined to high arts, but includes such as design and fashion.[129] Marboe said, "culture may, but it does not have to provoke, hurt or be beautiful."[130] This broadening of the definition of culture and new interest in creative industries also influenced the diversification of themes of popular culture exhibitions at the museum, along with suggestions from some academics.[131] In STEP 94, there was even a suggestion to create a new contemporary history museum which would represent culture of everyday life.[132] Although it did not directly concern the HMdSW, the city's interest in the culture of everyday life was evident.

Behind this international orientation and broadening of the definition of culture, there was an increasing recognition of economic relevance of culture. Marboe has defined culture as Austrian products, which can be internationally sold and bought.[133] He uses terms such as "fitness of the city in international competition" (*Fitneß der Stadt im internationalen Wettbewerb*) and the "cultural charisma and touristic appeal of Vienna" (*kulturelle Ausstrahlung und touristische Anziehungskraft Wiens*)[134] in the Cultural Report of 1996. In addition, Marboe had criticized Parsterk's policies and committed himself to a "de-politicizing" (*Entpolitisierung*) of culture.[135] He insisted on lowering the dependence of artists on party politics/public funding, and promoted the introduction of private funding.[136] He also demanded that the political mechanism of the municipal council should not be applied to the cultural management.[137] In the municipal council (*Gemeinderat*), the museum was requested to show a list of the exhibitions at the HMdSW

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[127] See Editorial office of Der Standard, "Ex-Kulturstadtrat grollt," *Der Standard*, October 22, 2003, accessed June 24, 2015, http://derstandard.at/1456359/Ex-Kulturstadtrat-grollt.

[128] See Bundeskanzleramt Kunstsektion, *Kultur/Politik, Kulturverwaltung in Österreich* (Wien: Österr. Kulturdokumentation, Internat. Archiv für Kulturanalysen, 1998), 163.

[129] Magistrat der Stadt Wien, "Kunst- und Kulturberich 1999 erschienen: Marboe: Kulturpolitik mit Blick in die Zukunft (Rathauskorrespondenz vom 28.06.2000)," accessed June 24, 2015, https://www.wien.gv.at/rk/msg/2000/0628/007.html.

[130] "Kunst darf, muss aber nicht provozieren, wehtun oder schön sein", sagte Marboe vor Vorarlberger Akademikern." Editorial Office of Der Standard, "Peter Marboe bedauert Re-Ideologisierung der Kulturpolitik," *Der Standard*, November 19, 2002, accessed June 27, 2015, http://derstandard.at/1136080/Peter-Marboe-bedauert-Re-Ideologisierung-der-Kulturpolitik.

[131] Matt, Mattl, and Mießgang, *Vorstudie zu einem Leitbild für ein Wiener Stadtmuseum. Endbericht.*

[132] Magistrat der Stadt Wien, *STEP 1994: Stadtentwicklungsplan für Wien*, 257.

[133] See Bundeskanzleramt Kunstsektion, *Kultur/Politik, Kulturverwaltung in Österreich*, 163.

[134] Magistrat der Stadt Wien, *Kunst- und Kulturbericht der Stadt Wien (1996)* (Vienna: Magistrat der Stadt Wien, 1997), 7.

[135] See Peter Marboe, "Mehr Kultur in die Politik, weniger Politik in die Kultur," in *Kunsteingriffe. Möglichkeiten politischer Kulturarbeit. Dokumentation des gleichnamigen Symposions der IG Kultur Österreich 22.–24. Jänner 199 Radiokulturhaus Wien,* ed. Gerald Raunig (Wien: IG Kultur Österreich, 1998), 30. However, he was himself appointed as the chief of the Mozart year 2006 in 2003.

[136] Bundeskanzleramt Kunstsektion, *Kultur/Politik, Kulturverwaltung in Österreich*, 166.

[137] Marboe, "Mehr Kultur in die Politik, weniger Politik in die Kultur," 28.

proposed by politicians or any related people.[138] Such a request was not unreasonable, as the analysis above has already proven. During his tenure, the "Ausgliederung" of the HMdSW was also proposed in 2000.[139] Therefore, although the period was very short, it seems to have paved the way to the dramatic changes that occurred at the WM after 2003. His emphasis on fiscal responsibility and the necessity of marketing were clearly reflected in the restructuring of the museum to become the new Wien Museum.

Under Kos' direction

After 2003, exhibition themes became more socio-historically oriented, and dynamic urban space became the main theme, with strong emphasis put on conflict, marketing, advertisement, and everyday life. While the theme of "Wien um 1900" came back with fresh images, exhibitions on collective memory decreased, being replaced by more local events in recent post-World War II history. Under the category of landscape, the surrounding areas were more represented. The variety of themes under the category popular culture included films, food, fashion, football, shop windows, weekend excursions, and posters. The images created at the WMK have been dramatically changed since then: Vienna as a city in network, a city in conflict, a city as a place of the daily lives of people, and Vienna as a consumer society offering a certain lifestyle. The following comments made by curators of the exhibition "Wien in Film" in 2010 interestingly summarize the images of the city the WMK presented since 2003.

> What and who is Vienna? Films in the recent past have answered these questions in different ways: a dynamic metropolis which showed its fascination in the zones of transitions and networks of diverse life stories, cultures, and lifestyles. A city of borderless outflow with a periphery as a topographic central image. A consumer city with new centers on the Danube. Vienna is also as a normal city, where actual things happen like in other cities. Or a city which remains in captive by its tradition, which its residents have to deal with.[140]

In addition, as has happened similarly with the representation of the city in films, the museum has been trying to show the constructedness of images of the city since 2003, where what has been particularly characteristic of the direction of Kos is his awareness of image creation. As a result, the city and its images became constant objects for analysis, in which the question "what

[138] Gemeinderat der Bundeshauptstadt Wien, "Gemeinderat der Bundeshauptstadt Wien 18. Sitzung vom 26.06.2002, Wörtliches Protokoll," 19–20, accessed, April 25, 2015, https://www.wien.gv.at/mdb/gr/2002/gr-018-w-2002-06-26-019.htm.

[139] Gemeinderat der Bundeshauptstadt Wien, "Gemeinderat, 53. Sitzung vom 22.11.2000, Sitzungsbericht," 7, accessed, April 25, 2015, accessed, http://www.wien.gv.at/mdb/gr/2000/gr-053-s-2000-11-22-007.htm.

[140] "Was und wo ist Wien? Diese Frage beantwortet das Kino der jüngeren Vergangenheit auf unterschiedliche Weise: eine dynamische Metropole, die ihre Faszination in den Zonen des Übergangs und in der Vernetzung von diversen Lebensgeschichten, Kulturen und Lebensstilen zeigt. Eine Stadt des grenzlosen Ausrinnens, mit der Peripherie als topografischem Leitimage. Eine Konsumstadt mit neuen Zentren, auch jenseits der Donau. Wien aber auch als normale Stadt, die auf ihre tatsächliche Bedeutung geschrumpft ist und in der sich Geschichten zutragen wie in jeder anderen Stadt. Oder doch eine Stadt, die in ihren Traditionen verhaftet bleibt, mit denen ihre Bewohnerinnen und Bewohner umzugehen haben." Dewald, Loebenstein, and Schwarz, "Erzählte Stadt, gefilmtes Wien. Der Stadtraum als Handlungsraum im Österreichischen und internationalen Kino," 17.

is Vienna?" was examined and redefined at the WMK. And the WMK was conscious of its own influence in image creation, which albeit cannot be equaled by the influence of mass media such as film, has nevertheless played a certain role, as is seen in the example of the exhibition *Traum und Wirklichkeit*. The WMK's awareness of it is indicated by their emphasis on interdisciplinary perspectives, with which the themes of the exhibition were examined against a more complex socio-historical background. The research above shows that such an approach gave exhibitions under Kos' direction more of an analytical perspective. Hence the museum could avoid the impression of simply forming celebratory images of the city. As an educational institution, one might think that such an approach should be expected at museums automatically. But the research at the ETH shows otherwise (cf. Chapter 7). It is a quality of the WMK that ought to be recognized widely.

On the other hand, with too much focus on Vienna as images, the museum tends to forget that Vienna is also the life space of residents. This became particularly clear in the later years of Kos' tenure (i.e. after 2007). In the early years under Kos' direction, the city was seen more as a place for daily life with heterogeneity and dynamics. At the beginning of the period of his direction, Kos regarded the theme of diversity as an important commitment of the museum. To the exhibition *Gastarbajteri* (2004), he clearly stated that the museum should no longer aim at presenting a homogenous picture of the society, and that instead it has a duty to represent people with different backgrounds and experiences.[141] This indicates that to him diversity meant not only ethnicity, but also individual differences, as "experiences" connote individual agencies. In the cultural report of 2003, he also wrote that "[a] city museum has to have first of all diversity and difference as its themes," and he stated that history was presented to induce visitors to have dialogues on contemporary social issues through history.[142] However, these resolutions at the beginning of his tenure instead became secondary with the passage of time. There was no increase in the number of exhibitions under category of social issues, which actually decreased, representing only three percent of all temporary exhibitions. Although current issues were incorporated into the temporary exhibitions, they did not act as a central theme except for some exhibitions around 2003. At the same time, while the dynamics of urban space with conflicts remained a strong image of the city at the WMK, themes related to daily life also decreased. Instead, exhibitions on marketing, leisure, tourism, and design (the creative industries) increased, especially after 2007.

[141] Wolfgang Kos, "Winken zum Abschied, Winken zum Aufbruch – Vorwort und Dank ("The making of "), " in *Gastarbajteri*, ed. Hakan Gürses et al. (Vienna: Mandelbaum-Verlag, 2004), 15.

[142] "Ein Stadtmuseum hat vor allem auch Diversität und Differenz zu thematisieren." Magistrat der Stadt Wien, *Kunst- und Kulturbericht der Stadt Wien (2003)* (Vienna: Magistrat der Stadt Wien, 2004), 148.

It is true that the heterogeneity or fragmentation of space within the city was more represented in the late years of 2000–2010. However, this was mostly in small photographic exhibitions, while the themes of marketing, leisure, tourism, and design were mostly in large-size exhibitions. Themes on marketing and design clearly indicate the museum's preference for an image of the city as a space for cultural economy. While tourism and leisure might show the city with quality of life through certain lifestyles, people were pushed into the background instead.[143] The lack of employment of oral history or the participation of people could explain this in part. Work on oral history was actually constantly conducted at the WMK. In the cultural reports (2005, 2006, 2011 and 2013), there were references to "Biographical Talk Circles" (*biographische Gesprächskreise*) in which residents talked about their life stories.[144] This shows that the museum values personal connections to exhibition themes. However, in comparison to the MoL, which claims people as a center of their exhibitions (cf. Chapter 6), exhibitions at the WMK could not avoid giving the impression that the intellectualization of the trendy terms of the creative industries are the center of the exhibitions, since the use of oral history was more of a support rather than a center of the exhibitions.

At the same time, the WMK retains aesthetic images of high culture Vienna. The image of Vienna as a birthplace of modernity and theme of turn of the century art are reiterated, although they are at the same time re-examined from a socio-cultural perspective to show the dynamism of the time. The mark "Wien um 1900" is revived and incorporated in the new images of Vienna as an urban metropolis at the WMK, and this trend was also accelerated after 2008 with five exhibitions on "Wien um 1900," including a major exhibition in the Künstlerhaus in corporation with the Belvedere in 2011.

This all shows that there was a change in how images of the city were presented at the WMK around 2007–2008, although the basic concept of the city as dynamic has not changed. Images of the city from the latter half of Kos's tenure (especially through at least 2013) were more characterized by typical images of an urban metropolis in the age of globalization.

The influence of the cultural policy of the city on the museum is not as evident at the WMK as at the HMdSW, since the museum became an independent body in 2002. However, at the time of the "Ausgliederung," there was a strong demand from the city government for an urgently

[143] This tendency of the cultural scenes of the city is not new. To wit, "Dieser wurde in einen durch Medienlogiken, Lifestyle-Zeichen und Konsummarken bestimmten Erregnisraum überführt, der die Erlebnisgesellschaft, aber nicht die lebensweltlichen Bedürfnisse der »normalen« Leute bedient. So konnte gleichermaßen den heimischen Konsumenten wie auch den internationalen Touristen die Stadt als Marke bzw. Corporate Identity und als ausdifferenzierte »Konsumlandschaft« angeboten werden." Lutz Musner, "Ist Wien anders?", 782.

[144] There have also been some exhibitions which have included personal accounts or memories of the people concerned with themes: *Die Sinalco Epoche. Essen, Trinken, Konsumieren nach 1945* (2005), *Im Wirtshaus. Eine Geschichte der Wiener Geselligkeit* (2007), *Wo die Wuchtel fliegt. Legendäre Orte des Wiener Fußballs* (2008) and *Besetzt!* (2012). In the exhibition *John f. Kennedy – Special: Gipfel Wien 1961 – Chruschtschow und Kennedy* (2005), there was a section where visitors could put their objects related to the event during the period of exhibition.

needed restructuring of the museum.[145] Kos successfully achieved this in his first couple of years.[146] The museum was given a new name, leaving "Historical" out of the name, and it created a new logo. He conducted research into the images of the museum among Viennese (in 2004 and 2005), and he was very attentive to media coverage. His comments in the cultural reports of 2003 and 2004 on exhibitions were predominantly citations of media coverage on the exhibitions. The museum also published a clear mission statement (*Leitbild*) online in 2004, in which the museum was clearly defined as "an urban universal museum" (*ein urbanes Universalmuseum*).

In order to be an urban universal museum, the museum increased the number of popular culture exhibitions and took up social issues from the beginning. This conformed to the policy of Andreas Mailath-Pokorny, who took over the position of City Councilor of Cultural Affairs from Marboe in 2001. He emphasized the decentralization of cultural activities and the representation of diverse ethnic cultures at the beginning of his tenure.[147] The international openness of the city was also identified with the fostering of diversity. In the foreword to the cultural report of 2002, however, the cultural openness of the city is not defined strongly in terms of international cultural exchange, but more in terms of the development of contemporary art in which women and various ethnic groups could become visible.[148] His interest is clearly in domestic social politics rather than in international cultural exchange. This would partly explain the decrease of international exhibitions and the occurrence of a couple of very interesting exhibitions on social issues after 2002.

The increase of popular culture exhibitions with more interdisciplinary analytical perspectives could also be connected to the Mailath-Pokorny's view of the city, mentioned in his foreword to the cultural report of 2002, which defines it as a place of meeting and discussion of individual people's own history, cultural history, and the history of everyday life, in which contemporary issues should be specially focused.[149] The city is not identified only with its historical heritage but the history of everyday life. Since this view was also shared by Matt, Mattl, and Miessgang (2002), it cannot be said that the city's cultural policy was a decisive influence in setting a new profile of the WMK. There might also have been strong initiatives of the museum under this new direction, where the competence of curators and their familiarity with ongoing museological issues were already proven in the temporary exhibitions that took place after 2003. But the city

[145] Gemeinderat der Bundeshauptstadt Wien, "Gemeinderat der Bundeshauptstadt Wien: 17. Wahlperiode 18. Sitzung vom 26. Juni 2002 Wörtliches Protokoll," 17-24.

[146] Wiener Landtag, "Landtag, 16. Sitzung von 29.09.2003 Wörtliches Protokoll," 27, accessed May 11, 2015, http://www.wien.gv.at/mdb/ltg/2003/ltg-016-w-2003-09-26-027.htm.

[147] IG Kultur Österreich, "Die wundersame Wiedergewinnung des Kulturressorts durch die Wiener SPÖ: Interview mit Andreas Mailath-Pokorny," July 3, 2001, accessed September 20, 2015, http://igkultur.at/kulturpolitik/kommentare/die-wundersame-wiedergewinnung-des-kulturressorts-durch-die-wiener-spoe. This could also be understood as reflecting the reactionary atmosphere in Vienna toward the new right-wing coalition government.

[148] Magistrat der Stadt Wien, *Kunst- und Kulturbericht der Stadt Wien (2002)* (Vienna: Magistrat der Stadt Wien, 2003) (no page number given).

[149] Ibid., (no page number given).

also showed its satisfaction with the WMK's work, which was expressed in the comment made by Mailath-Pokorny in an international conference taking pride in the museum's strong brand with its focus on everyday life and keenness in 2008 to present it also outside Austria.[150] In fact, international exhibitions by the museum increased after 2009, although the theme is still mostly on the theme "Wien um 1900" at the moment.

However, the plan for the redevelopment of the museum would have caused a shift of focus around 2008 from the life space of residents with a stress on diversity to a focus on a lifestyle city characterized by leisure, consumption, and signs. Per cultural reports, since 2005 the dominant concern of the museum has shifted from the profile of the museum to solving space problems (storage and space for permanent exhibitions). After the decision to redevelop the museum in 2009, the role expected of the museum by the city government was formulated much more clearly in the debate over the location of the new museum. After some debate, there remained two possible plans for the new museum, either acquiring a completely new building in the newly developed area around the new Vienna Central Station, or a renovation of the current building in Karlsplatz. While Kos was for the latter plan, favoring the location in Karlsplatz, the Councilor said that remaining at the current Karlsplatz site was not his first choice, and he considered one of the roles of the museum its being a "visitor center for tourists" (*Besucherzentrum für Touristen*), which the museum also saw as an attractive idea.[151] The project is clearly a part of Vienna's tourism and urban development plan. Although Karlsplatz was the second choice of the Councilor, it was decided that the museum would remain in Karlsplatz. However, even though it was his second choice, the newly renovated museum will improve the image of the "Karlsplatz" and, it is expected to play a role as a "lighthouse" (*Leuchtturm*), being a landmark and leading the city's development.[152] With this new plan for the museum, the role of the museum might have been pushed strongly in the direction of representing brand images of the city rather than images of it as a place to represent the life space of people. In addition, there have been recently more collaborations with events organized by the city, such as "Vienna Art Week," "Vienna Design Week," and "der Monat der Fotografie," as well as events organized by "die Vienna Film Commission und Kino," all of which could be regarded as a part of strategies to make Vienna as a tourist city.[153] As "the only

[150] Andreas Mailath Pokorny, "Grußwort" in *Interkultureller Dialog*, *Auslandskulturtagung 2008. Beiträge von Kunst, Bildung und Wissenschaft zur wichtigsten außenpolitischen Herausforderung unserer Zeit,* ed. Andreas Pawlitschek (Wien: Bundesministerium für Europäische und Internationale Angelegenheiten, Kulturpolitische Sekt., Referat für Kulturelle Öffentlichkeitsarbeit, 2009), 11-12.

[151] "Wien-Museum erhält Neubau," *Der Standard,* August, 28, 2009, accessed July, 20, 2015, http://derstandard.at/1250691462339/Wien-Museum-erhaelt-Neubau.

[152] WM, "Wien Museum Neu: MEDIENGESPRÄCH 12. November, 2013 with Kulturstadtrat Andreas Mailath-Pokorny, Architekturbüro Kuehn Malvezzi Wilfried Kuehn, Direktor des Wien Museum Wolfgang Kos," 7 , accessed, July 29, 2015, http://www.wienmuseum.at/fileadmin/user_upload/PDFs/Ausschreibung_Direktion/Wien_Museum_NEU.pdf.

[153] Magistrat der Stadt Wien, *Kunst- und Kulturbericht der Stadt Wien (2010)* (Vienna: Magistrat der Stadt Wien, 2011), 112.

explicit cultural planning strategy"[154] in Vienna, tourism strategy plays a leading role in the Viennese cultural scene. Although marketing the city through culture is not at all new in Vienna, as has been mentioned above, the tendency is strengthened with the clearly defined image in new tourism strategies of the city as one of arts, music, theatre, events, and culture.[155] With the city's strong commitments to improving its brand as a tourist destination,[156] the museum simply cannot be free from such policies.

Therefore, it could be said the image presented at the WM since 1980 was mostly the city's brand image with an exceptional period around 2000 to 2007. Brand images include both traditional and contemporary images of the city. In addition, there was little sign of involvement from residents in forming and communicating these images (though there were a few exceptions). Analysis of the museum therefore supports the claim made by Michael Wimmer that in matters of cultural self determination, the Austrian population is not all that affected,[157] and the claim made by Johannes Suitner that there is "hardly any space for cultural processes, self-determined, bottom-up initiated projects and the evolvement of counter-hegemony to the city's powerful current cultural framing."[158] Broadening of the meaning of culture and the democratization of the museum was conducted from a top-down perspective, which made it difficult for the life space of people to be represented. Hence individuality is rarely to be seen.

The Role of the Museum

In considering the role of the city museum, one would assume that the city would be the center of their concern. However, questions "What is Vienna?" or "What makes Vienna?" were not always constant and taken-for-granted matters for the WM. In the 1990s, references to the city were surprisingly few, both in cultural reports and exhibition catalogues. In cultural reports, Düriegl regularly cited great thinkers such as Nietzsche, Huizinga, Adorno, Horkheimer, Chargaff, Canetti, Jaques le Goff, Russell, etc. in order to explain the museum's role, but there was no attempt to define the "city" museum, and no reference to major urban scholars such as Benjamin, Simmel or Lefebvre. It was only toward 2000 that the museum was clearly defined as being a museum about Vienna,[159] and daily life started to be represented at the museum. Therefore, it could be said that under Düriegl's direction, the museum was still an institution

[154] Johannes Suitner, "Imagineering Cultural Vienna: On the Semiotic Regulation of Vienna's Culture-led Urban Transformation" (PhD diss., Technische Universität Wien, 2014), 187.
[155] See Wien Tourismus, *Tourismus Konzept 2015. Wien Jetzt oder Nie* (Vienna: Wien Tourismus, 2009), 40–43, accessed September 3, 2015, http://b2b.wien.info/media/files-b2b/wien2015-kurz.pdf.
[156] Ruxandra Irina Popescu and Razvan Andrei Corbos, "Vienna's Branding Campaign: Strategic Option for Developing Austria's Capital in a Top Tourism Destination," *Theoretical and Empirical Researches in Urban Management* 10(3) (2015), accessed, August 23, 2015, http://um.ase.ro/no63/4.pdf.
[157] Wimmer, *Kultur und Demokratie*, 148.
[158] Suitner, "Imagineering Cultural Vienna," 115.
[159] Magistrat der Stadt Wien, *Kunst- und Kulturbericht der Stadt Wien (2001)* (Vienna: Magistrat der Stadt Wien, 2002) (no page number given).

preserving the universal legacy of human beings, but not particularly for the city and its residents. A lack of a sense of locality and self-understanding as a city museum indicates that the museum was detached from the city and that the clear self-identity of the Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien was not visible here at all.

On the other hand, the WMK shows very strong awareness of itself as an urban omnibus museum focusing on social and cultural histories of Vienna from interdisciplinary perspectives in order to be "open to current issues and questions" and to present "permanent re-interpretation of the collection and its meaning in the life of people."[160] It has a strong focus on history, art and everyday life. In the cultural report from 2003, the museum was also defined as "metropolitan museum" (*Großstadtmuseum*), not as a "Heimat-Museum,"[161] because Vienna will be seen in the context of international development.

Such a profile of the museum is first of all aimed at gaining "a unique position in the Viennese museum landscape,"[162] and international comparison between other cities is seen as one of the characteristics that make the museum unique in the Viennese museum landscape. This indicates that the museum is the only museum in Vienna that works on particular localities in Vienna and that its locality is formed through international comparisons. This might be the reason why the theme "Wien um 1900" had a comeback at the WMK. The enduring theme of the city space as a battlefield is also important to its identification as an urban museum, and daily life and popular culture themes demonstrate the museum's intellectual capacity as do the depth and breadth of its collections within the museum landscape of Vienna. However, the question has to be asked if this mission is becoming self-serving rather than something that serves the interests of the city's diverse residents.

Certainly, under Kos's direction, the people were more seriously taken into consideration. This is clearly demonstrated by the growing number of popular culture exhibitions. However, with the increasing number of exhibitions representing life-style of modern capitalist consumer society, exhibitions after 2007 have presented more commodified locales in the city. In addition, demonstrating the museum's heightened ability at academic, interdisciplinary analysis, the corporate image of Wien Museum Karlsplatz has become much clearer. Consequently, their exhibitions have been targeted mostly at the educated sector of residents and tourists. Therefore, without much visibility of individual residents or their life space in exhibitions, temporary exhibitions at the WMK could be seen more as a marketing tool of the city and of the museum itself, rather than as representing the city as the life space of residents.

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[160] "Ziel des Museums ist es, beim Blick auf die Geschichte und bei der Arbeit mit den historischen Zeugnissen offen für aktuelle Themen und Fragestellungen zu sein. Grundlage dafür ist die Bewahrung, Erforschung und permanente Neuinterpretation der Sammlungsobjekte und deren Bedeutung im Leben der Menschen." WM, "Unser Leitbild."

[161] Magistrat der Stadt Wien, *Kunst- und Kulturbericht der Stadt Wien (2003)*, 148.

[162] WM, "Unser Leitbild."

6 Analysis: Museum of London

6.1 Temporary Exhibitions

In the 1980s and 1990s temporary exhibitions at the MoL were held either in the Treasury, which was situated in almost the same space now occupied by Sackler Hall, or in the Special Exhibition Gallery, which was situated immediately after the entrance in the place of today's café. Other smaller exhibitions were held in appropriate spaces in the permanent galleries. In 2000s, smaller exhibitions have been held in the Inspiring London Gallery and a space in the foyer. Since 2003 major exhibitions have been held in the Linbury Gallery (Figure 2.1).

With an eye to comparing changes in temporary exhibitions, the periods of each directorship since 1980s as a unit over 30 years are as follows: Max Hebditch (1977–1997), Simon Thurley (1997–2002), Jack Lohman (2002–2012), and that of the current director Sharon Ament (September 2012–).[1] Although Thurley's direction was short, his five years were full of exhibitions, with an average of over 10 exhibitions a year. As the direction of Hebditch was long, his direction period can be divided between the 1980s and 1990s where necessary.

As is the case in the analysis of the WM and the ETH, archaeology is not a particular focus. However, since some major archaeology exhibitions are related to the museum's strategies, major archaeology exhibitions were also closely examined. As there are some exhibitions which cannot be categorized under any of the five categories, I added the category of "manufacturing" (cf. Chapter 6.1.2).

The Number of Temporary Exhibitions (Table 2)

The average number of temporary exhibitions in each group from each period are six (1980–1997), twelve (1998–2002), and six (2003–2012). There was not a huge increase of temporary exhibitions at the MoL between the period of 1980–1997 and the period of 2003–2009. This would be because when the museum underwent a major renovation between 2002 and 2009, available space for temporary exhibitions was restricted. However, considering the number of exhibitions before and after the renovation, at its full capacity the average number of temporary exhibitions at the MoL after 2013 can be estimated to be around nine. Notable is the number that occurred between 1997 and 2001. During his only five years directorship, Thurley managed to hold 58 temporal exhibitions. His strategy was to have more small-scale exhibitions. One stream of small exhibitions was called the "Capital Concerns" exhibitions and it

[1] For practical reasons, in the following analysis I consider the beginning of the tenures of Thurley and Lohman in 1998 and 2003 respectively. Since within the timeframe of this paper Ament's directorship is very short, I did not focus on the time after September 2012 as an independent period, and exhibitions in 2013 were not examined.

was mostly held in the Inspiring London Gallery, and another was held in the foyer. The themes of the former dealt with current social issues, which were aimed not only at attracting public attention, but also at stimulating public discussion on social themes.

6.1.1 High Culture

High culture exhibitions represented 17% under Hebditch, 16% under Thurley and 21%, under Lohman's direction. In comparison to the category of popular culture, high culture exhibitions under Hebditch's directorships made up half of all popular culture exhibitions, (under Hebditch popular culture made up 34%). But under Lohman's direction, high culture exhibitions were slightly more emphasized than popular culture was (16%). This reversed the trend at the WM. However, the basic concept of high arts exhibitions under Lohman was strongly social, which will be detailed below.

Exhibitions on paintings, drawings, and watercolors dominate this category, making up 22 out of 39 in total. Artistic photography exhibitions followed it with five exhibitions. There have also been exhibitions on crafts (jewelry [1991], ceramics [1987], glasses [1996], and silver [2006]), while performing arts and architecture do not appear in the list.[2] In the following, exhibitions on paintings/drawings/watercolors are analyzed first in order to see the characteristics of this category at the MoL. Artistic photography exhibitions are analyzed in detail alongside all other photographic exhibitions in the Chapter 6.1.6.[3] Exhibitions on crafts (glasses and silver) are detailed in Chapter 6.1.2 in relation to other exhibitions on handcraft.

Paintings/Drawings/Watercolors (List 2.1)

One clear attribute which distinguishes the MoL from the WM and the ETH is that there was no art exhibition focusing on world-famous painters. Although six of the titles of exhibitions clearly had artist names and four other exhibitions predominantly presented works by a particular artist (See the exhibitions in italics in List 2.1), these artists have been relatively little known painters.[4] In addition, when one looks at the titles in the list, it is clear that the exhibitions were mostly organized around the theme of "London." 13 exhibitions out of 22 have "London" in their title, out of which seven exhibitions displayed collections of works by many different artists on the theme of London. Therefore, in this section, it is clear that the museum represented the city by means of paintings/drawings/watercolors, rather than presenting the arts themselves. The subject represented might be the history of London, life of Londoners, or urban issues. In this greater

[2] There was only one exhibition on a legendary ballerina, *Anna Pavlova* (1981).
[3] As there were so many photography exhibitions at the MoL, I have analyzed all of them together under category of popular art.
[4] Beatrix Potter would be the only one whose name would have been widely known to general public. But she is known mostly as an author and illustrator of children's books.

framework, there is still a change to be recognized; perspectives change from representing London from a socio-historical perspective to a more present/future-oriented perspective and finally to focusing on individual artists' impressions of London.

Socio-Historical Perspective Rather Than Aesthetic Value

Regarding the major exhibition *Looking at London* (1980), at the time it was reported that "[t]he purpose of this exhibition is to bring together in one gallery some of the finest pictures from the Museum of London's collection of oil paintings."[5] Although there was no famous artist mentioned in titles or reports, and even though the themes of exhibited paintings were more oriented to daily scenes, this exhibition could be understood as the only example of such exhibitions at the MoL, which aimed at being a blockbuster art exhibition.

The exhibition *London Delineated 1750–1900* (1981) was a major watercolor exhibition held in collaboration with Guildhall Library. Considering that the director of the National Portrait Gallery opened the exhibition, the content would have focused on the artistic quality of the works. But unlike *Looking at London* in the previous year, it exhibited watercolors, which are often regarded as being secondary to oil paintings, and there were some objects related to artists and the arts business because the museum wanted "to suggest the way in which London not only provided artists with their visual inspiration but also the practical means for the development of the medium."[6] Here a socio-historical perspective toward arts and its relation to the city can be seen.

There are more watercolor exhibitions to follow: *The Tale of London Past* (1990), *The Streets of London 1895–1928* (1992), and *The Art of Jubilee Line* (1999). In the exhibition *Artists' London* (1992), along with the works of famous painters such as Henry Moore, works of contemporary artists and of tutors at the Royal College of Art and of students were also exhibited. The museum was already open to new means or "lesser" means of expression in the 1980s, and to a variety of artists who were not necessarily famous or even professional.

In terms of the subjects of the paintings exhibited, the museum's interests in people, everyday life, and the life space of people were already clearly discernable in the 1980s. For example, in a loaned exhibition, *Londoners: The Way We Were* (1987), the focus was instead on everyday life. To wit:

> [I]nstead of being concerned with the city's buildings and physical artefacts, it will have as its subject a representative cross-section of the millions of inhabitants who, over the centuries have

[5] MoL Archive, MOL Records Exhibitions/Looking at London, not dated.
[6] MoL Archive, Memo to Director's Office from Celina (16.M. 81). MOL Records Exhibition/London Delineated, 1981.

made London a city of such richness and variety.[7]

Although the paintings were not particularly aimed at depicting people, the exhibitions succeeded in bringing people to the center by exploring "the reasons why certain groups of people were singled out for notice in various eras."[8] It could be said that it was around 1985 that the museum's interest in the themes of people and every life became visible in temporary exhibitions. But people rarely became the subject of paintings exhibited after this time. While people were presented with photographs (cf. Chapter 6.1.6), paintings were used more to present a landscape of contemporary London.

Present/Future-Oriented Perspective

There was a notable change in the mid 1990s. Up until the exhibition *The Streets of London 1895–1928* (1992), which showed watercolors by H.E. Tidmarsh (1880–1927), high arts exhibitions at the MoL were concerned mostly with landscapes or scenes of London in the past. However, after the exhibition *Witnesses and Dreamers: Painters of the Inner City* (1994), the subject shifted from the past to everyday urban life in the last half of the 20th century. The main focus of the exhibition was on showing "a deeper truth" of the space of urban everyday life in the 20th century through the arts[9] with paintings from nine contemporary artists' work on the inner city. The exhibition *Streets in the Sky: The Paintings of David Hepher* (1996) also showed aspects of urban life of contemporary London through his paintings of South London's tower blocks.

This tendency continued into Thurley's time. The subjects of paintings in exhibitions were mainly the contemporary buildings which form London's cityscape: London's tower blocks (*Tower Blocks: the Artist's View* [1998]), Gasometers (*Cathedrals of Industry* [1998]), the Millennium Bridge and the London Eye, and so forth (*Building the Millennium: Paintings by Glynn Boyd Harte* [2000]), and places from well-known landmarks to little-known places or backstreets in London (*Portrait of a City: the London Paintings of Arturo di Stefano* [2000]). As these exhibitions were concerned with landscapes, they will be delineated in Chapter 6.1.3. However, it should be especially mentioned here that by recording the construction of buildings around the millennium in the exhibition *Building the Millennium*, with paintings serving "as reportage,"[10] the subject of those paintings became even future-oriented, as the Millennium Bridge, the London Eye, and the Tate Modern building presented in the exhibition will be the

[7] MoL Archive, MoL PR 68.2. not dated.
[8] Ibid.
[9] MoL Archive, Press Release 20.06.94. MOL Curatorial/Exhibitions.
[10] MoL, *Annual Report: 2000–2001* (London: MoL, 2001), 22.

part of London's landscape in the 21st century.

Focusing on Individual Artists' Impressions of London

The exhibition *The London Jungle Book* (2004) was an exhibition by Bhajju Shyam, who is a tribal artist and who had never previously left his home village in India. Not as an immigrant or second- or third generation Briton, but as someone who grew up in a culture with a completely different aesthetic sense and without any knowledge of the English language, Shyam's paintings put London in a new light. Two other exhibitions under Lohman's direction represented ethnic communities in London. In the exhibition *Uzo Egonu's London – An Exhibition of Paintings and Prints* (2004), his art was described as follows: "Drawing on European modernism and traditional West African art, his painting explores bold universal themes, from the pain of displaced people to the realities of urban living."[11] Feliks Topolski (1907–1989), to whom an exhibition was dedicated in 2007, was a Polish-born British artist, and the exhibition *London Creatives: Polish Roots* (2009) also showed people of Polish origin and how their immigrant background shaped their life. Under Thurley's direction, there was also an exhibition in 2000 called *Portrait of a City*, in which Arturo Di Stefano's works showed places in London related to his life as an Italian immigrant.

In the above exhibitions, personal experience or perspective fostered in specific individual immigrant backgrounds were as important as the artistic quality of paintings. Although the number of high arts exhibitions increased under Lohman, we see the focus was on the social meanings behind the paintings. Comments on the exhibition *London Futures* (2011) (under the category of "others"), which displayed a digital visualization of the future of London focused on the themes of climate change and global warming, showed this brilliantly. As they describe in archival material, "[t]hese amazing images bring ideas to life in a very accessible way. They frame the climate change debate in a way that everyone can grasp - showing us, rather than telling us, what the future might bring."[12] This comment tells how visual images were used to make some messages accessible to a wider public. At the MoL, even the high arts were also regarded as a means for individual artists to express their lives, backgrounds, or their perspectives in relation to London in a more accessible way. Although some of the works are abstract, most of the paintings include physical aspects, daily scenes, and landscapes of London. In a sense, they present the voices and perspectives of contemporary individual Londoners as well as their creativity.

[11] Gus Caseley Hayford, "Uzo Egonu at the Museum of London," *Culture24: Art, history, science*, August 04, 2005, accessed September 4, 2015, http://www.culture24.org.uk/art/tra29692.

[12] MoL Archive, MOL Records Exhibitions/ London Futures/ Briefing notes, not dated.

6.1.2 Manufacturing

This is the category established only for the MoL. Although Tokyo and Vienna also went through stages of deindustrialization, it was not strongly reflected at either the WM and the ETH. Under "manufacturing" I included not only industrial products but also handcrafts, as the process of manufacturing any material commodity now takes place away from our daily life.[13] Delocalization of manufacturing processes characterizes our era (cf. Chapter 1), hence the focus on manufacturing as shown in temporary exhibitions is of particular interest in this paper.

Industrial Manufacturing (List 2.2)

The major exhibition *London's Flying Start* (1981) was about the aviation industry in London and it aimed at recreating "the atmosphere of the early days of the aviation industry, in which London played a major and often forgotten part"[14] with a concurrent focus on the pioneer aviator Harold Balfour (1897–1988), who opened the exhibition. From rather disappointed comments on the number of visitors made in an annual report[15] and pictures of an exhibition room full of model aircrafts hanging from the ceilings and photographs of a recreated workshop, it seems that the exhibition aimed at being a blockbuster exhibition. Producing a major exhibition on the theme showed that at the time there was faith in the popularity of the theme.

Another major exhibition, *200 Years of Shipping Along the Thames* (1982), was to mark the bicentenary of the Worshipful Company of Shipwrights.[16] Shipbuilding on the Thames was already in decline in the 1840s, but the company still has strong links with maritime, shipping, and global trade, having experts of the field. Although the main organizer of this exhibition was the company, the exhibition showed the history of shipbuilding techniques and their relation to the Thames, which was the lifeline of London's economy for much of its history. Despite its importance to the history of London, the River Thames was seldom a theme in the temporary exhibitions, except where it was shown as a means of transport (*Transport in London* [1990]) or the subject of discussions on environment (*London's River: Turning the Tide* [1998]). The meaning of the river has changed as the industrial structure has likewise changed. This exhibition showed the last glimpse of the industrial past of London and of the river.

The Simms Car: Motoring Beginnings (1991) was a small exhibition in the entrance hall with a small display on a manufacturer who pioneered the motor industry. In the 1980s and 1990s, many British car manufacturers such as Jaguar (which came under Ford in 1989), Land Rover

[13] Exhibitions on fashion are excluded in this chapter as they are examined in Chapter 6.1.6.
[14] MoL, *Annual Report: 1981–1982* (London: MoL, 1982). 8.
[15] Ibid., 8.
[16] 'Worshipful company" is a common style used to refer to the Livery Companies of the City of London. They are historic trade associations since medieval times.

(acquired by BMW in 1994), and Rolls Royce (bought out by BMW in 1998) were having difficulties (finance and workers' strikes) and they were finally acquired by foreign companies, and the country's prior status as the second largest manufacturer of cars in the world became a thing of the past. Although there is no record of comments on the declining car industry at the exhibition, there might have been some recognition that the association between the U.K. and car manufacturing would become obsolete in the future.

Although there was no clear reference to the British Empire in above exhibitions, they were all related to the period in which Great Britain was leading the world economy as "workshop of the world," while in reality the Thatcher regime was fighting to bring the nation out of economic stagnation and revive the faded glory of the once-strongest nation in the world. Therefore, these exhibitions could also be seen as reinforcing the collective memory of the glory of the Empire to go along with the image presented by the Thatcher regime. However, as the last exhibition of this kind was in 1991, when Thatcher had already left the government and the de-industrialization of London was more or less complete, such a nostalgic view toward the Empire was almost invisible after 1991.

Handcrafts (List 2.3)

The title "London Silver," referring to 1983's major exhibition, might give the impression that it deals with valuable silverware, but "the emphasis of this exhibition was not so much on silver as works of art as on the social and economic circumstances which produced this great burst of creativity."[17] The exhibited included tea caddies as well as sugar and cake baskets in order to show the impact of new fashions in tea drinking and themes including patronage and the customer. The major exhibition *Pewter 1200–1700: A Celebration of the Craft* (1989) also strongly focused on their daily use in order "to illustrate and describe the day-to-day utensils of the common man, the items so frequently mentioned in the inventories of the not-so-rich or used by them in the social life of the taverns and inns of 16th- and 17th- century London."[18]

The two above exhibitions showed not only products, but also the skills, craftsmanship, social, and cultural context surrounding these kinds of production. They showed, probably without intention, a closeness between sites of production and consumption. Production was set in the immediate social surroundings of the time, namely the society of London at the time, and the daily objects presented, such as utensils of common people as well as silver daily objects from people of high society, represented their life space. However, this was no longer the case after

[17] MoL, *Annual Report: 1982–1983* (London: MoL, 1983), 2–3.
[18] R.F.Homer, S. Shemmell, "The Pewter Society," in *Pewter: A Celebration of the Craft, 1200–1700,* ed. Peter R G. Hornsby et al. (London: MoL, 1989), 2.

the 1980s, as manufacturing became more specialized and scattered across the globe.

The exhibition which makes for an interesting contrast with the exhibition *London Silver*, is *Cassel Silver Collection* (2006) (under the category of high culture), in which silverware was treated as a historically and monetarily valuable object, and not as an object to be used in daily life like in the exhibition *London Silver*. A similar contrast is to be seen between two exhibitions *Whitefriars: The Unique Glasshouse* (1987) and *Whitefriars Glass: The Art of James Powell & Sons of London* (1996) (under the category of high culture). The former was a small exhibition, commemorating the closure of the house after a 200 year-long history, and it exhibited not only their glasswork but also the "notebooks, designs, equipment, and objects relating to the owners of the glassworks and of the people who worked there."[19] On the other hand, the latter was an exhibition produced in collaboration with the Manchester City Art Gallery and it was accompanied by the publication of a color catalogue, all focusing on glass designers. This showed a change of interest from production, its process, and the people involved to more the design-oriented and aesthetic aspects of such products.

6.1.3 Landscape

The percentage of landscape exhibitions at the MoL has been constantly decreasing, from 13% to 11% to 4% during the periods in question. Under the direction of Hebditch, landscape exhibitions were represented in the temporary exhibitions more strongly at the MoL in comparison to the WM and the ETH, where landmark exhibitions represented only 5% and 0% respectively until 1997. Under the direction of Thurley, the percentage decreased. However, when exhibitions, which fall under other categories but which show London's landscapes, are included, there were altogether 13 exhibitions concerning the theme landscape during Thurley's five-year tenure, making up 23% of all temporary exhibitions. This means there was an interest in the changing appearance of the city prior to 2002. After 2002, there were only two small exhibitions. Considering that the exhibitions on this theme were mostly held in small spaces, the space shortage due to renovation would not be enough reason to explain the reduction. This shows the decreasing interest in city landscapes in general in the 2000s. In the following, I would like to show the shift in focus from disappearing/changing landscape, local areas, and transports to the river and new landmarks.

Disappearing/Changing Landscapes, Local Areas, and Transport (List 2.4)

The shift in economy from production to consumption and subsequent changes in the city's

[19] MoL Archive, MOL Record Exhibitions/Whitefriars - unique glasshouse, not dated.

landscape were strongly represented in the temporary exhibitions at the MoL, especially under Hebdich's direction. The museum must have felt a certain responsibility for recording ongoing transformations in cityscape.[20] While industrial sites like the London Docklands area became derelict, some parts were transformed to adjust to the new economy of commerce and consumption. Exhibitions such as *Covent Garden Market Old and New* (1980), *Spitalfields Market* (1983) (markets for vegetables, flowers, fruits, and fish) and *Billingsgate: London's Fish Market* (1984) recorded markets relocated in the 1980s and early 1990s so that old premises with historical buildings could be turned into new fashionable spaces for consumption, with restaurants, stalls, and entertainers.

The other exhibitions such as *Before Suburbia* (1982), an exhibition by photographer George Shadbolt, who recorded "old" landscapes of Hornsey in northern part of London, and *From Ridley Road to Radlett* (1995), which documented Jewish food shops along the streets situated between northeast area of London and Hertfordshire a few months before they disappeared, and *Deptford Creek* (1993), which showed the present state of an area that used to be bustling with heavy industry, all indicates the museum's sense of responsibility when it comes to keeping records of a disappearing/changing landscape. The exhibition *A Farewell to Fleet Street* (1988) even had a strong message to the people involved in the redevelopment of the area. The street located near the museum has had a history since 1500 after the arrival of printing as a center of the press and the publishing industry, but it was about to lose its historical character. And so they speak of how "[t]he exhibition highlights the vulnerability of this unique area of the City, and aims to inspire those involved in its redevelopment to retain its distinct character and atmosphere."[21]

Because of the museum's strong interest in changing cityscapes, the location of the museum is not a minor element. Considering that the museum was built amidst the hectic redevelopment of the city, the museum directly witnessed the fast changing appearance of the area during the processes of London's de-urbanization and re-urbanization. The museum itself was a new building in the area.

It is also interesting to see that except for *Before Suburbia* and *From Ridley Road to Radlett*, exhibitions were concerned mainly with the east part of London, the surrounding area of the MoL. This shows the MoL's local orientation in the 1980s and early 1990s. However, the local orientation disappeared in the 2000s after most of the old landscape was gone. Although the museum is situated in East London, in interviews, a relative indifference to the presence of

[20] Particularly, the keeper of the Modern Department at the time was very keen on recording the history of London Docklands. He began with his colleagues in 1980 recording information about London Dockland, and in 1982, the Board of Governors proposed the creation of a new museum on London Docklands, which is now the Museum of London Docklands. See Sheppard, *The Treasury of London's Past,* 180.

[21] MoL Archive, MOL PR. not dated 68.3.

global companies was clear.[22] The MoL does not represent or cast a critical gaze on the new occupation of space by global economic actors in the Museum's neighborhood.

Another characteristic of the tenure of Hebditch was the focus on transport, with the major exhibition *Kings Cross & St Pancras: A Tale of Two Stations* (1982) and small foyer exhibitions *Transport in London* (1990), *St Pancras Hotel and the History of the Midland Railway* (1992), and *London: the Under Ground City*" (1992). All exhibitions were not supported strongly by the museum.[23] But giving space to the theme shows the indispensability of the transport system in the life of people of London. While *Kings Cross & St. Pancras* centered more on the construction of the station and its role in industrialization, *Transport in London* focused on travellers using the transit system today. Here the transport system was also cast as a space of people's everyday lives and also as a network that "underpin[s] the capital's very existence."[24]

The River and New Landmarks (List 2.5)

After 1997 under Thurley's direction, the theme shifted from local commercial/industrial areas and transportation to new landmarks and the River Thames. Since paintings exhibitions during Thurley's showed contemporary London with clear awareness of showing more than just artistic works, (cf. Chapter 6.1.1), I have made an additional list of exhibitions of paintings.

Thurley's period was characterized by an interesting mixture of showing commodified space and the life space in the display of both landmarks and local space. Firstly, the theme "the River Thames" came to the fore. A small foyer exhibition *London's Found Riverscape* (1998) dealt with the river and it depicted two photographic panoramas from 1937 and from more recently, showing that "(t)he industrial landscape of sixty years ago has been replaced by one which is largely residential and recreational in character."[25] *The Millennium Dome: Photographs by Mark Power* (1999) also showed a new landmark of London along the river. These exhibitions indicated that the river was no longer seen as the economic lifeline of the Docklands and of London, but that it came into the center of the stage as an element forming a part of London's landscape, lined with modern residential buildings and new landmarks. At the same time, the former exhibition was accompanied by talks on the theme, and the Capital Concerns exhibition of the same year, *London's River: Turning the Tide*, which showed the history of the Thames from pre-historical times to the present, raised environmental and ecological issues "as to whether the Thames should continue to be squeezed between vertical walls of concrete or

[22] Curator and Director of collections of the MoL, interviewed by the author, July 10, 2013; Director of Finance and Corporate services, interviewed by the author, July, 23, 2013.

[23] The exhibition *Kings Cross & St Pancras* was a collaborative work held in conjunction with the National Railway Museum in York, with many objects on loan coming from the museum. *St. Pancras Hotel and the History of the Midland Railway* was mounted by the British Rail, and *Transport in London* was put on by London Documentary Photographers Group.

[24] MoL, *Annual Report: 1990–1991* (London: MoL, 1991), 2.

[25] MoL Archive, MOL Records Exhibitions 67.1A (Feb 1998).

opened up and restored to a more natural environment."[26] The Capital Concerns exhibition *Bridging History* (2000) can be seen as a complement to the exhibition *London's River*. Showing the history of bridges across the river, it also raised questions regarding the necessity of new bridge under construction (this was most likely about Millennium Bridge). Both exhibitions encouraged debate on the future landscape of the river, which clearly indicate the museum's concerns on the residents' agency in creating landscapes as well as their living condition of the city.

The exhibition *Tower Blocks: Love Them or Loathe Them* (1999), held on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the first London's ten-story housing block, was an exhibition with photographs and scale models which first touched upon the landscape of a non-affluent area. Tower blocks represent not only modern living in small spaces in tall buildings, but also they are situated in the south of London, which is a predominantly poor area. It is not a part of the beautified city identity, but rather it is an undesirable landscape of modern tall buildings. In addition, the museum presented public debates over the question as to whether tower blocks are desirable buildings to live in as well as landmark buildings.[27] Here again the museum brought urban problems related to the life space of people as well as to the cityscape to public debates marked by lively participation from the people involved.

In addition, the exhibition *Cathedrals of Industry* (1998) presented paintings of Gasometers, about which Thurley made the following comment:

> Gasometers may seem an unlikely symbol of London, but to millions of people who have either arrived at King's Cross Station, or watched the cricket from Oval cricket ground, they are as much symbols of this city as the more venerable and obvious icons such as Big Ben or Tower Bridge. These paintings inspire in me a passion for London, and I hope they will do the same for all those who see them.[28]

The comment conveys an image of London perceived by people living there. While Big Ben or the Tower Bridge are the landmarks of London for tourists, King's Cross Station, one of the busiest stations in London (and a cricket ground) would be more of a daily space for people. The title "Cathedrals of Industry" also indicates how a gasometer, a building formerly used to contain natural gas but which are now almost all dismantled or used for other purposes, majestically symbolizes the age of industry. Although these were small exhibitions, they are very characteristic of exhibitions at the MoL and they represent clearly what were previously

[26] MoL, *Annual Report: 1998–1999* (London: MoL, 1999), 213.
[27] The debate was reported in "UK High Rise Living," BBC NEWS, May 7, 1999, accessed September 15, 2015, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/336884.stm, and in "The Height of Fashion," Building.co.uk, May 13, 1999, accessed September 15, 2015, http://www.building.co.uk/the-height-of-fashion?/1016870.article.
[28] Simon Thurley, Director's forewords to *Cathedrals of industry*, by Mark Cazalet (London: MoL, 1998), 3.

underrepresented landmarks and areas.

Under Lohman's direction, there was only one landscape exhibition, *Hand-Drawn London* (2011), which showed eleven maps drawn by members of the public "not as a factual or geographical tool but based on the individual experiences, perceptions and imaginations of Londoners."[29] This exhibition implied that every single resident has his or her own mental map of the city, which echoes the Kevin Lynch's *The Image of the City*. Considering that there has been no other exhibition presenting cityscapes after 2002, it could be said that any unitary geographical image of the city might have been avoided under Lohman. The same tendency is recognized in the analysis of permanent exhibition (cf. Chapter 6.1.7).

6.1.4 Collective Memory

There were five major exhibitions on collective memory in five years under Thurley, in contrast to three under Hebditch and two under Lohman. And there were altogether three major exhibitions mainly dealing with archaeological finds during Thurley's time, while there were no archaeological major exhibitions under Hebditch and Lohman. It could be said that Thurley successfully incorporated archaeological finds into temporary exhibitions.[30]

Overall, under Hebditch, commemoration of the history of small groups and the history of World War II were dominant themes, although the latter will not be closely examined, as information on these exhibitions is minimal and the theme of World War II would have been selected by any other hypothetical director in relation to the 40th and 50th anniversaries of WWII. But the number of thematic exhibitions and exhibitions on certain periods increased with the passage of time. In the following, I would like to see this shift first, then focus particularly on "catchy" themes from Thurley's time. In List 2.6, it is clear that the titles of exhibitions under his direction have more familiar names and attractive wordings. At the end of the section, *After September 11: Images from Ground Zero*, an exhibition from 2002, is exampled as a rare case of an exhibition with strong political implications.

Commemoration of the History of Small Groups

Under Hebditch's period there were four exhibitions that commemorated a particular person or the history of a certain small group. Two exhibitions were anniversaries of political events and four exhibitions commemorated World War II.

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[29] MoL, "Hand-Drawn-London", accessed March 27, 2015, http://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/corporate/press-media/archived-press-releases/hand-drawn-london/.

[30] Archaeological exhibitions and presentations are usually very popular. The museum under Thurley tried to publicize sensational archaeological finds as soon as possible even "while Museum staff carried out initial conservation work." MoL, Annual Report: 1999–2000, 24.

One of the successful major history exhibitions in the 1980s was *The Quiet Conquest: The Huguenots 1685–1985* (1985), visited by 90,000 spectators. It aimed to tell the history of Huguenot immigrant families and their institutions as well as their contributions to British society. Considering that it was called a "quiet conquest" in the title, visited by the Queen, and successful in fundraising (with help of the Huguenot Society), it should have represented a relatively well-established community.[31] As the exhibition was intended to "highlight the human story behind this great influx of people, focusing on individuals and the legacy of institutions and artefacts which they created for the enrichment of the nation,"[32] it could be connected to the issues of recent immigration and their economic contribution.[33] But as Huguenots were highly skilled people, they cannot reflect the diverse background of recent immigrants. In addition, the exhibition can be understood as part of the trend at the museum in the early 1980s of focusing industry, because Huguenot contributions to industry and commerce were major points of emphasis.

There were more exhibitions following this that celebrated the history of a small circle of people. The exhibition *Paintings, Politics and Porter* (1984) was about the founder of Whitbread Brewery, Samuel Whitbread (1720–1796). *London's Ace of Spades!* (1990) was on the archaeologist and ex-Director of the London Museum, William.F. Grimes (1905–1988). The exhibition *The Prophetic Eye: The Life and Work of George Peabody (1795–1869)* (1995), mounted by the Peabody Trust, also commemorated the bicentennial of an American philanthropist who worked against poverty in London. *The Lord Mayor, The City and The River* (1989) was an exhibition held by the Corporation of London to celebrate the 800th anniversary of the mayoralty. The exhibition *London County Council: Responsible to the People* (1989) was, on the other hand, intended to commemorate the first meeting of the London County Council (LCC) on March 21, 1889. Although it touched the themes such as transport, water supplies, sewage systems, and housing conditions from a hundred years ago, it was shown from the perspective of a governing body. The exhibition *London Looks Forward: From 1945 to the Future* (1995) marked the 50th anniversary of the general election in 1945.

Thematic Approach

However, two exhibitions *Let's Face It* (1986) and *London's Pride* (1990) from Hebditch's time should also be counted as partly characterizing his era, as they both were major in size and scope.

[31] At the time, the Huguenot society of London was celebrating the Huguenot Heritage Year, the tercentenary of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

[32] MoL Archive, MoL Press Release, not dated.

[33] MoL, Tessa Murdoch and Huguenots Society of London, *The Quiet Conquest: The Huguenots 1685–1985* (London: MoL in association with Jolly,1985), 1. In fact, there was a comment from a visitor: "[T]he most appreciated aspects of the exhibition were the insights it gave into the incorporation of the Huguenots into British life, the opportunity to explore family history, and the chance to see the contribution of the immigrants to industry and commerce." MoL, *Annual Report: 1985–1986* (London: MoL, 1986), 1.

These exhibitions serve as evidence for his recognition of diversity in London and his view of the need to show a history that would encompasses all differences among Londoners.

> A walk along any street in London will reveal an enormous range of faces. Different races, ages, shapes and fashions combine to produce a far greater spectrum of looks than at any time in the past. The face has always been felt to be the key to revealing the character of an individual and people's faces are still a crucial factor in social relationships.[34]

Rather than presenting 250 years of general London history, *Let's Face It* tried to appeal to each person in London with the theme "face." Such a thematic analysis of history subsumed all differences and made it possible to present people-related themes without focusing on a particular group. *London's Pride* was also in the same line, identifying London with over 1,000 years of history in its gardens. Approaching a long period of history with a popular theme was an approach already started in Hebditch's era that was passed down to Thurley's time.

The major exhibition *London Bodies: Changing Shapes from Prehistoric Times to the Present Day* (1998), under Thurley's direction, also had the broad theme of "Londoner's appearance," cutting through over 2,000 years of history of the city. It attracted 70,000 visitors, creating queues simply to enter the museum. Drawing on their extensive collection of over 6,500 skeletons, excavated accessories, clothes, shoes, and modern pieces of technology, the exhibition showed not only physical changes in the bodies of Londoners, but also the appearance, diseases, and lifestyles of Londoners.

In this exhibition, all people regardless of ethnicity, age, gender, income level, or educational level, could somehow find connections to the theme, as the exhibition "highlight[s] particular themes to enable visitors to compare their own bodies with those of past Londoners."[35] In addition, exhibiting actual skeletons was sufficiently sensational to provoke public interest. Here the museum's intention to make the exhibition into spectacle was very clear. Just after this exhibition, another major exhibition *London Eats Out* (1999) also showed the history of people and society in London over 1,000 years through the theme of "eating out," as "Eating out is a fundamental part of the social, economic and cultural life of the capital."[36]

In contrast to general themes such as eating and bodies, the major exhibition *Creative Quarters* (2001) presented the life and work of artists in London since 1700, concentrating on particular areas at particular times. Although the exhibition showed over 150 art objects, 100 of which were on loan from other institutions, I put it under the category of collective memory because the exhibition re-narrated the history of London in relation to the development of creative activities.

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[34] Amanda Herries, *Faces* (London: MoL, 1986), 3.
[35] MoL Archive, Concept for London Bodies Exhibition 21, 1, 98 MOL Records Exhibitions/London Bodies 1.31.
[36] Loyd Grossman, Preface to *London Eats Out: 500 Years of Capital Dining*, ed. Edwina Ehrman et al. (London: Philip Wilson, 1999), 6.

The exhibition was not an art exhibition presenting only artworks, but it was about "putting the presence of artists into context with other aspects of London's past, [such that] this project provides a distinctive approach to the history of art in London from 1700 to 2000."[37] The exhibition showed that London has been a breeding ground for creative people, providing patronage and places to study, live, and trade. A new image of "London with creative talents" came to the fore.

Periodization without Nostalgia

The major exhibition *Chaucer's Londoners: A Compaignye of Sondry Folk* (2001) under Thurley was the first exhibition which showed London of a certain period. But as it was followed by three more similar exhibitions in Lohman's tenure, periodization more characterizes the time of Lohman.

Samuel Pepys, the central figure of the exhibition *Pepys' London* (2003), was a naval administrator in 17th century, but he was also famous for his diary, which gave valuable contemporary accounts of events such as the great fire of London, the Great Plague, the Restoration, as well as of his personal life or interests. Therefore, the exhibition was inevitably not only his biography, but it also encapsulated the period. Like *Chaucer's Londoners*, the exhibition showed vivid images of London's distant past with contemporary people and their lives.

While the above two exhibitions were more informative exhibitions on medieval times and the 17th century, the major exhibition *1920s: The Decade that Changed London* (2003) situated London in the global context of the period. The *1920s* exhibition aimed at showing "a more general twentieth-century experience of lives being shaped by the forces of globalization running alongside the forces of nationhood."[38] Considering that the term globalization is rather recent, the exhibition could be understood as retelling the story of the 1920s from a more contemporary perspective. In addition, the exhibition and the exhibition catalogue attempted to "allow the Museum to emphasise London's role as a place of cultural diversity and international debate – issues which are at the very heart of the Museum's philosophy."[39] "Cultural diversity" is now at the center of the debate, which is also clearly presented in the new Galleries of Modern London. (cf. Chapter 6.1.7) The major exhibition *Dickens and London* (2011) also reflected contemporary concerns regarding urban life and its problems. As the MoL write, "[h]is writings remain relevant today especially for the rapidly developing mega-cities around the world today,

[37] Kit Wedd, Lucy Peltz, Cathy Ross, and MoL, *Artists' London: Holbein to Hirst* (London: Merrell, 2001), 8.
[38] Ibid., 9
[39] Cathy Ross, *Twenties London: A City in the Jazz Age* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2003), 7.

which face many of the problems and challenges that impacted on Victorian London 150 years ago."[40] These problems included prostitution, poverty, childhood mortality, and homelessness.

Periodization can give a certain image and connotation to a period which has become cut off from present society as a subject of nostalgia. At the MoL, this does not happen, as terms "1920s" or "Dickens' London" did not repeatedly come up in the temporary exhibitions. Rather, particular periods were taken up not as a subject of nostalgia, but as the basis for critical comparison to the present. This makes for a strong contrast with the ETH where the "Edo" period is cut off from the present and has become a subject of nostalgia, which will be seen in Chapter 7.

Catchy Themes from the Late 1990s

The salient characteristic of this category comes from the titles of exhibitions held during Thurley's tenure. This included royals and celebrated names: "Rothschild," "Cromwell," "Chaucer," "The Queen," and "Alfred the Great." Other titles also included captivating terms like "Walls of Fame," "creative" and "Londinium." The contents of exhibitions were also very attractive, including a recreation of the Artists' Room at Pagani, an Italian Swiss restaurant on Great Portland Street, with panels autographed by many celebrities[41] for the exhibition *Walls Of Fame* (1998) as well as a reconstruction of an actual ancient Roman row of shops designed by a leading film company for the major exhibition *High Street Londinium* (2000).

However, these are not to be understood simply as populist strategies. The exhibition *Chaucer's Londoners* was concerned more with the lives of Londoners in medieval times than with Chaucer himself. In contrast to the 1980s, when the royal theme was discussed exclusively in relation to fashion or doll collections (1981, 1982, 1989), themes were treated more academically in the exhibitions *Alfred the Great* (1999) and *The Queen and Us* (2002).[42] The exhibition *Cromwell* (1999) was also inquisitive and offered a reinterpretation by examining the reality and the legend of the man.

In addition, this selection of themes reflected Thurley's sensitivity to new demands from society that the museum be accountable for and responsive to such concerns. For example, Charlotte Crow commented on the exhibition "High Street Londinium," writing "[m]ore 'experience' than exhibition, High Street Londinium is a head-on response to challenges leveled at museums in

[40] MoL, "A Tale of one man and His City," December 7, 2011, accessed, March 30, 2015, http://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/corporate/press-media/archived-press-releases/dickens-and-london/.

[41] This exhibition was also sponsored by the Embassy of Switzerland, Switzerland Tourism, and Swissair with further support from St. Moritz Restaurant & Club. One of the five panels exhibited was in the hands of the museum, but other panels and other original furniture decorating the room were on loan.

[42] The former, which presented little-known King Alfred, was a result of research work and archaeological finds by the museum. The latter focused on the relationship between royal events and the public, such as the role of television and souvenirs.

recent months to prove themselves accessible and relevant to a twenty-first-century audience."[43]

"After September 11: Images from Ground Zero"

Under Thurley's direction, *After September 11: Images from Ground Zero* (2002) was a politically charged exhibition, in which photographs of the Blitz were exhibited alongside Meyerowitz's photographs of Ground Zero after the 11th of September, 2001.[44] Considering that the debates preparing the way for the war in Iraq were starting to heat up in the U.K., this exhibition could even be seen as propaganda.[45]

> Certainly, the extent of the destruction and loss of life invites a comparison between New York, September 2011 and London, September 1940. But what Meyerowitz is referring to is the spirit that 'we're all in this together' and 'we will pick up the pieces and carry on.[46]

Referring to the Blitz, the exhibition aimed not only at arousing sympathy and a feeling of shared experience, but also to serve as a reminder that the two countries fought together during World War II. As the memory of World War II was openly used during the debate between the former wartime allies as to the legitimacy of invading Iraq, such an exhibition could show how the museum was sometimes used as a political tool for controlling memory.

6.1.5 Social Issues

Social issues have been strongly represented at the MoL since Turley's direction. Thurley's tenure dedicated 18 exhibitions to the theme in 5 years, 3-4 exhibitions every year (32%) and Lohman's tenure dedicated 18 exhibitions (32%). Interestingly, despite there being a ground-breaking exhibition on diversity *The peopling of London* (1993), Hebditch's time showed the theme the least, with only 7 exhibitions out of 106 (7%). In the following, exhibitions on diversity will be examined first, followed by an analysis of the rest of the exhibitions of this genre.

Diversity (List 2.7)

The major exhibition *The Peopling of London* (1993) was an internationally influential

[43] Charlotte Crow "The High Street Londinium exhibition at the Museum of London," *History Today* 50 (8) (2000), 6, accessed November 23, 2014, http://www.historytoday.com/charlotte-crow/whiff-roman-london.

[44] Joel Meyerowitz, was the only photographer who was granted unimpeded access to the location after September 11th, in order to celebrate the half-year anniversary of the event.

[45] This exhibition was lent by the US Department of State in conjunction with the Museum of the City of New York and opened by Mrs. Cheney, wife of the Vice President of the USA.

[46] "Museum of London Photo Curator Calls Meyerowitz Exhibition Unique," IWS – The Information Warfare Site, March 7, 2002, accessed August 25, 2014, http://www.iwar.org.uk/news-archive/2002/911/03-08-02.htm.

exhibition, which prompted exhibitions on similar themes in other countries. The exhibition aimed at "challenging the notion that immigration was a post-war phenomenon" and extending the Museum's audience, changing the way in which the Museum represents London's history, and encouraging Museum staff to think about new policies and practices.[47] The exhibition deliberately gave an overview of history from 5000 B.C., focusing on who came when and what they did for work. As over 2,000 years of history with about 20 ethnic groups was told in the space of 200 square meters, the exhibition space was simply too small to include details of their cultures and experiences. There are comments from visitors who felt the exhibition was rather static or lacking in information on their culture or their experiences.[48] However, despite such negative receptions, the Museum's efforts to show people's daily lives, culture, and experiences in a very limited space was also clear. The section "World in a City," where the exhibition began and ended, tried to show their lives, "which all reflect shared experiences often approached in ways distinctive to the culture of a particular group."[49] Considering that immigrants were not typical themes taken up at the museums, it was already of great significance to have an exhibition on the theme. In addition, exhibitions should not be seen as all that the museum did in this case. During the making of the exhibition, the museum developed links with communities.[50] However, as is mentioned above, social issues were not strongly represented during Hebditch's time. Although it established a milestone in its history of temporary exhibitions, the museum did not put much effort into maintaining those links, and their focus was diverted away from the issue of diversity.[51]

The major exhibition from 1992, *The Purple, White & Green: Suffragettes in London 1906–1914*, was on the suffragettes in London who were "reappraised" with a focus on "marketing" and "promotional" skills, instead of with an emphasis on issues related to women and their rights.[52] As the exhibition was followed later by *The Peopling of London* the next year, this exhibition seems at the first glance as an attempt to represent previously underrepresented aspects of women's history. However, interestingly, any consciousness about showing women's history was absent here. After this exhibition, there was not any exhibition which specially dealt with the underrepresentation of women at the museum. Unlike at the WM, artists, whose works were exhibited in the MoL's temporary exhibitions, were also dominantly men in this case. The

[47] Bill Schwarz, Introduction to *The Peopling of London: Fifteen Thousand Years of Settlement from Overseas*, ed. Nick Merriman, et al. (London: MoL, 1994), 14.
[48] For example, "I felt there was too much about trade and not enough about people, their feelings and their cultural contributions" and "What about the terrible treatment of immigrants over all those years?" Sara Selwood, Bill Schwarz and Nick Merriman, *The Peopling of London: Fifteen Thousand Years of Settlement from Overseas. An Evaluation of the Exhibition* (London: MoL, Art and Society and University of East London, 1996), 37.
[49] MoL Archive, MoL Press Release May 1993 MOL Curatorial/Exhibitions.
[50] Selwood, Schwarz and Merriman, The Peopling of London: Fifteen Thousand Years of Settlement from Overseas. An Evaluation of the Exhibition, 16.
[51] Ellie Miles, "Curating the Global City" (PhD diss., University of London, 2013), 138.
[52] Diane Atkinson, *Suffragettes in the Purple White & Green: London 1906–14* (London: MoL, 1992), 2.

exhibitions *A Woman's Place* (1994), celebrating 150th anniversary of Ada Lewis's birth, the founder of the Women's Housing Trust, and *Half the Sky: Chinese Women in London* (1996) also lacked special emphasis on female representation. Since the three exhibitions on women were more historical nature, it could be concluded that the main focus was not on the issue of diversity.

It is under Thurley's direction that the theme diversity received fuller attention. The exhibitions *Bedlam: Custody, Care and Cure, 1274–1997* (1997) and *The Whirlwind Continues: Users' Views on Britain's Mental Healthcare System* (1998) were both on people in the mental healthcare system. The former was on the history of the world oldest hospital for people with mental disorders and how they were cared for and seen by society. But it did not simply show the history of the institution, but rather "the exhibition highlighted the links between madness and creativity," presenting works of artists with mental disorders, such as painting and poems.[53] In showing their works and even photographs of patients, the museum described the exhibition as "full of human interest and raises many questions about the way people with mental problems are seen by society."[54] With information about latest technology to treat diseases available on CD-ROMs, it stimulated a public interest in the theme that was long absent at the museum, although the focus on "creativity" can be understood as part of Thurley's publicity strategy. A Foyer exhibition *The Whirlwind Continues: Users View on Britain's Mental Healthcare System* (1998) also conveyed patients' words using interviews and photographs. *Windrush: Sea Change* (1998), held on the occasion of 50th anniversary of the eponymous ship's arrival, commemorated the first post-war arrival of Caribbean migrants with oral history films. It was also a part of "museum's continued commitment to telling all Londoners stories."[55]

Pride Photographs (1998) and *Pride and Prejudice: Lesbian and Gay London* (1999) were the only exhibitions out of all of the temporary exhibitions from three museums analyzed in this paper which was concerned with the gay and lesbian communities.[56] *Pride and Prejudice* covered history on the topic from 1707, but the main emphasis was on recent history after the legalization of homosexuality in 1967. About this exhibition, the museum commented:

> The Museum of London is risking prosecution under Section 28 by putting on this exhibition in which it aims to celebrate the diversity of lesbian and gay life in London, to examine the enduring appeal of London to lesbians and gay men from around the UK and the world, and to explore the systems of oppression that lesbians and gays face.[57]

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[53] MoL, *Annual Report: 1997–1998* (London: MoL, 1998), 8.
[54] MoL Archive, MoL Press Release July 1997.
[55] MoL, Annual Report: 1996–1997,12.
[56] Although there is no information available on the details of the exhibition, "Pride Photographs" in 1998 at MoL was also on "Gay Pride March".
[57] MoL, "Pride and Prejudice: Lesbian and Gay London,", accessed September 17, 2014, http://archive.museumoflondon.org.uk/RWWC/Essays/Essay1/KaurEssay7.htm.

According to "Section 28," local authorities "shall not intentionally promote homosexuality or publish material with the intention of promoting homosexuality."[58] Although it was unlikely that the exhibition would lead to any prosecutions,[59] at the time presenting the history of homosexuality was still a brave step to take. Considering other provocative exhibitions held under Thurley's direction, a calculation for publicity might have been behind the selection of those themes. Whatever the motivation, it is clear that the list of exhibitions held under Thurley's direction had a distinctive character. It could even be called political.

From 2002, there was a three-year program "London Voice" established in order to develop an oral history collection to represent more communities with the exhibitions of *London Voices* and *Brazil in Mind* (both held in 2001), *Holidays of a Lifetime*, *Voices Online*, *Lewisham Voices*, and *Questioning London* (all from 2002), *Linked* (2003), as well as *Women's Talk* (2004). These oral history collections were shown not only in exhibitions, but also on Website or outside museums.[60] Such a use of oral history must have started before Thurley took office, and it continued into Lohman's time until the recent announcement of the department's downsizing.[61] It was an attempt to connect individual memory to public memory,[62] which culminated in the major exhibition *Belonging: Voices of London's Refugees* (2006) on the theme of refugees. It aimed at "tell[ing] the personal stories of why refugees come to London, the challenges of their new lives, the barriers they face, and the immeasurable contributions they make to the city" using this huge collection of oral history.[63] The method of presentation, using films and photographs, also made for a stunning contrast with *The Peopling of London* exhibition, as individuals and their experiences were brought to the center of the exhibition. However, as was mentioned in the evaluation, the exhibition was rather celebratory, lacking information on the background of refugees seeking and difficulties at the border with passport control.[64] The impression probably came from the fact that there were no particular questions raised here, unlike what was often seen in exhibitions under Thurley's direction. The exhibition made the underrepresented visible, but still steered clear from being provocative.

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[58] The section was added to the Local Government Act of 1986 and enacted in 1988. It was repealed by Section 122 of the Local Government Act of 2003.

[59] No prosecution was actually brought under this provision.

[60] "Voices Online" was an online exhibition. "Questioning London" was a website exhibition asking for opinions about London, such as those concerning image and identities of London. "Lewisham voices" was a website exhibition but held also in Lewisham.

[61] An early example of the use of oral history actually took place in the exhibition *The Making of Modern London 1914–1939* (1984). Under the current director, the department was downsized. See Geraldine Kendall, "MoL Axes Oral History and Community Teams," *Museums Journal*, September 25, 2013, accessed, October 13, 2014, http://www.museumsassociation.org/museums-journal/news/25092013-mol-confirms-17-redundancies.

[62] See Paula Hamilton and Linda Shopes, "Building Partnerships between Oral History and Memory Studies," in *Oral History and Public Memory,* ed. Paula Hamilton and Linda Shopes (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2008).

[63] MoL Archive, MoL Records Press release Exhibitions/Belonging - Voices of London 1.3, not dated.

[64] University of East London, Draft final of "Belonging – Voices of London's Refugees: An Evaluation by the Refugee Research Centre," (London: University of East London), 5.

What the MoL tried to do with oral history could be understood as bringing in an "individual who does the remembering and the memory of the group" into collective memory.[65] And such a focus on people's real experiences and voices could be understood as reflecting, on one hand, the democratic attitude of the museum toward letting people speak, and on another, as showing recognition of the individualization of society. It could be said that bringing individual voices and experiences into the exhibitions and collective memory is one of the signs of the museum's social awareness in which individual differences are becoming expressed and represented more and more. Individuals are no longer only a component of cultural/social groups, but they are recognized in terms of their individualities.

Others

After removing exhibitions on diversity from the list, the diversification of the theme clearly coincided with the timing of the change in directorship from Hebditch to Thurley (List 2.8). Under Thurley's direction, the museum took up social issues such as drugs, politics, and housing. Under the direction of Lohman, themes such as homeless and street vendors became issues for the MoL. A similar diversification of themes can also be seen at the WM.

Thurley's time was also distinguished with his commitment to stimulate debates on on-going social issues. In the list "C.C" stands for "Capital Concerns," which was a series of small exhibitions dedicated to city concerns. Although the size was small, Capital Concerns exhibitions dealt with social and even political issues. Some questions raised are: "Drugs: What should London do?, (*Drugs: What Should London Do?* [1998]) "should [the Thames] continue to be squeezed between vertical walls of concrete or opened up and restored to a more natural environment." (*London's River* (1998) under landscape category), "what should happen to London's problem tower blocks - should we do them up or blow them up?"(*Tower Blocks* [1999] under landscape category) and "how should Londoners dispose of their dead?"(*Grave Concerns: The Disposal of London's Dead* [2000]). The exhibition *Stolen Skins? Fur in Fashion* (2000) was especially strong in dealing with the history of a controversy over fur and "encouraged everyone to state their views on the issue of fur."[66] This exhibition actually caused protests in front of the museum. Such provocative exhibitions were seen only under Thurley's direction. Another example was the exhibition *Message to the Mayor: Don't Sterilise Our City!* (2000). It was an interesting exhibition with a strong political message from the museum declared in the title, all of which went beyond just raising the question.

However, although they must have been well meaning as far as contributing to society goes, it

[65] Hamilton and Shopes, "Building Partnerships between Oral History and Memory Studies," x.
[66] MoL, *Annual Report: 2000-2001* (London: MoL, 2001), 13.

should not be forgotten that the Capital Concerns exhibitions were initially created to attract more public attention—they were for PR purposes.

> The introduction of the Capital Concerns exhibitions has been one of the means by which the Museum has maintained a place in the public consciousness and built on its reputation for topical and imaginative displays. The rapidly changing nature of the exhibitions programme has enabled the Press & PR Office to enhance and extend its comprehensive network of media contacts.[67]

The smaller size and catchy theme were suited to attracting media. Considering Thurley's extremely adept strategies of combining catchy terms and critical content from exhibitions, this can be seen as a strategy for improving the visibility of the museum through being offensive as regards certain social and political matters. It could also be said that he showed an example of the museum as a public space.[68]

One clear omission of Thurley's time was the issue of poverty. But under Lohman's direction, some attempts were made. *Homeless in the Capital* (2008) was a collaboratory work between the museum and the Connection at St. Martin's, a charity organization working for homeless people. The exhibition presented the daily lives of homeless people using their diaries, artworks, poetry. Some items (e.g. a weekly bus pass) could break stereotypes, and they show that the backgrounds and lives of homeless people are diverse. As the MoL writes, "By taking a peek into this almost invisible section of society we are reminded that they are all real people with their own stories to tell."[69] They were also visible in photographs with their comments next to them. *The Dispossessed* (2011) was an exhibition in collaboration with the Evening Standard, which had run a special report on poverty in 1995 and had set up a fund to fight poverty. It also exhibited some individual voices with photographs, since "[t]he true face of modern poverty in the capital reveals itself not in statistics, but in the moving stories of ordinary Londoners."[70]

On the other hand, *Street Cries: Depictions of London's Poor* (2011) dealt with issues surrounding poverty, but the exhibits were predominantly prints from the Museum's art collection between the 17th and 19th centuries, examining how the poor were depicted in prints. The description of the exhibition online ended with the sentence, "[t]he *Cries* are a peculiarly eighteenth century phenomenon, and one which sheds more light on the urban poor than may be imagined. An exhibition not to be missed for anyone interested in Georgian London."[71] This exhibition is very similar to the temporary exhibition at the WMK, *Ganz Unten* (2007). Both

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[67] MoL, Annual Report: 1997-1998, 18.
[68] See Barrett, *Museum and the Public Sphere*.
[69] Connection at St Martins-in-the-Field, "London's Homeless Bed Down at Museum of London, Connection at St Martins," accessed October 19, 2014, http://www.connection-at-stmartins.org.uk/ugc-1/docs/Homeless%20in%20the%20Capital%20FINAL%20press%20release.pdf.
[70] MoL, "London's War Against Poverty: the Dispossessed Campaign at the Museum of London," accessed April 1, 2015, http://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/corporate/press-media/archived-press-releases/dispossessed/.
[71] Lucy Inglis, "New Exhibition – Street Cries: Depictions of London's Poor," MoL, March 23, 2011, accessed October 10, 2014, http://blog.museumoflondon.org.uk/new-exhibition-street-cries-depictions-of-londons-poor/.

aimed at increasing the visibility of the poor in history. But instead the poor became objects of knowledge and curiosity; and telling the history of the poor could even reinforce the tendency to legitimating the existence of the poor as historically inevitable.

In addition, what is common to these three exhibitions on poverty was that the economical and political system producing inequalities was not a focus. In this regard, the exhibition *Whatever Happened to Council Housing?* (2004), focusing on council houses and surrounding political issues such as Right to Buy legislation and rising house prices, was more critical regarding the issue of poverty. While environmental issues were frequently made themes, for example in *Urban Grime* (2003), *Weather Permitting: London's Changing Climate* (2008) (under category the of "others"), and *London Futures* (2011) and the visibility of the poor or offenders increased, there was no such provocative exhibition under Lohman's period.

6.1.6 Popular Culture

The period under Hebditch was the time when popular culture dominated the largest proportion of temporary exhibitions (34%), while the number of exhibitions on popular culture fell significantly after 1998, to 18% under Thurley and 16% under Lohman. This reduction could be explained by the large increase in the category of social issue after 1998.

Dominant themes are fashion, which is an important part of the museum's collection and gives a strong character to the exhibition on popular culture at the MoL, followed by films. However, most remarkable are the exhibitions with photography (53 in total but only 12 under this category). In the following, photography and fashion are separately analyzed in the first part. Then this will be followed by an analysis of the rest of the exhibitions of this genre, focusing especially on two major film exhibitions.

Photography

As the length of the list shows (List 2.9), photographs were already a popular medium at the museum in the 1980s. The recognition of the importance of photography was already clear in 1979 with an appointment of the first curator of photographs. In comparison to the HMdSW, where photographs were first recognized only in 1990s, and to the ETM, where there was no contemporary photographic exhibition until 2005, having almost two photographic exhibitions per year on average during the 1980s and the 1990s should be seen as significant. Throughout the 1980s and the 1990s, photographs were mainly used as documentary means for recording the history of the city. And while artistic photographic exhibitions were regularly held at the MoL,

the focus on photographs in other genres shifted from disappearing landscapes to people and daily life and finally to social issues. This trend was clear in small exhibitions. On the other hand, major exhibitions tended to be more on the blockbuster side of things.

Shifting from Disappearing Landscapes to People and Daily Life, and Finally to Social Issues

In the early 1980s, the subjects of photographs were mostly disappearing landscapes or lives from certain places and times (cf. Chapter 6.1.3). However, from the mid 1980s, the daily life of present-day London became another major theme in photographic exhibitions. At the exhibition *Billingsgate: London's Fish Market* (1984), the museum showed some regret for being late to recording the disappearing parts of life in London:

> This emphasises how important it is for the Museum to pay constant attention to significant features of London life now, rather than wait until they have disappeared or are about to. This is especially true of aspects where the material evidence is ephemeral.[72]

In this comment, the realization is clear that the photographs could be used to keep records of things, which are present and ephemeral. One of the criteria for "significant features of London life now" was clearly set in the exhibition *Making Time* (1987), which showed fifty prize-winning amateur photographs. The subjects of photographs were diverse, looking at details: "perhaps at a hairstyle, vehicle or piece of advertising – that will fix their pictures in time."[73] Involving not only professional photographers and curators but also students and amateur photographers, these diverse perspectives on archival records point to a democratization at the museum, as the subjects of photographs, which will be kept as historical documents, were chosen by ordinary people. They showed details of the popular culture and everyday life of the city from their own eyes.

In the same year as *Making Time*, there was also an exhibition *Londoners: The Way We Were*, which focused on the city's inhabitants in terms of the category of high culture. Therefore, it could be said that this year was the point when perspectives of the museum diversified, not only in terms of recording/showing disappearing buildings or spatial characteristics, but also in terms of people and their lives at present.

This focus on contemporary people and their lives continued until around 1993, with the exhibition *London at Home: Photographs by Magda Segal* (1993). Each photograph depicted a person or a family at their home with information on where they lived and worked.[74] What these

[72] MoL, *Annual Report: 1984–1985* (London: MoL, 1985), 4.
[73] MoL Archive, MOL Records Exhibitions/marking time (Box 3.15) Press Release 1987.
[74] This exhibition was in relation to *The Peopling of London* exhibition (see Chapter 6.1.5) presenting the diversity of Londoners.

photographs capture was people not in the background, but central subjects, with some of these people directly looking into the camera, therefore at the visitors of the exhibition. It gave impression that London was inhabited by millions of individuals. The exhibition *Eels, Pie and Mash* (1995) also showed the history of the trade (typical of working class culture) with photographs capturing proprietors, employees, and regular customers.

However, after the exhibition *Soccer City: The Photographs of David Trainer* (1996), which presented images of football fans, somehow interest in showing people and their lives by means of photographs dwindled. This was overshadowed by a stronger interest in new landmarks of London and social issues which increased after 1998. After 2002, there were no photograph exhibitions that showed people and their everyday lives as a central theme. This supports the claim that the museum's focus generally shifted from popular culture to social issues after Hebditch's direction. It also indicates that individuals and their lives are more represented through recordings or films.

Photographic Exhibition as Blockbusters

Interestingly, there was a different tendency in major photography exhibitions. There were three photography exhibitions at the MoL that can be called "blockbusters": *Photographers' London 1839–1994* (1995), *The Eye that Never Sleeps: Terence Donovan London Photographs* (1999) and *London Street Photography* (2011).

Although the photographs exhibited in *Photographers' London* showed London and Londoners in everyday scenes, photographer's perspectives and their images of London were the subjects of the exhibition, as the title indicated. Such artistic use of photographs in the 1990s was remarkable in comparison to the WM and the ETH. Firstly, it was relatively early that photographs were recognized as being artistic means of expression. Secondly, this exhibition presented photographs of many different photographers, including amateurs, under one title. In an exhibition with photographs taken by one photographer, the museum tends to be in a weak position when it comes to creating discourses surrounding those photographs, as the photographer's viewpoint dominates such exhibitions. However, in "Photographers' London," it was the artistic sense of a photography curator of the museum (Mike Seaborne) that framed the exhibition. As he writes, "One of the most exciting consequences of researching this book was the discovery of many wonderful photographs which have never, as far as I am aware, been published before, and I am delighted to be able to include some of these too."[75] This showed strong confidence of the museum in its own photography curatorship. Considering the fact that around 170 of the exhibited photos were from the Museum's own collection, it was one of the

[75] Mike Seaborne, *Photographers' London, 1839-1994* (London: MoL, 1995), 11

culminating points in the history of photographs at the museum.

The Eye that Never Sleeps: Terence Donovan London Photographs (1999), the first retrospective exhibition after the artist's death, despite not being a major exhibition and despite being mounted by an external curator, attracted 55,000 visitors. Terence Donovan (1936–1996) was mostly famous for his fashion photography from the 1960s. The exhibition presented his portraits of celebrities, marketing posters, and photographs for fashion magazines, all of which convey, according to the director's forewords in catalogues, "the glamour, the seediness, the charm and the grit of modern London…It is the face of a city portrayed with wit and energy."[76] In comparison to this, the exhibitions *A Better World Tomorrow?* (1989) (on Henry Grant), *Sixties London: Photographs by Dorothy Bohm* (1997) (on Dorothy Bohm), and *A Public Portfolio: Photographs of London by Henry Grant* (2001) (on Henry Grant) were all aesthetic, but the subjects of their photographs were oriented more toward the living space of the people of London.[77] But, however seedy, Donovan's photographs are still of fashion and the subjects of his photographs are from the world of glamor.

On the other hand, in the major exhibition *London Street Photography* (2011), the focus was on the genre of photography, which was neglected for quite a while.[78] However, although the exhibition also intended to respond to photographic trends in popular culture through many accompanying workshops on street photography, the photographs exhibited were highly artistic in nature. In addition, what is interesting in this exhibition, was its relation to London. London was not the subject matter of photographs, but the "spontaneity and movement" captured by street photographs represented the city. As Lohman put it in his foreword to the accompanying book to the exhibition,

> These are images that speak of spontaneity and movement, rather than formal composition; they capture the dynamic flux of the city and by doing so allow us to gaze on it at our leisure. It is this ability to convey the ebb and flow of city life that makes street photography so well suited to London.[79]

This shows that the image of London can be identified not only with landmarks and people, but also with abstract and dynamic images of movement or action represented in culture. An interviewee stated, the focus on the diversity of Londoners did not have any end point, as

[76] Simon Thurley, foreword to *Terence Donovan: London Photographs*, ed. Robin Muir (London: MoL, 1999), 7.
[77] For example, the purchase in 1987 of 80,000 photographs by Henry Grant (A photojournalist whose collection was shown in 1987 and 2001 at the MoL) indicated that the museum was more interested in photographs which of a social documentary nature, with ordinary people and places serving as subjects of photographs. Dorothy Bohm is also famous for street photography.
[78] This neglect was already noticed by the curator at the time of the exhibition *Photographers' London*. Seaborne, *Photographers' London*, 11.
[79] Jack Lohman, foreword to *London Street Photography 1860–2010*, ed. Mike Seaborne and Anna Sparham, (Stockport: Dewi Lewis, 2011), 5.

everyone is different in the end.[80] After a long sincere confrontation with the issue of the "diversity" of Londoners, the museum seems to have decided to move on to new abstract images of London and Londoners (cf. Chapter 6.2).

It is interesting to see that these three photography exhibitions did not represent the trend seen in smaller photography exhibitions. They were more directly related to the image of the whole of London, London from the perspectives of photographers, glamorous London, and London as spontaneous and in-motion.

Fashion (List 2.10)

Fashion occupies a noteworthy position in temporary exhibitions at the MoL, as the museum owns a rich fashion collection.[81] In the 1980s, 11 out of 23 popular culture exhibitions were on the theme of fashion, two of which were major. In the 1980s, especially the early 1980s, one of the most important criteria of the museum in selecting themes for exhibitions was how candidate exhibitions might show their collection and their research work (cf. Chapter 6.2). This policy explains the dominance of fashion in this category. The exhibition *This Gorgeous Mouchoir* (1988) clearly aimed to present their handkerchief collection to the public, which is one of the largest ones in Britain. The exhibition *Ivory, Feathers and Lace* (1985) was also meant to raise funds for the permanent exhibition space for their fashion collection,[82] which was finally realized in the "pleasure garden" in the new Gallery in 2010 (cf. Chapter 6.1.7). The exhibition *Little Dorrit* (1987), which exhibited the costumes from the film version of Dickens' famous novel set in 19th century, also showed the work of the fashion department, since "much of the research for making them had been done in the Museum's Costume Department."[83]

However, the strong commitment to the theme of fashion also shows that the MoL has taken full advantage of its own collection to present theatrical exhibitions. The exhibition *Masquerade* (1983) created the atmosphere of an eighteenth-century masquerade in London with special effects and music.[84] *Little Dorrit* showed authentically made costumes, using fabrics woven in India in the 19th century by twenty-five people over two years. Such an exhibition must have produced a great theatrical effect.[85]

However, between 1990 and 1996, fashion disappeared from the list completely. The

[80] Curator and Director of Collections, interviewed by the author, July 10, 2013.
[81] The rich fashion collection was formed partly due to their close relationship to the royal family in the early stages of the history of the museum. See Sheppard, *The Treasury of London's Past*.
[82] MoL, Annual Report: 1985-1986, 1.
[83] MoL, Annual Report: 1988-1989, 1.
[84] MoL Archive, Museum of London Press Release 3/83, Museum of London Information 67.4.
[85] Theatrical effects were also intended in other major exhibitions in the early 1980s such as *London's Flying Start* in 1981, with model aircraft being hanged from the ceiling.

disappearance of fashion exhibitions between 1990 and 1996 coincided with a new trend in the same period focusing more on the themes of people and everyday life. However, since 1997, large-scale, theatrical, and glamorous fashion exhibitions returned to the museum, while the Thurley significantly increased the number of exhibitions on social issues as Capital Concerns exhibitions. With the major exhibition *In Royal Fashion: The Clothes and Accessories of Princess Charlotte of Wales and Queen Victoria. 1796–1901* (1997), the royal theme also came back. With valuable collections from the museum as well as many objects on loan from the Royal Collection, and being opened by Princess Anne, this exhibition indicates the new director's ambition to make popular exhibitions more attractive. His ambition was clearer in another main fashion exhibition, *Vivienne Westwood: The Collection of Romilly McAlpine* (2000). The clothes exhibited were from the collection of Lady McAlpine, the wife of the former Treasurer of the Conservative Party, who wore Westwood's clothing at public events. The exhibition was dramatically designed by set designer Tim Hatley and it also was attended by the former Prime Minister Lady Thatcher, and sponsored by Mr. and Mrs. Rupert Hambro (of Hambro Bank). Exhibiting loaned objects and having ties with prominent personalities, these two fashion exhibitions drew a clear line to fashion exhibitions in the 1980s which put more emphasis on making collections accessible to the public, although exhibitions from both periods shared certain theatrical effects.

The exhibition themes during Thurley's directorship had a very good sense of balance. Small exhibitions such as a Capital Concerns exhibition *Sole City: London Shoes from the 1st to the 21st Century* (1998) and a foyer exhibition *Carnival Costumes '98* (1998) did compensate the omission of more critical perspectives at the two exhibitions. The *Sole City* displayed the best contemporary shoe design along with the museum's collection of shoes since the 1st century. It told the history of London's love with shoes, but also raised questions about "why so many London shoe designers are using manufacture abroad."[86] *Carnival Costumes '98* showed for the first time the 33 years of history of Notting Hill Carnival, one of the largest street festivals in the world. Although the social issues surrounding the carnival were rather veiled by the colorful costumes, it still showed the London's diverse culture.

However, the next director, Lohman, took another direction in fashion exhibition. *The London Look: Fashion from Street to Catwalk* (2004) was a major exhibition in which London was identified with its fashion scene. To wit, "[f]ashion becomes one lens through which to see the city's modern identity, one in which London is, always, embedded in a world history and caught up in the excitement of a global future. It is a future in which the London look is always

[86] MoL, Annual Report: 1997–1998, 10.

changing."[87] Compared to the *Vivienne Westwood* exhibition which only showed Westwood's fashion against the background of the history of fashion in London, *The London Look* had a much wider perspective. It was on the whole fashion industry of London, since "the design, manufacture, retailing and use of fashionable dress in the capital have always played a vital role in forming London's distinctive character,"[88] and it tried to identify the city with fashion in a global context. Here it is clear that works of fashion are no longer exhibited only for showing off collections, or for theatrical glamor, but that they are also regarded as part of the identity of the city. Fashion is now a focal point that can reflect London's diversity, creativity, and future-orientation. Although exhibitions on popular culture decreased after 2002, fashion now strongly represents the city, which can also be seen in permanent galleries (cf. Chapter 6.1.7).

At the same time, the exhibition did not represent the only image of London as a creative city, since fashion, especially fashion on High Street, is popular culture practiced in daily life. Tastes have become individualized and fashion has become a means for expressing personal identity and thus a manifestation of individualization. In this sense, *The London Look*, which presented variety of objects from the London fashion scene, also represented individualities and their life space.

Others

Outside of photographs and fashion, themes like toys (1984 and 1998), dolls (1982 and 1986), food (1999), sports (1994 and 1996), television (1991), theatre (1982), magazines (2008), communication[89] (2004 and 2011), and shopping (1982) were taken up as themes at the MoL (List 2.11). They all represented the daily lives of people, how they spend their time, what they eat, etc. Popular visual arts, such as posters, caricatures, and animation, are not seen except for the exhibitions *Cartoon Aid* (1988), *London Illustrated* (1988) and "*Satirical London: 300 Years of Irreverent Images*" (2006).[90] The latter two exhibitions represented the direction of the museum of the time. "*London Illustrated*" presented diversity and the daily lives of people with the works of contemporary young illustrators trained at the Royal College of Art, which showed "a richly imaginative cornucopia from the minutiae of people and everyday life, set against large architectural backdrops."[91] On the other hand, "*Satirical London*," presented caricatures from the past 300 years, and it was aware of their social meanings. The exhibition regarded caricatures

[87] Jack Lohman, foreword to *The London Look: Fashion from Street to Catwalk,* ed. Christopher Breward, Edwina Ehrman and Caroline Evans (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press in association with the MoL, 2004), 1.
[88] Ibid., 3.
[89] The exhibition *Connected London: 125 Years of the Telephone* in 2004 was about the history of the development of telephone. It makes for an interesting contrast with the exhibition *London Wall by Thomson & Craighead* (2011), which was about Twitter and Facebook. Both exhibitions showed technological developments which affected the daily lives of people.
[90], No detailed information is available for the exhibition *Cartoon Aid*.
[91] MoL Archive, MoL PR 7.12.88 68.3.

as "ostensibly criticising the failings of the Big City," but "with a vitality and exuberance that can seem more like a celebration."[92] In a big city, many go astray, but London has power to laugh at them and move on. Such an image could be created through exhibitions. It is interesting that the history of the failings of the Big City was used as part of the identity of the city. It is certainly conflicting interests that are the motor of the development of urban society. In this sense, London is identified with highly developed urban life. However, it is questionable if this should be simply celebrated as showing London's vitality and exuberance. Here one sees that the museum is more covert in showing social conflicts than it was during the time of Thurley, and that it does so in a way that is somewhat less critical.

In regard to the MoL's relationship with mass media, there was only one pertinent exhibit, *Watch with Mother* (1991). On the other hand, there was an exhibition, *London Wall by Thomson & Craighead* (2011), in which two artists displayed artistic presentations using tweets and texts publically accessible within a three-mile radius of the museum itself. Although it was an artistic exhibition, it followed the tradition of the museum being open to new means of expression.

The MoL's interest in films was also something that started rather early, going back to the 1980s in fact. Efforts to increase the collection of film-related objects were already clear in 1981. Similar to the case of photographs, the MoL was very forward looking in its treatment of films at the museum. As they note:

> The Museum believes the films to be as important products of London as the decorative arts which we show in our galleries form time to time. In addition, the many films included that were shot in London itself provide a valuable insight into the appearance and the way of life of the capital at various times in this century.[93]

Films were understood firstly as decorative arts and an "important London creative activity,"[94] then secondly as materials offering "a largely unproved field for a new kind of urban archaeology: the archaeology of recorded action rather than of surviving artefact."[95] However, in the beginning, films shown on the screen and themes related to the film industry were treated separately. Exhibitions related to the film industry included *Such Stuff as Dreams are Made on* (1981), *Little Dorrit* (1987), and *The Fool: Furnishing the Film* (1990), all of which presented not film itself, but film studios, sets, and costumes, since the films were neither the objects nor that would count as official trustworthy historical records. Therefore, it could be said that the films themselves were not seen as proper objects to be presented in museum exhibitions. The interest was in the film industry, which could be understood as a part of the museum's interest in

[92] Ian Hislop, foreword to *The Art of Satire: London in Caricature*, ed. Mark Bills (London: Philip Wilson, 2006), 7.
[93] MoL, Annual Report: 1981–1982, 9.
[94] MoL, *Annual Report:1983–1984*, (London: MoL, 1984), 5.
[95] Colin Sorensen, *London on Film: 100 Years of Filmmaking in London* (London: MoL, 1996), 9.

the 1980s in industry. (cf. Chapter 6.1.2)

Film itself became a subject for exhibitions only in 1996 with the exhibition *London on Film: 100 Years of Filmmaking in London*. The catalogue shows recorded images and fantasies created from London's landscape, people, and daily lives in terms of categories such as social contrast, work and play, the market, the club and the pub, and pop heroes as villains. The exhibition gave a rather nostalgic impression, as the exhibited scenes came mainly from films staged in the first half of the 20th century. For the curator, it was "frankly impossible to resist the temptation to explore the vanished London that can be revisited when looking at these earlier films."[96] Unlike the *Wien in Film* exhibition at the WMK, the films were not critically examined in relation to the MoL's creation of image of the city. After 1996, exhibitions related to mass media disappeared until *Michael Caine: 80th Anniversary Exhibition* (2013), which was followed in 2014 by an exhibition presenting a fictional figure, "*Sherlock Holmes*."[97] Critical examination of the representation of the city in mass media is seldom seen at the MoL.

[96] Ibid., 10.

[97] Films like *Sherlock Holmes* in 2009, its sequel *Sherlock Holmes: A Game of Shadows* in 2011, and BBC's TV drama series *Sherlock* would not be irrelevant for the choice of the theme.

6.1.8 Permanent Exhibitions

The basic structure of the permanent galleries of the two-floor space has not changed since 1973, although renovations and minor changes have been made.[98] However, under Lohman's direction, the museum's permanent galleries underwent extensive renovation.[99]

The permanent exhibition space begins after the foyer space without any ticket control, as admission is free. At the time of my visit, there was a panorama picture of London in the foyer, which defined London spatially and temporally. As the MoL's permanent exhibition ends with a recent event (the London Olympics 2012 at the time of my visit in 2012), it could be said that the connection to present-day London is particularly emphasized at the MoL.

There are introductory panels at the beginning of each gallery and each section. Routes for visitors are not clearly marked. But as all galleries are lined up surrounding the garden in the center of the building, most visitors would follow the whole sequence of galleries chronologically.[100] Due to limited space, in what follows I would like to analyze only the galleries of Modern London, namely the Expanding City: 1666–1850s (including the Pleasure garden), the People's City: 1850s–1940s (including the Victorian Walk), the World City: 1950s–today and the City Gallery, as these galleries more strongly reflect the image of contemporary London. (See Figure 2.1 in the Appendix.)

Modern London

The lower gallery, which houses the galleries of Modern London, was completely renovated under Lohman's directorship. The three galleries are arranged chronologically with a timeline attached to the rail surrounding the inner garden,[101] while each gallery is formed around a theme. One of the striking characteristics of these new galleries is, as Ellie Miles (2013) identifies, the "peopling the galleries,"[102] which will be the focus below.

Expanding City

The underlining theme of this galley is stated in the introductory panels, "London and the World" and "People and Change." The gallery is divided into four sections: "London Made,"

[98] For example, in 1989, the 18th century gallery was renovated, followed by the World War II gallery (1990–1991) and then the 19th century gallery (1991–1992). The catwalk was installed later (1995–1996), and finally the New Roman Gallery was opened in 2003.

[99] It re-created the Medieval London gallery (opened in 2005), the War, Plague and Fire gallery (opened in 2010) and the whole lower gallery on the ground floor (opened in 2010), replacing the World City Gallery (opened in 2001 under Thurley's direction).

[100] It is possible to go directly to the Roman London Gallery without paying a visit to the London before London Gallery. (See the plan in the Appendix) It is also possible to start the visit with the World City Gallery in order to see the galleries in reverse chronological order on the ground floor.

[101] This mostly marks innovations, changes in London's physical look, and some historical events of global influence. Some foundations, trusts, and corporations who donated to the museum have also recorded their own historical events in the timeline.

[102] There is extensive research on the process of producing the galleries of Modern London that has been undertaken by Ellie Miles, who also kindly gave me a tour of the galleries during my own research. She also identified the use of technologies as another characteristic of the new galleries in her dissertation. See Miles, "Curating the Global City."

"Life Chances," "Empire" and "New City." The most eye-catching object in the gallery is the 270 year-old printing press in the "London Made" section, installed in the center of the gallery and with many small project screens stretching from the press over to the ceiling on which examples of publications are projected. One entire wall is used for a display called "Empire." There are also cases imbedded in the floor.[103] Low glass cases exhibiting products made in London stand, forming a route between them. Although the space is open, the sections "Life Chances" and "New City" are rather overshadowed. The section "New City," which shows London's cityscape after the Great Fire, is behind the printing press. And the slightly lower position of the floor connected with steps and slopes to the "London Made" section give the impression that the section "Life Chances" is vaguely separated from the rest of the gallery. With a printing press and a showcase of a Fanshawa dress produced for a daughter of a Lord Mayor in the 18th century, the attention of visitors tends to be attracted to the "London Made" section.

In this gallery, the presentation might at first give visitors a rather chaotic impression with so many objects with various themes in a relatively small space. This intense overload of optical information creates a vivid and active atmosphere in the "London Made" section. With a variety of London made crafts and a digital interactive interface dealing with the work of craftsmen of the time, the power of London's manufacturing was presented in relation to its producers. On the other hand, in the "Empire" display with various objects and paintings related to Londoners who made their fortunes in trade and to the people colonized, the intention to draw a contrast between the colonizer and the colonized is clear with Nelson's sword at the center, hinting at the military power behind the expansion of the Empire. However, as the luxurious objects are predominantly visual, it is rather difficult to see the narrative line without reading the captions carefully.[104] Although a short film on the theme slavery is shown on a small screen, it was more on the anti-slavery movement. Considering that there is a permanent gallery "London, Sugar and Slavery" at the Museum of London Dockland, the museum's critical stance toward its own history is very strong. But in this section, the effect of the presentation gives a more positive and celebratory image of London, an image of it as the thriving capital of the Empire, with its innovation and wealth.

The small section called "Life Chances" seems to compensate for the celebratory atmosphere. Along with the presentation of sedan chairs and the living standards of the affluent who had medical care available to them, the section exhibited an original 18th-century prison cell with graffiti engraved by the inmates, and a digital interactive interface that provides visitors with

[103] This showcases a recreation of the work of participants in a program called "Pathways to work".. It is one example of the participation of people in creating the galleries cited by Miles, "Curating the Global City," 212–217.

[104] However, as I have seen, student groups seem to be well prepared when it comes to understanding the narrative line with question papers, stopping in front of a small unnoticeable object related to black people in London of that time.

opportunities to explore the lives of ordinary people.[105] The lack of objects representing those layers of the society is compensated for by the use of modern technology.

The "Pleasure Garden" is a closed space, but it still serves as part of the Expanding City gallery. The room is dimly lit with glass cases covering all of the wall faces. The mannequins are displayed in the cases wearing historical clothes, which are a part of the museum's great fashion collection of that has waited for an exhibition space for a long time. (cf. Chapter 6.1.6) With light and sound effects of bird songs and chattering of people, the room re-creates the scenes and atmosphere of days and nights in the Pleasure Garden, in which visitors can feel as though they are participating in the scene by sitting on benches.

This room stands out among all exhibitions examined in this paper, since it is so theatrically staged. It is a more experience-oriented presentation, similar to the Victorian Walk[106] or the reconstruction of traditional houses at the ETH (cf. Chapter 7). But what distinguishes the Pleasure Garden from those reconstructions is that the Pleasure Garden includes more fictional and aesthetic elements. As Ellie Miles writes, "[t]he Pleasure Gardens emerged from the combination of an academic discourse interested in pleasure and a museum agenda that sought to create *sensation*."[107] Mannequins faces are grey with metal wigs produced by sculptor Yasemen Hussein. While the dresses are all from the collection, the hats were ordered from the famous contemporary milliner Philip Treasy. By intentionally playing down more authentic elements, it could be said that it succeeds in presenting "pleasure" as felt by people of the time, since the Pleasure Garden itself was a theatrical place that aimed at entertaining people. To present the experiences of people of the time in such a way, similar theatrical effects would be necessary.

People's City: 1850s–1940s

The People's City gallery comes after the Victorian Walk. The first eye-catching object is a black taxi and a lift from Selfridges department store. These two major objects create a path between them (Figure 2.2). This leads to a space surrounded by tall cases and a wall, in which a small room is embedded which shows the Map of Poverty (Charles Booth 1887), with London's streets color-coded according to relative poverty levels. The theme of this gallery is the contrast between the rich and the poor, between the opulence and poverty of the Empire's capital. While there were rich people enjoying the luxurious commodities, life, and forms of entertainment represented by the Selfridges lift, the taxi, and dresses, the poor tried to make ends meet in an appalling environment with dirty water and the threat of epidemics. The life of the poor was

[105] There are also quizzes regarding crimes, causes of poverty, and illnesses of the time.
[106] The Victorian Walk was kept from the former permanent galleries, as it was a popular attraction. It recreates a walkway from the Victorian period with shops whose vitrines are filled with objects. There are no special light or sound effects.
[107] Miles, "Curating the Global City," 233 (emphasis is mine).

shown with pictures and daily objects which filled the shelves installed in the glass cases (Figure 2.3) as well as the poverty map. A water-pomp with digital interactive touchscreen also showed the sanitary situation of London and diseases caused by dirty water. Although the visual effect of each object related to the poor is rather weak in contrast to the magnificent objects of the rich, the space was allocated almost equally for both representations, which makes the contrast visually clear. The section on the poor is not some mere addition; instead it forms the core narrative. A film showing the history of struggles in the 1880s in the small theatre space next to the lift as well as the section on Suffragettes both indicate that the museum emphasizes confrontation and changes in the society. Social dynamics are much more clearly presented than in the Expanding City gallery.

The section on world wars after the section on suffragettes is a narrow corridor-like space between two tall cases behind the Selfridges lift. The two world wars are presented together with more daily experiences of people such as fighting in trenches, undergoing evacuations, or living in shelters through pictures and daily objects. Social aspects such as increasing the self-reliance of women, collective feeling, as well as divisions among the people are also explained. After the corridor-like space, there is a small room where interviews of war-survivors on films are shown. It is the most emotional part of the gallery, with images of war-ridden London and the voices of survivors.

Then suddenly come the themes of suburbanization and new lifestyles around the wartime periods. This last section is at odds with other sections in the gallery, as a sense of struggle is gone, but it presents London as a modern capital in terms of the development of transport and communication networks.

World City：1950s–Today

The MoL is the only museum among the three museums analyzed in this paper whose permanent exhibition covers history up until today. This gallery is the highlight of London's recent transformation, showing the history of the city after 1950, as London before 1950 and after 1950 are "virtually two different cities."[108] The clear message of this gallery is that the center of the exhibition is people, their diversity, and that London is "a truly cosmopolitan world city, diversity at its heart."[109] The introduction panel explains the background of ethnic diversity after the war, and the power of people and diversity is represented first with fashion. Tall glass cases contain works of fashion that mark epochs such as swinging London, going from Mary Quant to Alexander McQueen with reference to social events and movements representing a

[108] MoL, *Annual Report: 2005-2006* (London: MoL, 2006), 9.
[109] MoL, *Museum of London Highlights* (London: Scala Publishers, 2010), 56.

diversification of values with each fashion display case (Figure 2.4). However, the interesting structure of this gallery is that social confrontations are presented behind the cases showing the changing fashion of London. For example the Brixton Riot was presented with pictures of those involved and brief comments from them (Figure 2.5). This arrangement makes the two dimensions of the society very clear visually. While cultural diversity and varying senses of value are celebrated with fashion, social issues related to diversity were represented with pictures and oral histories. In the corner of the space, there is a big projector screen on which interviews of Londoners, including gay and lesbian people as well as people of ethnic minority communities, are projected.

After this, there is a section on industrial changes, spanning everything from manufacturing to the finance and service industries, where objects from London-made glasses and baking machinery to brick mobile phones and parts of computer systems are exhibited. In the next section, there is a reconstructed living room where children can manually interact with things, while there is also a glass case containing a model of "The Ghetto,"[110] which occupies considerable space within the gallery, and a painting of the "Poll Tax Riot." They also indicate the importance the museum sets on showing people, especially underrepresented or marginalized people, and their struggles. The last section of the gallery is a space for interaction with digital interactive desks that cover contemporary London.

After this gallery, visitors can also go to the City Gallery which houses the Lord Mayor's Coach. Although this is "the most iconic treasure" of the museum,[111] it is not incorporated into the story of London told in the permanent galleries. This clearly shows that London cannot be identified with such iconic items.[112]

Representation of Five Categories

High Culture

High Culture is almost an invisible category in the permanent galleries. Although there are silverware and paintings, the former are shown more as daily objects or are used to show Londoners' craftsmanship. Paintings are not displayed on the basis of artistic merit, but rather for their historical/social meanings. For example, the two paintings of Henry Nelson O'Neil in the Expanding City Gallery on the subjects of the departure and homecoming of the soldiers on occasion of Indian Mutiny show ordinary people participated in building and maintaining the Empire as well as the global connection of the city. In the World City Gallery, the painting of the

[110] This is a model of streets in Hackney, which was a hub for squatters during the 1990s.
[111] MoL, "The City Gallery," accessed May 27, 2015, http://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/london-wall/whats-on/galleries/city-gallery/.
[112] But this coach can be seen from the street through a window and it can impress passers-by throughout the city.

"Poll Tax Riot" by John Bartlett of the event that happened in Trafalgar Square on Saturday 31 March 1990 also reminds visitors of an unsettling event from the recent past. Although a Canaletto oil painting of the view of the interior of Henry VII's chapel in Westminster Abbey hangs in the Expanding City Gallery, it was not particularly made appealing to visitors. Therefore, it could be said that high culture plays a very minor role in presenting the story of the city in the MoL's permanent galleries.

Manufacturing

In the Expanding City Gallery, craftsmanship is strongly visible. It became the basis of the narrative line of London expanding through innovation. However, the Industrial Revolution that paved the way for the prosperity of the British Empire and London is not touched upon in the Galleries of Modern London. Rather than explaining technological innovations or making a steam engine into an exhibit, the museum put a greater priority on telling about people's lives as influenced by these things, such as with the widening gap between the rich and the poor and deteriorating sanitary conditions. It is clear that the Industrial Revolution was of little interest to the museum and was not regarded as an example of progress. Comparing to temporary exhibitions under the category of manufacturing, the disappearance of any focus on industrial manufacturing in the permanent galleries also indicates that contemporary London shifted from an industrial society to a post-industrial society with the service sector in the center. On the other hand, London's craftsmanship is celebrated. Although their works and lives are also shown with digital interactive displays, and their decline is also represented in the World City Gallery as a part of an industrial change from manufacturing to finance and services, the interpretation can be made that this is a possible contributing factor in fostering the image of London as a creative city. It is also interesting that the museum does not focus on London's status as a "World City" or as a world financial capitol in economic terms, although the term "World City" cannot be completely separated from the world economic system. This will be examined in Chapter 8.

Landscape

Changes in the cityscape are seen in various panorama paintings, drawings, and copper plates depicting London's cityscape of each time, while there is no focus on particular landmarks. It could be said that London is imagined geographically with holistic views of maps or panoramas, but not with particular buildings. It is difficult to find any physical center of London in the permanent galleries at the MoL. The geographical image of London presented here does not need any consistent material existence symbolizing the continuity of the history of London. This lack of interest in particular areas is also a characteristic of temporary exhibitions under

Lohman's direction, and it may indicate the Museum's recognition ever-widening differences between areas in London.[113] A certain building inevitably represents a certain area and a certain community, which the museum probably tries to avoid with the utmost care.

Collective memory

Collective memory is not formed in the permanent galleries in terms of political events, influential people, or developments in technology. As important historical events, only the World Wars, the suffrage movement, and the Brixton riots are shown clearly and distinctly. In addition, as the periodization of each gallery shows, the galleries of Modern London are more inexact than those of Roman London and Medieval London, both of which are divided into periods by clear historical events.[114] The galleries of Modern London were conceived of within the broader concept of the city's changing phases in relation to the lives of people. While there are some overarching themes in each gallery, collective memory is formed with various small sub-themes such as innovation, crafts, living standards, struggles for representation, fashion, transport, communication, and industry. They tell the history of people's political, social, cultural, and economic activities. The museum successfully "peopled" the history of London in a manner that will be much clearer below.

Social Issues and Popular Culture

In contrast to other categories, social issues and popular culture are predominant in the permanent galleries, especially in the galleries of Modern London. Social issues and popular culture are two separate categories, but they are examined together here, since popular culture presented in the Modern London Galleries could be said to be defined "as a site of struggle between the 'resistance' of subordinate groups and the forces of 'incorporation' operating in the interest of dominant groups in society."[115] Popular culture as mass culture, in terms of mass communication or mass consumption, is not represented all that much in the Modern London galleries. Even fashion displays represent not only the fashion trends of each epoch, but also how people's daily actions of choosing and wearing fashion represent changing social values. In this regard, social issues, popular culture and everyday life are interwoven and became the baseline of the narrative of the galleries of Modern London. This line between the two categories could

[113] There is a section in the World City Gallery showing each borough's landscapes and history. Ross also commented, "Our 'Snapshot of London' exhibit contains over 1,600 browse-able photographs of contemporary London - fifty images for each of the 33 London boroughs. It cannot capture all strands of London's multi-faceted character but it does give a flavor of the city that just would not have been possible with a smaller selection of photographs presented conventionally in frames." Cathy Ross, "Catalyst for Change: Galleries of Modern London," Museum Identity Ltd., accessed May 30, 2014, http://www.museum-id.com/projects-detail.asp?newsID=174.

[114] The end of Roman London was 410, and the Medieval London gallery ends with the year 1558, the accession of Queen Elizabeth. The World City gallery, mounted during the Thurley's direction, began with the year 1789, the outbreak of the French Revolution.

[115] Storey, *An Introduction to Cultural Theory and Popular Culture*, 10–11. See also Chapter 4.

be regarded as a result of the efforts of the museum toward "peopling" the galleries, showing popular power and will for change. As Catherine Ross writes, "[o]ne of our narrative strands is about people and change: we want visitors to leave the galleries reflecting on, or indeed inspired by, the thought that people do have the power to bring about social change."[116]

Although the issues of slavery and anti-Semitism are rather secondary, the issues of migration, poverty, feminism, racism and social unrest are strongly visible in the Galleries of Modern London. In the Changing City Gallery, although innovation and craftsmanship are more the center of the focus, various living standards are shown with help of modern technologies. In the People's London Gallery, while the cultural life of the rich is represented with costumes and symbols of consumption such as the Selfridges department store, what is particularly remarkable is that the life and life space of the poor, which tend to be overshadowed with luxury objects of the well-to-do, is made equally visible with the use of photographs and films. The exhibits are small and without any of the aura that visitors might usually expect of objects in the museum. However, a woman in ragged clothes carrying a baby in her arms or a small boy on the street going not to school but more likely to work each vividly present a part of story of London of the time. While photographs and daily objects of the poor could represent their daily scenes in a more static way, films on the story of conflict could represent the wills and powers of the people to change dominant social structures. The use of films, photographs, and daily objects, all of which have been actively used in temporary exhibitions at the MoL since the early 1980s, as well as oral history make it particularly visible who suffered, resisted, and acted for change. In the section on wars, faces and voices present how people fought and died and how people survived the war imposed by the strategic power of the nation-state. In the World City Gallery, interviews of minority groups as well as faces and comments from participants in the Brixton riots also show how people influence the history of the city. Therefore, the galleries do not just describe and explain poverty and social discrimination, but they show people's particular experiences with them from people's particular perspectives. They represent the city as a dynamic life space of people.

In relation to cultural diversity, rather than presenting the multiculturalism of London with diverse objects from each community, the World City Gallery shows cultural richness as well as difficulties brought by the meeting of different parties in London through fashion and the history of struggles, which represent dynamic power produced by diversity rather than a static description of it. Social problems are not comfortable themes to be presented in a museum. But being presented alongside the "bright" side of the London's story, the story is balanced as well as made dynamic with real contrast, and it even presents struggles and confrontations as being

[116] Catherine Ross, "Catalyst for Change: Galleries of Modern London."

the motor of urban development, in which popular power plays a central role.

Conclusion

Although the galleries show London in the past, the image of London here is surprisingly similar to the contemporary version; dynamic, diverse, and contested, with rich and poor, bright and dark, gorgeous and shabby, prosperity and exploitation, etc. Visitors move through the ages in the museum, but the impression of "time traveling," which is openly encouraged at the ETH (cf. Chapter 7), is very weak here. The image of London presented in the Galleries of Modern London is not a reflection of nostalgia for the past detached from the contemporary world, but instead the past is presented to help better understand the contemporary world, or the past is retold from the perspectives of contemporary Londoners. As the MoL itself writes, "Capital City is the Museum of London's response to London's changing social and cultural landscape at the start of the 21st century."[117]

The new presentation in the Galleries of Modern London lowered the hurdle to visitors without higher education, and the care given to visitors is quite visible. For example, the Pleasure Garden is a more experience-oriented exhibition, which could be felt and experienced rather than understood. Visitor knowledge is to be deepened not through tiring activities like reading every caption, but through varieties of objects, theatrical effects, and the fun of playing with digital interactive screens, all of which provide visitors with in-depth information as well as stimulating questions. This could be the result of negotiation between the three staff members (one each from the curatorial, collection, and educational departments) making exhibitions more adaptable to educational and interactive purposes.[118] The priority is more on "evoking" rather than on "explaining," although the museum tried to balance both.[119] While overarching themes are very clear, visitors might get the impression that the Galleries of Modern London have bits of everything, with so many themes and points of views being presented. In comparison to the other two museums, the density of the objects occupying space is remarkably high. Such presentation by itself, however, speaks to the power and dynamics produced by diversity, which is the core value of the city that the museum wants to present.

However, this powerful and dynamic image of the city can also be seen as a celebratory image. Certainly, diversity is represented, but oppression, poverty, and riots are not presented in a such way that might disturb visitors or require serious self-reflections on their part. In her interview by Ellie Miles, Cathy Ross said that the museum aims at telling the positive story of London as a

[117] MoL, *Annual Report: 2005–2006*, 8.
[118] Curator and Director of Collections, interviewed by the author, July 10, 2013.
[119] Miles, "Curating the Global City," 226.

"good Babylon" in a pleasurable way.[120] The presentation is full of social issues and struggles, but it successfully maintains a pleasurable impression because of the well-balanced presentation as well as its avoidance of presenting the cause of struggles or confrontations in analytical ways. Considering the recent problem of social polarization, it is rather remarkable that there is no analytical reference to the global economy in the city museum of the world financial center London. This shall be examined within the wider social framework of the city, which will occur in Chapter 8.

[120] Miles, "Curating the Global City," 145.

6.2 The Image of London Since 1980 as a Conclusion to the Content Analysis of Exhibitions at the Museum of London

Although the milestone exhibition *The Peopling of London* (1993) was significant internationally, the dominant category characterizing the period under Hebditch is popular culture, with 34%. While in the 1980s, there was a focus put, with a little nostalgia, on industry and the disappearing landscapes of London, there was a gradual shift from the middle of the 1980s to contemporary London's with everyday life also being presented as well as collected by means of photographs. At the same time, the major photographic and film exhibitions tend to be more on the blockbuster side of things, with artistic rather than socio-historical content. Although art exhibitions have a high degree of socio-historical focus, the category of high culture still stands for 17%. The collective memory exhibitions, representing mostly small groups of people, also come in at 18 %.

Thurley's time could be best explained in terms of strategies of mixing both critical and populist approaches. On the one hand, London is shown with glamorous fashion, new landscapes, the royal family, famous historical figures, and sensational archaeological finds, as well as the reconstruction of Londinium. On the other hand, he showed the diversity of the life space of Londoners and increased the presence of underrepresented people in exhibitions. With the "Capital Concerns" exhibitions, it is clear that Thurley was very aware of the possibility of the museum taking an active role in stimulating public debates on urban issues.[121] Under his direction, the category of social issues dominates with 32%, followed by popular culture with 18%. These two categories stand for the half of the temporary exhibitions held during his time.

Under Lohman, social issues remained as a dominant theme, with 32% in the temporary exhibitions through increased use of oral history. High culture exhibitions increased to 21%, but they also showed individual perceptions of society by artists rather than showing artworks for their aesthetic merit, and collective memory became more centered on social history. In popular culture, the diversity of people in fashion and the spontaneity of street photographs represent the diversity and dynamics of the city, while no particular fixed landscapes are shown. The images of London under Lohman's directorship, hence, are concerned with people, society, individuality, and dynamics. However, in comparison to the time of Thurley, it cannot be denied that the themes of temporary exhibitions during Lohman's time are rather reserved. Without evocative elements, themes dealing with social issues and popular culture become rather celebratory of the identity of the city and of the drive towards the city's economic and social development, while

[121] Beyond the exhibitions examined closely in earlier chapters, the exhibition *Collecting 2000* (under the category of "others") showed collections that were selected by and commented upon by any social group who wanted to participate in the exhibition. As choices were not made by the museum, but by each social group, this exhibition showed the museum's efforts to give a voice to communities.

the life spaces of residents are at the same time strongly visible.

In the images above, it seems that the social approach grew stronger in the late 1990s and early 2000s. At first glance, the opposition in political ideologies between socialist London/New Labour on the one hand and Conservatives in favor of promoting neo-liberalism on the other hand could explain this shift. In what follows I would like to examine the periods of three directors separately in relation to the cultural policies of the relevant founding bodies.

The Period under Hebditch: The Thatcher Government and Privatization

Until 1986, the museum was funded by the government, the Greater London Council (GLC), and the City of London Corporation. While the conservative party led by Margaret Thatcher was in power on the national level since 1979, the GLC was under the Labour Party led by Ken Livingston from 1981 to 1986. In the U.K., the prior approach of an arms-length policy to support exceptional talents in the realm of high culture with less consideration for economic effects already started to shift to the instrumental use of culture for economic, social, and political aims in the 1970s in response to changing definitions of culture and its role in society.[122] As the neo-liberalism advances under the Thatcher government grew, public organizations were further required to show the cost effectiveness of their work. For example, in 1985, the Arts Council of Great Britain (ACGB), a non-departmental body that distributes the cultural budget of the government, published a pamphlet *A Great British Success Story* whose main aim "seems instead to have been to communicate to the government that the Council was now willing to join the 'real' world represented by the market economy and that it had dispensed with idealistic arts lobbying, and now considered itself one of the financial engines of an 'Arts Industry.'"[123] The ACGB also encouraged cultural institutions to seek private sponsorship, following the establishment of the Business Sponsorship Incentive Scheme in 1984. The value or usefulness of culture began to be explained in monetary terms.

Despite strong opposition from Livingstone against the policies of Thatcher that led to the abolition of the GLC in 1986, the cultural policy advocated by Nicholas Garnham as a consultant to the GLC, also emphasized the importance of cultural industries in London's economy.[124] Although it was never implemented, it is often regarded as a seminal moment where cultural industries emerged as an issue in local policy making.[125] Their emphasis on diversity, the

[122] Eleonora Belfiore, "Art as a Means of Alleviating Social Exclusion: Does It Really Work? A Critique of Instrumental Cultural Policies and Social Impact Studies in the UK," *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 8(1) (2002): 95, accessed February 20, 2015, http://www.tandfonline.com/10.1080/102866302900324658.

[123] D. Keith Peacock, *Thatcher's Theatre: British Theatre and Drama in the Eighties* (Westport, Conn. and London: Greenwood Press, 1999), 46.

[124] See Franco Bianchini, "GLC R.I.P. 1981–1986," *New Formations* 1 (1987). Nicholas Garnham, *Capitalism and Communication* (London: Sage, 1990).

[125] David Hesmondhalgh and Andy C. Pratt, "Cultural Industries and Cultural Policy," *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 11(1)(2005): 4, accessed February 10, 2015, doi: 10.1080/10286630500067598.

underrepresented, and anti-racist strategies were not opposed to the commodification and marketization of culture and the policies of the ACGB. In addition, although the GLC also used culture for their political aims by focusing on people who would be negatively affected by Thatcher's policies,[126] the existence of the GLC did not seem to help the situation of the museum in the early 1980s when the museum faced serious financial problems. This could be explained by the funding system which saw equal sharing take place between the three bodies, but this could also be because of the rather low enthusiasm that the GLC showed in the process of the founding of the museum (cf. Chapter 4). Although there were no remarks made on the budget cuts in the annual review of the MoL, the financial difficulty the museum faced was clear in the cancellation of three exhibitions from 1983 to 1984. Under such financial circumstances, the museum had to seek private sponsorship, as was advocated by the Thatcher government. This could be the reason why there were many major exhibitions commemorating the memory of smaller groups. Those exhibitions were all funded by the respective groups in question.

However, the income of the museum since the abolition of the GLC in 1986 increased by about 70%.[127] This might explain how the themes of temporary exhibitions became less influenced by the availability of sponsorship in the 1990s, which resulted in giving more emphasis to themes from popular culture. A focus on daily life, which was already under discussion in the early 1980s at the museum, was strengthened. This would have owed in large part to the effort of curators as well as general public pressure to the ACGB/ACE[128] to democratize the concept of culture. While the government's highest priority was economic, it was also the non-departmental ACGB which took over the leading role in supporting art from minority populations after the abolition of the GLC[129] (although the GLC's support of art from minority populations is not recognizable at the MoL). As mentioned above, in the 1970s and 1980s the ACGB was encouraged to democratize the definition of culture due to growing awareness of diversity encouraged especially by social movements. The early use of photographs, acquisition of contemporary objects, taking pictures, and interviews on the streets of London point to the early efforts at democratization of the content of exhibitions at the MoL. However in comparison to the periods of Thurley and Lohman, the ratio of social issue exhibitions was very small with only 7%. Although ethnic diversity was an issue the ACGB/ACE was promoting, it was not so strongly emphasized.[130] According to annual reviews, it is only after 1997–1998 that frequent

[126] Bianchini, "GLC R.I.P. 1981 – 1986."
[127] The reason for this increase is not clearly stated.
[128] The Arts Council of Great Britain was split into three entities respectively covering England, Scotland, and Wales in 1994.
[129] Victoria Walsh, "Tate Britain: Curating Britishness and Cultural Diversity," Tate Encounters [E]dition (original) 2, February 2008, accessed March 6, 2015, http://www2.tate.org.uk/tate-encounters/edition-2/TateEncounters2_VictoriaWalsh.pdf.
[130] Although the budget for black involvement in the arts increased, it was still difficult for ethnically-oriented art programs to apply for National Lottery Funding, where basic requirements were set by the ACE. Therefore, fostering ethnic diversity was not so strongly encouraged. See Alison Donnell, *Companion to Contemporary Black British Culture* (London: Routledge, 2001).

references to the ethnic cultures began to appear. Although Thurley saw 1997's *Half the Sky: Chinese Women in London* as an exhibition which "furthered the work the museum has been undertaking for some years with ethnic minorities for some years,"[131] social issues did not receive particular attention in temporary exhibitions under Hebditch's direction.

Instead, the museum's efforts for better management, as reported in the annual reviews, are remarkable. Since 1986, even after the financial situation improved, efforts to make the museum more cost-effective were sped up. There came a series of improvements in the management and marketing which the MoL said "will secure increasing support from sponsorship and improved internal income generation."[132] In 1990 and 1991, the Development Council and a new Marketing Department had been created to improve the museum's management and publicity.[133] The attempt to be a cost-effective organization can also seen in its creation of additional financial sources independent of the three funding bodies themselves.[134]

Populist but accessible themes such as the aesthetic presentation of films or photographs also points to the museum's efforts to take the public's taste into consideration. As the MoL writes, "[t]he public's taste in exhibitions has become more sophisticated. The Museum, while still primarily educational, competes for people's disposable time as part of the leisure industry."[135] Exhibitions with themes on popular culture would respond better to the demands of the masses. This agrees with the comment made by Lord Rees-Mogg mentioned in the Arts Council's annual report of 1987–1988, namely that "[w]e are coming to value the consumer's judgment as highly as that of the official or expert."[136] Democratizing the museum broadens access, which could result in an increase in the number of visitors.

These two tendencies toward democratizing the concepts of culture and art and the application of more business concepts such as marketing and cost-effectiveness characterized Hebditch's time. And the image of London was popularized in line with the tastes of the masses. Looking over it all, without any socially critical exhibitions, economic perspectives seem to have taken command during the period, at least somewhat. This balance of emphasis, however, gradually shifted from popular culture to social issues with the passage of time.

Thurley's Period: New Labour and the Instrumental Use of Culture

1997 was the year when the long era of Conservative rule was broken by New Labour, as led by Tony Blair. Under Blair, culture and creative industries based on the cultural diversity of London

131 MoL, *Annual Report: 1995–1996* (London: MoL, 1996), 5.
132 MoL, *Annual Report: 1987–1988*, 3.
133 MoL, *Annual Report: 1990–1991* (London: MoL, 1991), 3.
134 The Museum of London Trust Fund (contribution by visitors), The Friends of Fashion or The Cripplegate Foundation, as examples.
135 MoL, *Annual Report: 1986–1987* (London: MoL, 1987), 3.
136 ACGB, *Annual Report: 1987–1988* (London: ACGB, 1988), 50.

were clearly understood elements for social inclusion, urban regeneration, and creating a new brand for the U.K. (Cool Britannia). In this cultural policy, museums were strongly committed to the struggle against social exclusion: "[museums] can play a role in generating social change by engaging with and empowering people to determine their place in the world, educate themselves to achieve their own potential, play a full part in society, and contribute to transforming it in the future."[137]

Although the stress is now on social inclusion and cultural diversity rather than on private sponsorship with a hugely increased budget for arts,[138] the baseline when it comes to improving the cost-effectiveness of culture has not changed between New Labour and the Conservatives. New Labour's policy can sometimes be criticized as "essentially a continuation of the neo-liberal economic and social programmes of the Thatcher era with a social democratic gloss."[139] Social inclusion means inclusion for the labor market, which is very much within the frame of neo-liberalism. As is the case with Tokyo, which will be seen in Chapter 7, culture is used to form "ideally entrepreneurial, self-reliant and self-creating" citizens who could participate properly in the competitive market economy.[140] It is still the market that has a dominant position. People have to adapt to it, rather than it being the system producing unreasonable inequality that needs to adapt.

Looking at exhibitions during Thurley's period in this framework, the museum's emphasis on social issues, which stood for 32% of temporary exhibitions during his time, reflects the policy of social inclusion. His focus on creativity in popular culture and new landmarks in London were also compatible with the new image of London's creative industry and the new image of London as future-oriented. However, while gay and lesbians and people with mental disorders have been represented, cultural diversity as such is not strongly celebrated. The exhibition *London Eats Out* (1999) refers to the multicultural foods in London in the 20th century, but this is only a part of the long history of eating out of Londoners. In art exhibitions, there was no element of ethnic culture. The major exhibition, *Vivian Westwood* (2000), was in context of British tradition and major exhibitions under the category of collective memory included themes of the royal family, great historical figures, and Roman London, especially in major exhibitions.

This could be partly because of Thurley's critical stance toward New Labour, which could explain some exhibitions with strong political messages and traditional images of London. His

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[137] DCMS, Centre for Social Change: Museums, Galleries and Archives for All; Policy Guidance on Social Inclusion for DCMS Funded and Local Authority Museums, Galleries and Archives in England (London: DCMS, 2000). Cited in Sue Wilkinson, "»Renaissance in the Regions« – Museums and Social Policy in the UK," in *Museen neu denken: Perspektiven der Kulturvermittlung und Zielgruppenarbeit*, ed. John Hartmut and Anja Dauschek (Bielefeld: transcript, 2008), 254.

[138] David Hesmondhalgh, Melissa Nisbett, Kate Oakley and David Lee, "Were New Labour's Cultural Policies Neo-liberal?" *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 21(1) (2015): 100-101, accessed March 11, 2015, doi: 10.1080/10286632.2013.879126.

[139] Terry Flew, *The Creative Industries: Culture and Policy* (London: Sage Publications, 2012), 17.

[140] Hesmondhalgh, Nisbett, Oakley and Lee, "Were New Labour's cultural policies neo-liberal?" 110.
See also Kate Oakley, "Rich but Divided...the Politics of Cultural Policy in London," in *Cities, Cultural Policy and Governance*, ed. Helmut K. Anheier and Yudhishthir Raj Isar (London: Sage, 2012).

love for heritage and history would not have been fully compatible with New Labour's preference for everything new and for "Cool Britannia," with its modern image of Britain and London. After he became the chairman of National Heritage, he criticized the government for their small interest in heritage.[141] In this regard, exhibitions on themes of the royal family, great historical figures, and Roman London could be read as being part of his little resentment toward "new" London, while he complied with the policy of focusing on social issues while also being evocative and inviting visitors to debates. His ways of approaching themes in major exhibitions was also very traditional and based on historical objects (often archaeological),[142] although theatrical effects were not neglected, and oral histories and photographs were continuously collected and showcased in smaller exhibitions.

Therefore, the image created by exhibitions under his direction was complex. On the one hand, it could be regarded as more participatory in the instrumentalization of culture for social inclusion in terms of the sensitivity of the government and the ACE concerning broadening access and the representation of diversity. On the other hand, blockbuster exhibitions show his rather traditional approaches to popular themes. The latter could be explained by his preference for a clear the MoL's self-identity in order to increase the number of visitors.

Increasing the number of visitors was actually his top priority among six aims in the five-year plan set forth by Thurley in the years 1997 and 1998, since the museum had lost 60% of the visitors since the 1970s.[143] In order to adapt to the changing environment, Thurley identified the problems as follows:

> The reasons for the decline are complex, but a significant factor has been the Museum's lack of a clear image, both architecturally and in terms of public profile. Another key factor has been that although the Museum has staged a number of important exhibitions, few have drawn the numbers of visitors that the Museum's competitors have done.[144]

Thurley was the first to emphasize the importance of temporary exhibitions and their marketing as part of attracting visitors. It is possible to think that the importance of these things would have been a matter of fact, hence they might not have been recorded in annual reports under Hebditch's direction. However, the collection and research were more weighted and the capital program was the first concern under Hebditch. As the MoL states, "first, a capital programme for the fuller development of the main building and the provision of improved storage of our collections (at present scattered in many places); and second, a marketing department to improve

[141] Simon Thurley, "From Boom to Bust: The Politics of Heritage 1997 to 2009," Transcript of the lecture given at the MoL, December 10, 2009, accessed March 11, 2015, http://www.gresham.ac.uk/lectures-and-events/from-boom-to-bust-the-politics-of-heritage-1997-to-2009.
[142] See Ellie Miles, "Curating the Global City," 114.
[143] MoL, *Annual Report: 1997–1998*, 4.
[144] Ibid., 4.

our ability to generate the financial resources we need."[145] Although a marketing department was already created in 1991 and 1992 to improve the museum's publicity, temporary exhibitions and their marketing have not received much attention as means to raising public profile.

In contrast, Thurley increased the number of temporary exhibitions and their advertising budgets. As the MoL stated, "each year the three major shows will be accompanied by a significantly enlarged advertising budget and others by intensive press coverage."[146] One of the most interesting examples was the marketing for the exhibition *Vivian Westwood* (2000). Advertisements even appeared in Vogue and Harvey Nichols magazine.[147] As the MoL reported, "[b]anners were hung on lamp posts along High Street Kensington and King's Road to target people with an interest in fashion."[148] It was the first time an event at the museum had been broadcast live.[149] The report for 2000–2001 spared three pages to report that "[t]he diversity of the exhibitions programme enabled the Museum to secure a broad range of media coverage and attract new audiences" with "Capital Concerns" exhibitions, archaeological presentation, and long-term out sites (exhibitions outside museum).[150] All of these activities must have increased the museum's presence in mass media. These all indicate Thurley's acute sense of image creation. He created a strong public image of the museum with catchy themes, in which gorgeous images of London with diversity played only a supporting role. Critical and evocative themes would have been better suited to attracting media attention than the presentation of ethnic diversity would be.

Lohman and New Labour's Policy of Social Inclusion

Lohman's directing period is characterized with a major transformation plan, which limited work force and space for temporary exhibitions but prompted more focus on intense outreach and educational programs on diversity and community. Since 2002, the Museum of London has undergone its biggest restructuring since its opening in 1976.[151] This "Capital City Project" dominates the Annual Reports between 2003 and 2011. Although most of the funding came from public organizations such as the National Heritage Fund, this had to be won in competitions. All of the application processes required tremendous effort, and in the end they raised £20.5m altogether largely from external sources outside of the main three funding bodies and their yearly budget. The focus on creating new galleries was to extend the contents of exhibitions to include

[145] MoL, *Annual Report: 1985–1986*, 2. In the five-year plan created in 1987–1988, a capital program and a renewal of the permanent exhibition were proposed. The necessity for more exhibition space was referred to in the annual report of 1988–1989, and this resulted in the new entrance hall (1993), the renewal of permanent exhibitions, and the opening of the Resource Centre in Hackney (1995).
[146] MoL, *Annual Report: 1997–1998*, 4.
[147] Harvey Nichols is a department store generally regarded as being for upper class consumers.
[148] MoL, *Annual Report: 2000–2001*, 28.
[149] MoL, *Annual Report: 1999–2000.*
[150] MoL, *Annual Report: 2000–2001*, 28–30.
[151] Newly created major spaces during this time include the Linbury Gallery (temporal exhibition gallery opened in 2003), the Clore Learning Centre (2009), and Sackler Hall (a multifunctional information hub).

the present day, to broaden educational offers, and to represent more of London's contemporary diversity. It also aims to "move the Museum more fully into the digital age by significantly improving electronic access."[152] New galleries prove that the museum presents today's London with people as its center. And the MoL undertook a thorough reconfiguration in its planning of new galleries.

> The project has enabled a culture change within the Museum, one that had always been part of our objective. We now have a culture which raises the status of learning within the Museum and places it centre stage. Accompanying this is a philosophical change, which places communities as part of our central mission.[153]

This includes new strategies to reach deprived communities, co-operation with other museums, learning activities, and programs for schools with technologically up-to-date facilities. For example, in 2004 and 2005, the museum set equality and diversity as main targets for the coming five years.[154] A Diversity Manager was created in the Director's office (a second Diversity Manager position started in 2006–2007), a diversity steering group and an external advisory committee were established, and monitoring of the collection started. In 2002 and 2003, a network of nine museums (the Museum Hub) was established by the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA) to deliver Renaissance, a £150m national program "to improve learning, diversity, access to collections, capacity building projects of regional museums."[155] It aims to encourage community involvement, collaboration between museums, and new approaches, in which the MoL took a leading role. Some examples of the museum's outreach and educational activities include the London Chamber of Commerce and Industry (LCCI) sponsored programs for children as well as for adult education (2004 and 2005). A three-year program, the "Inclusion Programme," was supported by the HLF since 2005 and it also targeted young people at risk of exclusion, the long-term unemployed, and criminal offenders. A two-year project with fifteen refugee community organizations was funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund and the Trust for London. Regarding the contemporary role of curators, Appleton wrote that there are "[n]o longer simple curators or scholars, now they are social campaigners, out there on the frontline, fighting for the people, raising health/environmental/gender identity awareness."[156] It is more than that; the MoL is also concerned with the unemployed, the young, the disabled, and former prisoners.

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[152] MoL, *Annual Report: 2007–2008* (London: MoL, 2008), 8.
[153] Jack Lohman's comment cited in "Catalyst for Change: Galleries of Modern London" by Cathy Ross.
[154] MoL, *Annual Report: 2004–2005* (London: MoL, 2005), 13.
[155] MoL, *Annual Report: 2002–2003* (London: MoL, 2003), 13.
[156] Josie Appleton, "Museum for 'The People'?" in *Museums and their Communities*, ed. Sheila Watson (London: Routledge, 2007), 116.

In the examples mentioned above, it is clear that there were also tremendous support from governmental and non-governmental organizations. This strong focus on diversity and community cannot be separated from the policies of the national government, the ACE, and other non-governmental organizations.[157] As is shown in the section on Thurley's time, New Labour government policy toward culture continued to focus on its role in social inclusion, and the ACE, focusing long on arts in education, diversity, and communities, would not have opposed this policy. In addition, although ACE works under an "arms-length policy," they have to fulfill objectives set by the government, as they are appraised according to performance indicators defined by the Funding Agreement with the DCMS.[158] Major aims of the ACE from 2003 to 2006 included "[c]hampioning cultural diversity" and "offering opportunities for young people."[159] For 2006 to 2008, their six priorities included "children and young people," "vibrant communities," "internationalism," and "celebrating diversity."[160] Support from the ACE and other non-governmental organizations usually comes with guidelines that include clear targets to meet and evaluation schemas. This could also be the case with the MoL, as it needed to meet requirements set by the ACE, especially in their application to the National Lottery Fund.[161] This necessity would have made exhibitions under Lohman less evocative and more harmonious with the cultural policies of the funding bodies concerning celebrating cultural diversity in the city's identity and enriching their outreach and educational activities. The MoL's work on diversity, social inclusion, and education was crystallized in the work of the new Galleries of Modern London. They present a dynamic London populated with people, while diversity itself became a city brand. A happy marriage between neo-liberalism and the instrumental use of culture for social issues is reflected strongly in the exhibitions at the MoL.

While there appears to be doubt concerning the effects of culture and the creative industries in bringing about desired social effects and toward instrumental approaches in the mid 2000,[162] the government's focus on social inclusion and its instrumental use finally ended after the defeat of New Labour by the Conservatives in the general election of 2010.[163] However, in London, Boris Johnson of the Conservative party already defeated Ken Livingston's socialist government in

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[157] In addition to the instances above mentioned, there were more cases of support: Archives, Libraries and Museums London Regional Agency (Black History Month 04/5), Evelyn Oldfield Unit of the Corporation of London (Refugee Community History 03/4 support from HRF), and the New Opportunity Fund managed mainly by National Archive and the Museum (Moving Here 03/4).

[158] See Belfiore, "Art as a means of alleviating social exclusion: does it really work?" 4.

[159] ACE, *Annual Report 2003* (London: ACE, 2004), accessed March 12, 2015, http://phx.corporate-ir.net/phoenix.zhtml?c=100907&p=irol-reports10Karch_pf.

[160] ACE, *Annual Report 2006* (London: ACE, 2007), accessed March 12, 2015, http://phx.corporate-ir.net/phoenix.zhtml?c=100907&p=irol-reports10Karch_pf.

[161] Ellie Miles detailed the process of the bid. See Ellie Miles, "Curating the Global City."

[162] See Belfiore, "Art as a means of alleviating social exclusion: does it really work?" Recently the research was conducted by the DMCS. See Daniel Fujiwara, Laura Kudrna and Paul Dolan, *Quantifying the Social Impacts of Culture and Sport* (London: DCMS, 2014), accessed, October 8, 2015, https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/304896/Quantifying_the_Social_Impacts_of_Culture_and_Sport.pdf.

[163] See "Art Council's Budget cut by 30%," *BBC News*, October 20, 2010, accessed May 03, 2015, http://www.bbc.com/news/entertainment-arts-11582070.

2008. What followed marked a "move away from the strong promotion of the creative industries as a vital part of London's economy."[164] The budget for culture was also hugely reduced. *Cultural Metropolis* (2010), published by the GLA, clearly stated: "It is clear that public subsidy for arts and culture will be at a lower level for the next few years."[165] What came first in the policy was "maintaining London's position as a world city for culture."[166] The competitiveness of London depends on how the city can attract skilled personnel, and "[i]t is the cultural offer of a city that partly attracts and retains such personnel."[167] On the other hand, the role of culture in tackling social exclusion was mentioned only once.[168] The discourse clearly shifted from tackling social exclusion to making the city more competitive in the global economy.[169]

In April 2008 at the MoL, the role of the DMSC as funding body was taken over by the GLA, which now equally shares the cost of running the museum with the City of London Corporation. As there were only a few exhibitions in 2009 and 2010, it is difficult to judge if the change is reflected in the choice of themes for temporary exhibitions. As far as 2011 and 2012 are concerned, there was no dramatic change. Social issues were still themes, while the new Galleries of Modern London celebrated cultural diversity. As Lohman and curator Cathy Ross describe London as "chaos" and "good Babylon,"[170] the museum embraces the diversity as part of the identity of London. But this does not take place in a non-critical or celebratory way; instead conflicts are also seen important elements in the history of London, as is seen in the World City Gallery. However, a sign of change is clear in the downsizing of the oral history department and the increase in blockbuster exhibitions in 2013. Under the new coalition government, the museum certainly expects its budget to tighten, and it will look for private sponsorships more actively.[171]

Looking at the three periods with their different directors, it is interesting that the global perspective has been rather weak at the MoL throughout. International comparison is rare, and consciousness of London being a financial center of the global economy or of its being one of the most important global cities is almost invisible. The strong focus on cultural diversity, instead, indicates that London contains the world in itself. The remarkable characteristic of the sense of diversity presented at the MoL is that it is not expressed in terms of every possible

[164] Oakley, "Rich But Divided...The Politics of Cultural Policy in London," 209.
[165] GLA, *Cultural Metropolis: The Mayor's Cultural Strategy – 2012 and Beyond* (London: GLA, 2010), 55.
[166] Ibid., 8.
[167] Ibid., 40.
[168] Ibid., 58.
[169] Peter Newman and Andy Thornley, *Planning World Cities. Globalization and Urban Politics* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 151. See also Kate Oakley, "A Different Class: Politics and Culture in London," in *The Politics of Urban Cultural Policy: Global Perspectives*, ed. Carl Grodach and Daniel Silver (London: Routledge, 2013).
[170] Miles, "Curating the Global City," 163.
[171] Director of Finance and Corporate services, interviewed by the author, July, 23, 2013. Exhibitions with private sponsors decreased since 2003 under New Labour, with relatively generous spending on arts.

difference between every single culture in London, which is impossible. The MoL also came to the realization that each culture contains a variety of differences within itself, and it is impossible to be fair to all.[172] Rather than compromising and running the risk of essentialization, the MoL identifies diversity with the energy and possibilities it produces in society, so that people are not compartmentalized into small cultural groups. They are rather shown as individuals: individual perspectives, faces, and voices with their own experiences. In this regard, although the instrumental use of culture is problematic and the influence of governmental cultural policy is clearly recognizable at the MoL, putting people in the center of exhibitions and creating a memorable image of London with the urban foment produced by millions of individuals striving for the right to belong in the city should be regarded as exceptional. Even though this takes place to a limited degree, identifying the city with people's dynamics would be one of the most elaborate images that a city museum, as a public institution not giving direct voices to people but only representing them, could present. The cannibalization of the global and the local as well as the individualization of society are highly visible in the images presented at the MoL.

The Role of the Museum

Although under Hebditch the role of the museum was more centered around collecting and research rather than around communication, the importance of management and marketing were already strongly recognized. Keeping records of modern London was regarded as one of the important roles of the museum.[173] The belief that "[c]entral to all the Museum's work is the Conservation Department"[174] did not change a lot until 1997. However, at the same time, there was recognition in the 1980s of the need to compete with other players in the leisure industry. Financial pressure to adapt to management styles of private companies also made the museum reconsider its role from the viewpoint of consumers. In the 1990s, the museum was more oriented toward present-day popular culture and everyday life in order to represent contemporary society more broadly. Although it could be criticized as a commercialization of culture that aimed to attract as many visitors as possible, it was also the result of the efforts of the museum to represent the life space of contemporary Londoners.

Since 1996–1997, objectives were clearly set at the beginning of the annual reviews, which confirms the claims made in Chapter 3 that museum management now requires a clearer management plan with publically announced mission statements. Setting clear objectives such as increasing visitor numbers and income generation entails reflection on the meaning of the museum's existence and its role in society. With social inclusion policies coming into the center

[172] Head of Programmes, interviewed by the author, July 24, 2013.
[173] MoL, *Annual Report: 1982–1983*, 18.
[174] MoL, *Annual Report: 1985–1986*, 3.

of cultural politics in the U.K, the social roles that museums are expected to play became more and more strongly recognized by the museum itself. Although the time of Thurley partly showed a small-scale resentment to the cultural policies of New Labour, the museum played a role in stirring public debates on social issues. The museum was also active in forming its own public brand.

With Lohman taking office, strategic aims have remained very practical (e.g. increasing visitor numbers, widening access, healthy finances, and effective management).[175] With the need for external funding, the MoL's role in social inclusion became even more active, especially through education and outreach programs. However, after the middle of the 2000s and in the years leading up to the London Olympics of 2012, the idea of social inclusion was more and more replaced by the language of "London, World City" and a focus on "lifestyle offerings" rather than on "job creation,"[176] as cultural offerings are decisive in attracting skilled personnel to the city. As was mentioned above, at least until 2012 this change had not been fully recognized at the MoL. But "London, World City" was the exact phrase used in the new gallery for Modern London, although the content is not about cultural diversity, which only dealt with "lifestyle offerings," but it also concerns urban issues stemming from diversity. With a strong focus on educational and outreach activities, especially during Lohman's direction, the MoL was more oriented toward being a community museum for the people of London, although the MoL might use the term "global museum" rather than "community museum" to refer to itself.[177] Considering that London is undoubtedly a global city as well as one of the most attractive touristic destinations in the world, there are surprisingly few signs any particular marketing image being created. The image created at the MoL therefore cannot be so far removed from the life space of ordinary people. Therefore it can be concluded that, until 2012, the MoL saw its role as one of inspiring passion for London among mostly local people rather than as anything having to do with city marketing. However, as the city is becoming strongly identified with its diversity, how the museum keeps a certain distance from simply celebrating diversity in the city's marketing image and how it reflects the dynamic reality of the life of people will become key.

[175] However, the goals are without exact numbers, while the current director Ament has set target numbers for the visitors, schoolchildren, total income, etc. MoL, *Inspiring Passion for London: Strategic Plan 2013–2018* (London: MoL, not dated.)
[176] Oakley, "A Different Class," 23.
[177] Curator and Director of Collections of the MoL, interviewed by the author, July 10, 2013.

7 Analysis: The Edo-Tokyo Museum

7.1 Temporary exhibitions

There are three different sizes of exhibitions at the ETH. Since 1993, there have been special exhibitions (*Tokubetsu-ten*), which are major exhibitions and held in the special exhibition hall on the ground floor. Since 2000, there have been a series of small-size exhibitions called featured exhibitions (*Tokusyū-ten*), mostly held in a space within the permanent exhibition. Since 2004, there has been another series of mid-size exhibitions called feature exhibitions (*Kikaku-ten*), which are mostly held in a small exhibition hall within the permanent exhibition. The latter two series can be visited without any additional charge.

During the period I analyze, there were three directors at the ETH. Kota Kodama (1993–1996), Shinzo Ogi (1996–1998) Makoto Takeuchi (1998–). They all had a background as professors before became director. In addition, Ogi and Takeuchi have worked closely in establishing Edo-Tokyo studies (cf. Chapter 7.2), hence, the way to approach the history and culture of Edo-Tokyo has not changed a lot since the opening, where there has always been strong focus on local history, popular culture, and the daily lives of ordinary people. However, as there are changes recognizable in the number and themes of temporary exhibitions between 2000 and 2003, I have drawn a separating line in 2000 in order to show the changes clearly. But this is rather a practical approach, since the actual changes took place gradually between 2000 and 2003.

In regard to categories, there is no social issue category in the analysis of temporary exhibitions at the ETH. Instead, there are many exhibitions on international themes such as foreign cultures and the international relationship between Japan and other countries.

The Number of Temporary Exhibitions

The number of exhibitions increased dramatically after 2000 (Table 3). While there were only 4 exhibitions per year before 2000, there were 15 to 16 exhibitions per year after 2000. This is the largest increase among all three museums concerned in this paper. As this coincided with a policy change of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government (TMG) emphasizing efficient management and financial responsibilities (cf. Chapter 7.2), this increase could be a reflection of that shift in policy. Although the number quadrupled, the number of major exhibitions after 2000 remained at around 5–6 per year, and this includes touring exhibitions produced in cooperation with various institutions. Therefore, it could be said that the increase in the number of

exhibitions was due to the introduction of the two series of smaller-size temporary exhibitions.

7.1.1 High Culture

The ETH claims that the museum represents the popular culture of Edo-Tokyo. Although the proportion of high culture exhibitions decreased from 31% to 21% after 2000, the proportion is still the second highest of all of the five categories.

Before the analysis of the exhibitions on high culture, it must be mentioned here that Edo culture generally connotes the culture of townspeople (*Chonin*) whose economic power increased significantly in the early 19th century.[1] Although culture in the Edo period naturally includes high culture, which represents the warriors/Samurai (*Bushi*) class, townspeople became the leaders of Edo culture. However, the culture of townspeople cannot all be put under the category of popular culture, as there are now different meanings, connotations, and social statuses attributed to the people appreciating the culture. Therefore, careful definitions are necessary.

Japanese painting (*Nihon-ga*) is distinct from western painting in its style and materials. The Japanese paintings presented in the temporal exhibitions at the ETH are ones from the Kano School. With its close relationship with the Tokugawa Shogunate, the Kano School represented the official style of art, and became conservative and academic in the course of time. Although paintings of the Kano School were not exclusively for the ruling class, they generally represent the culture of the ruling class[2].

Ukiyo-e (Nishiki-e), on the other hand, represented the culture of the common folk, mostly townspeople like craftsmen and merchants. Ukiyo-e includes both woodblock prints and original paintings, but the former contributed to the popularity of ukiyo-e, as they could be reproduced as prints in mass quantity. The subject matters of ukiyo-e were diverse, including geishas, touristic places, and animals, as the name ukiyo stands for "hedonistic lifestyle." Therefore, ukiyo-e in Edo period could not be regarded as high culture in any sense.

However, some ukiyo-e prints now fetch thousands of dollars at auctions and ukiyo-e is a part of popular collections in many galleries throughout the world. Such status in art galleries changes the meaning/status of ukiyo-e from popular art to high art.[3] In addition, they are often consumed as "knowledge," with viewers being "connoisseurs." It is a historically distinctive way of artistic expression, and the knowledge necessary to appreciate it can be treated as a part of "high

[1] Townspeople (*Chonin*) in Edo were bound by the place in which they lived, and this population was mostly composed of craftsmen and merchants.

[2] The Kano School was composed of *Oku-eshi*, *Omote-eshi*, and *Machi-eshi*. While the first two groups worked for the Tokugawa family and Shogunate, the last group worked for feudal lords or townspeople.

[3] They have gained the status of high art through an increase in popularity in the West during the 19th century after the London and Paris World Exhibitions. See Seiji Nagata, *Shiryō ni Yoru Kindai Ukiyo-e Jijō* [The Situation of Modern Ukiyo-e examined with Materials and Data] (Tokyo: Sansai-sha, 1992).

culture." Therefore, although ukiyo-e, with their more pedestrian subjects, were originally a part of popular culture for the commoners, ukiyo-e is categorized under high culture in this analysis. Below I categorize exhibitions into three groups: woodblock prints, other paintings, and others. Woodblock prints are the dominant theme in this category (40%). There are very few contemporary art exhibitions.

Woodblock Prints (*Ukiyo-e /Nishiki-e/Shin-hanga*)

It is clear from the list (List 3.1) that there was a sudden increase in the number of exhibitions on woodblock prints after 2005. Since 2005, there have been sixteen exhibitions, of which three were large-size, and five have "Hokusai" in the titles. There is also a tendency toward repeating the same theme. The famous series of ukiyo-e *The Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō* by Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858) appeared three times in 2009, 2012, and 2013, and "Thirty-six views of Mt. Fuji" by Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849) was shown two times in 2005 and 2012.[4] Therefore, it could be said that woodblock prints (especially ukiyo-e) have played a significant role in temporary exhibitions at the ETH since 2005. In addition, a closer look below at each exhibition will show the shift of focus from woodblock prints (ukiyo-e/nishiki-e/shin-hanga) as representative feature of Edo popular culture to the woodblock print artists and their globally recognized artistic quality.

Woodblock Prints as a Representative Feature of Edo Popular Culture (–2005)

Ukiyo-e is a popular exhibition theme which attracts many visitors within Japan. At the ETH, it is natural to take up the theme, as ukiyo-e is regarded as representing Edo culture. The first exhibition on ukiyo-e, *Katushika Hokusai: Media of Edo – Picture Books, Woodprints and Paintings* (1995), was large in size. Hokusai was famous for his "Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji." However, in this exhibition, the focus was on his illustrated books rather than his ukiyo-e prints. The director wrote that this is

> because the center of the Edo culture which flourished in the late 18th century was publication. In addition, we regard illustrated books as comprehensive media because they were produced in cooperation with many people such as painters, engravers, comic "tanka" poets, and authors. As they were comprehensive, popular, and influential among the ordinary people of Edo, we think we can grasp Edo culture from diverse points of view through illustrated books.[5]

[4] They were repeated on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the museum and its acquisition of the collection, as well as in response to great public interest.

[5] "１８世紀後半に開花した江戸文化の中心にあったのが、出版文化であったからです。またそればかりでなく、絵本がいわば総合性のあるメディアであるという認識に基づいています。絵本は絵師･彫刻師･狂歌師･作家など、多くの人間が参画することによってはじめて成り立つ総合性をもっていたこと、また北斎の絵本が、江戸に住む市井の人々に歓迎され、かつ影響を与えたメディアであったことから、絵本を通じて江戸文化を多面的にとらえることが出来るのではないかと考えたからです。" Kota Kodama, "Goaisatsu [Greeting]" in *Katsushika Hokusai Ten: Edo no Media - Ehon, Hanga, Nikuhitsu-ga,* [Katushika Hokusai: Media of Edo - Picture

In this exhibition, although the life of the artist formed the narrative, ukiyo-e were not meant to be appreciated for their artistic merit. It was regarded as a part of publication and mass media in Edo, therefore the focus was on the illustrated books that were widely read by Edo people. As the literacy of Edo dwellers was relatively high (including women),[6] reading was a popular entertainment in Edo. Books were to be bought or rented in rental bookshops that spread rapidly. Reflecting the atmosphere of the period toward the end of the Tokugawa period, content was often satirical or even critical about society. In this sense, the illustrated books of Hokusai reflected and represented the social climate of the time. In addition, the exhibition also focused on the impressive collaborative works of diverse craftsmen in producing ukiyo-e prints. It showed the life of craftsmen.

This position of seeing ukiyo-e as representing Edo's popular culture continued into the next exhibition that year, *The Birth of Nishiki-e: Full-color Woodblock Prints and Edo Popular Culture* (1995). Although the exhibition was about the history of development of nishiki-e, which refers to a sub-genre of ukiyo-e with multi-colored woodblock prints, from a technical and aesthetic point of view focusing on the ukiyo-e artist Suzuki Harunobu (1724–1770), the exhibition also touched on social aspects of nishiki-e; how they were used, circulated, and popularized.

> Cultural gatherings that cut across lines of status and rank were popular during this period, and there were great competitions to produce the best "egoyomi" calendar prints of the day. These prints were privately produced and distributed among friends and their actual function was to explain a year's structure of long (30 days) and short (29 days) months.[7]

This history of the birth of nishiki-e tells how nishiki-e was invented in the context of the dynamic activities of Edo people across the feudal hierarchy, and this was closely related to the daily life of people. In addition, the development of nishiki-e was regarded as "an epoch-making innovation where the economically and culturally backward Edo produced a culture which surpassed the culture of Kamigata."[8] Japanese culture around the turn of 19th century was still centered in Kamigata (Kyoto and Osaka). The birth of nishiki-e was seen as a catalyst in the shift in cultural power from Kyoto and Osaka to Edo.

However, there were no further exhibitions on ukiyo-e between 1995 and 2005, while there were four exhibitions on woodblock prints made after the Edo period that were held between 1996 and

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Books, Woodprints, and Paintings], ed. ETH (Tokyo: Tokyo-to Rekishi Bunka Zaidan and ETH, 1997), 2.

6 See Ronald P. Dore, *Education in Tokugawa, Japan* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1965).

7 ETH and Nihon Keizai Shinbun-sha, *Nishiki-e no Tanjō: Edo Shomin Bunka no Kaika* [The Birth of Nishiki-e: Full-color Woodblock Prints and Edo Popular Culture] (Tokyo: ETH, Tokyo-to Rekishi Bunka Zaidan, Tokyo Runessansu Suishin Iinkai, and Nihon Keizai Shinbun-sha, 1996), 7. (Originally in English)

8 "これは、経済的にも文化的にも後進地であった江戸が、上方をもしのぐ文化を生み出した画期的な出来事でもあった。" ETH, *Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan Yōran 1995* [Yearly Report 1995] (Tokyo: Tokyo-to Rekishi Bunka Zaidan, 1996), 17.

2000. Woodblock prints after the Edo period were called "shin-hanga." There was a major exhibition *The Changing City as Depicted in Modern Woodblock Prints – Tokyo in Transition* (1996), after two exhibitions on ukiyo-e and nishiki-e in 1995. In the exhibition, it is clear from the title that the exhibition was not purely artistic. Instead, the focus was on the subject depicted. They were landscapes that still retained the atmosphere of Edo, such as Tokyo before the Great Earthquake in 1923. "It may be useful to contemplate the future of Tokyo with knowledge of both the beauty lost as the price of modernization and the progress which might not have been achieved otherwise."[9] In addition, there were works depicting urban problems such as poverty, pollution, and unemployment. The artistic aspect received very little emphasis, and continuity between shin-hanga and ukiyo-e was only touched upon at the beginning of the catalogue in its explanation of how modern woodblock prints came into being.

Woodblock Print Artists and Their Globally Recognized Artistic Quality (2005–)

The exhibition *Siebold & Hokusai and His Tradition* (2007) showed a clear contrast with the two ukiyo-e exhibitions above in the 1990s. In this exhibition, the museum was strongly interested in how Japanese culture was perceived and collected abroad. Most objects were on loan from the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden and the Bibliothèque nationale de France, effectively temporarily "coming home." By exhibiting Hokusai's works in foreign collections which were unknown in Japan alongside with well-known works from Japanese collections, the exhibition was with famous and rare works of him on parade. Although he was considered an artist of Edo, his relation to the Edo society as a background of his arts played a lesser role in the exhibition, as the visitors were more encouraged to contemplate their beauty and artistic quality by comparing Hokusai's works from foreign collections and from Japanese collections. "Why do Hokusai's works appeal to the people all over the world? If one looks at his works asking such a question, his famous works you have already known would give a different impression."[10] This exhibition focused on ukiyo-e's artistic quality in a global frame. In the exhibition *Ukiyo-e: A Journey through the Floating World* (2013) was a major exhibition celebrating the 20th anniversary of the museum and the 50th anniversary of the foundation of the International Ukiyo-e Society, with 430 works from Japan and overseas. The exhibition aimed to be a "textbook" of ukiyo-e covering all history of its development.[11] It was an art history exhibition, hardly touching the issue of the city.

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[9] ETH, *The Changing City as Depicted in Modern Woodblock Prints: Tokyo in Transition* (Tokyo: Tokyo-to Rekishi Bunka Zaidan and ETH, 1996), 151. (Originally in English)

[10] "北斎はなぜ世界中の人々を魅了するのか。そんな点から作品をみていただければ、見慣れた作品も、新たな印象を与えてくれるはずです。" ETH et al., *Siebold & Hokusai and his Tradition* (Tokyo: Tokyo Shinbun, 2007), 115.

[11] ETH, "Dai-Ukiyoe Ten [Ukiyo-e: A Journey through the Floating World]," accessed September 12, 2015, https://www.edo-tokyo-museum.or.jp/s-exhibition/special/629/大浮世絵展/.

Exhibitions on shin-hanga after 2002 were strongly associated with ukiyo-e in the Edo period, while such an association was not seen in the exhibition *The Changing City as Depicted in Modern Woodblock Prints* (1996). In this association, the museum's strategy is clear. In comparison to ukiyo-e, the term shin-hanga is relatively unfamiliar to the majority of people. Although shin-hanga is actually a revitalization of ukiyo-e both by Japanese artists and European artists during the Taisho period, the term ukiyo-e could have been tactically used to attract visitors.

For example, *Kawase Hasui: Tokyo's Landscapes* (2007), an exhibition held in a small exhibition room, presented works of Kawase Hasui (1883–1957), who is often called "Hiroshige of the Showa period". In this exhibition, the continuity of his works from ukiyo-e was clearly emphasized by detailing his techniques rather than the subject matters of his works, Tokyo's Landscape, despite the subtitle. His internationality was also focused as Hasui's works received high reputation abroad and now are to be found in many galleries and museums in Europe and the USA.[12] The exhibition *Beautiful Shin-Hanga – Revitalization of Ukiyo-e* (2009) also focused on shin-hanga as an artistic genre which was born as a result of efforts of artists to revitalize the Ukyo-e. "We hope that the works and material presented in this exhibition will allow the viewers to appreciate the enthusiasm of these people to improve the printing techniques and revitalize the ukiyo-e genre."[13] A socio-historical examination of woodblock prints was set aside in the 2000s.

Other Paintings (List 3.2)

The exhibition in 1994 *Kawanabe Kyōsai and Edo-Tokyo* presented the works of the artist Kawanabe Kyōsai (1831-1889), who was a painter trained both in ukiyo-e and the Kano School. He was a defiant painter, once imprisoned because of a caricature criticizing the new Meiji government. This exhibition was an art exhibition mainly presenting his works, but the intention of the museum was "to show not only his life in detail but also the society and people of the time with upheaval and changes through his works" and to "offer a new perspective to see the history of Edo-Tokyo."[14]

This trend continued in two exhibitions, *Painters of Edo Settan and Settei: Their Unknown World* (1997) and *Three Hundred Years of the Kano School* (1998). Not only focusing on relatively unknown figures but also on their lives as painters in Edo, this exhibition "could show

[12] ETH, "Kawase Hasui Ten – Tokyo Fūkei Hanga [Kawase Hasui: Tokyo's Landscapes]," accessed June 28, 2015, https://www.edo-tokyo-museum.or.jp/s-exhibition/project/2528/川瀬巴水展-東京風景版画/.

[13] ETH and Shuko Koyama ed., *Revitalization of Ukiyo-e: Beautiful Shin-Hanga* (Tokyo: ETH and Asahi Shinbun-sha, 2009), 4. (Originally in English)

[14] "河鍋暁斎の生涯を深く知ることはもちろんのこと、その作品をとおして、動乱と変革の時代に暮らした人びとの諸相を示すことを主眼としました。暁斎の表現した江戸と東京を明らかにすることによって、江戸東京の歴史に新たな視点を提供できればこの上ないよろこびであります。" Kawanabe Kyōsai Kinenkan and ETH ed., *Kawanabe Kyōsai to Edo-Tokyo* [Kawanabe Kyōsai and Edo-Tokyo] (Tokyo: Kawanabe Kyōsai Kinenkan, 1994), 2.

the greatness of their contribution to Edo culture and the actual living conditions of painters in the Edo period which so far are not well known."[15]

The exhibition *Three Hundred Years of the Kano School* (1998), which presented valuable paintings from one of the prominent genres of high art of the Edo Period, was also meant to "clarify the role of painters during this period when paintings were not simply for visual pleasure, but also served the roles of record and furnishing."[16] The exhibition especially focused on the development of painting techniques or manufacturing processes, which takes up half of all of the catalogue pages. Exhibition *Buson – His Two Journeys* (2000) also presented Yosano Buson (1716–1784) as a painter, although he is generally recognized as a Haiku poet.

All of these exhibitions indicate the museum's socio-historical approach to artwork, which could be compared to one of the art exhibitions at the WM that came after 2003. But, while the WM's socio-historical perspective in art exhibitions became stronger in the 2000s, it considerably weakened at the ETH during that same period.

Maruyama Ōkyo Shasei-ga: His Challenge for Creation (2003) was a major exhibition held during the 10th anniversary of the museum. Maruyama Ōkyo (1733–1795) was a painter who serves as a milestone in the history of Japanese paintings along with Sesshū (1420–1506). The exhibition aimed at "reconsidering with visitors what was a '*Shaseiga*' (sketch) of Ōkyo, and what was the true image of painting arts he sought and tried to accomplish."[17] Although sketching was practiced as part of preparation processes in Japanese paintings, Ōkyo was a pioneer in using sketches for his works as finished form. The exhibition tried to show this new style and the artistic sense of beauty expressed through it. It showed art history.

Kawabata Ryūshi: 120th Anniversary of His Birth (2005) and *Kawamura Kiyoo: Western Painting in the Age of Meiji Restoration* (2012) were also in the same line. But in the latter exhibition on an unknown painter Kawamura Kiyoo (1852–1934), a painter from Bushi rank sent abroad by the Tokugawa reign to receive a formal education in oil painting techniques, there is a clearly recognizable international perspective and an interest in Japanese identity.

> He spent his life producing works that embodied the unique artistic sense and aesthetics that the modern Japanese art world had cast aside, posing the fundamental question of, "what is the true identity of Japanese art?" This is a question that remains relevant to us today.[18]

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[15] "二人の絵師が江戸文化に果たした役割の大きさを確認するとともに、従来知られていなかった江戸時代の町絵師の実態というものも紹介することができた。" ETH, *Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan Yōran 1997* [Yearly Report 1997] (Tokyo: Tokyo-to Rekishi Bunka Zaidan, 1998), 15.

[16] ETH ed. *Kano-ha no 300 Nenn* [Three Hundred Years of the Kano School] (Tokyo: ETH and Tokyo-to Rekishi Bunka Zaidan, 1998), 3. (Originally in English)

[17] "最新の研究成果をふまえて新たな視点から、応挙の写生画とは何であったのか、応挙の目指した絵画芸術の真の姿は何であったのか、皆さんとともに解明していきたいと考えています。" Osaka Shiritsu Bijutsu-kan et al., *Maruyama Ōkyo Shasei-ga heno Chōsen* [Maruyama Ōkyo Shasei-ga: His Challenge for Creation] (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbun-sha and NHK, 2003), 3.

[18] ETH et al. *Ishin no Yōgaka Kawamura Kiyoo* [Kawamura Kiyoo: Western Painting in the Age of Meiji Restoration](Tokyo: ETH, Shizuoka Kenritsu Bijutsu-kan and Yomiuri Shinbun-sha, 2011), 5. (Originally in English)

The interesting point is that the "identity of Japanese art" was a question at the exhibition. This focus on Japanese identity reflected contemporary public discourse, in which lack of "patriotic feeling" became a major concern on the political level around 2000.[19] In addition, "the unique artistic sense and aesthetics that the modern Japanese art world had cast aside" implies that there is something unique in Japanese art, but which is now being forgotten in the process of modernization. It echoes nostalgia towards the Edo period (cf. Chapter 7.1.3). This exhibition does not show people or society through the paintings, but "Japaneseness" and the "authentic" or "traditional" Japanese sense of artistry and aesthetics.

Others

The trends detected in the last section are seen in this section too (List 3.3). For example, both major exhibitions, *Edo Kabuki: History and its Charm* (1995) and *Play and Search for Truth – Four Hundred Years of Edo-Tokyo Tea Ceremony* (1997), presented the history of Kabuki and *Sado* (tea ceremony), and the history of Edo-Tokyo was incorporated into the exhibitions. There was no attempt made to extract beauty or aesthetic elements from these practices. *Nagai Kafu and Tokyo* (1999) also showed how a Japanese famous writer Nagai Kafu (1879-1959), a "renowned city walker,"[20] saw, felt, and described Tokyo in his works. On the other hand, the exhibition "*Ikebana: Japanese Beauty Coloring the History* (2009) was predominantly about the art of *Ikebana* (Japanese flower arrangement) and Japanese beauty rather than specifically about Edo-Tokyo culture, as is clear even in the title. In the exhibition *Natsume Sōseki: His Spirit and Views* (2007), the main objective of the major exhibition on this famous author from the Meiji era was showing the precious collection that had escaped the fires of World War II and is now held by Tohoku University in Sendai.[21] Although it still presented the social background of his life and work, marketing a rarely-seen collection on-loan as "highlights" is similar to the strategies taken with the ukiyo-e exhibitions in the 2000s.

Since there is no record available for all exhibitions in 2000 and 2002 in the list, generalizing the smaller exhibitions is difficult.[22] But exhibitions after 2002 show a rather balanced view both socio-cultural and artistic. While exhibitions on architecture and literature still show the city as

[19] Because of a strong preference for westernization in the Meiji period and the defeat in World War II, Japanese identity was relatively weak. In order to foster the patriotism among citizens, singing the national anthem was officially encouraged in 1999. See Michiaki Asaba, *Nashonarizum: Meicho de Tadoru Nihon Shisō Nyūmon* [Nationalism: An Introduction to Japanese Thought through Great Books] (Tokyo: Chikuma Shinsho, 2004).

[20] ETH ed., *Nagai Kafū and Tokyo* (Tokyo: ETH, 1999), 3.

[21] This exhibition was on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of Tohoku University in Sendai, and there was another small exhibition on the university's treasures to celebrate the anniversary. It is not clear if the museum has any special connection to the University.

[22] The dominant feature in these small exhibitions was traditional arts/crafts as practiced in Tokyo for generations. There were exhibitions on kabuki (2004), calligraphy (2000), ceramics (2000 and 2002), and swords (2000 and 2002). They showcased cultural heritage as well as continuity in the practice of traditional culture and craftsmanship in Tokyo.

an influential background for their work, other exhibitions lose a sense of social perspective. For example, the structure of the exhibition *Showa Modernism and Bauhaus: Architect Tsuchiura Kameki* (2005) was centered around the architect Tsuchiura Kameki*,* although it also touched on the Dōjunkai corporation and their social housing project that provided apartments with modern facilities after the Great Kanto Earthquake,[23] and it criticized recent events concerning the falsification of earthquake-resistibility data for new buildings. The exhibition *Tower of the Sun, the Golden Mask* (2011), on the other hand, exhibited a symbolic tower from the Nagoya World Exposition created by Taro Okamura (1911–1996) in 1970 to support celebrations for the opening of the Tokyo Sky Tree, although Okamura described his work as the "antithesis" of the development in the modern world.[24]

There were only six exhibitions predominantly containing photographs at the ETH, of which there was only one artistic photographic exhibition, *Araki Nobuyoshi: Tokyo Life* (2006), which falls under the category of high culture. This could be because there is the Tokyo Photography Museum run by the Tokyo Metropolitan Foundation for History and Culture, which also runs the ETH. The use of photographs as historical records was also rare, with the exception of five exhibitions showing Edo Castle and Tokyo under occupation (cf. Chapter 7.1.2 and 7.2.3). The active use of photographs to keep records of contemporary Tokyo for the coming generation was not seen at all. The sparse use of photographs at exhibitions indicates that individuality was not visible at the ETH. People would be imagined as being behind the objects as makers, users, or owners, but we do not see people on the street, shopping, working, talking, etc. at the museums except for the photographs exhibited in the exhibition *Araki Nobuyoshi*.

7.1.2 Landscape

It is clear that landscapes became a theme of temporal exhibitions at the ETH only after 2001. But since then, there were six major exhibitions. The importance of the theme is growing recently. In this category, I have again categorized the list into two sub-groups, "local areas and tourism" and "lost landmarks."

Local Areas and Tourism

List 3.4 contains all exhibitions related to the local area of the museum. Ryōgoku, which comes up five times in the list, is a district in the ward of Sumida where the ETH is located next to the

[23] After the Great Kanto Earthquake, *Doujunkai* was founded to aid the redevelopment of the city. They built earthquake- and fire-resistant collective housings with modern facilities and communal spaces.
[24] See Sawaragi Noi, *Sensō to Banpaku* [World Fairs and World Wars] (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, 2005).

Ryōgoku Kokugikan (a Sumo stadium). Asakusa, the district to which two exhibitions were dedicated, is in the Taito ward, and it is one of the major tourist destinations, since it retains some of the traditional atmosphere of Edo. Although it is in another ward, Asakusa is located just a few stations away from the ETH (within a thirty-minute walking distance), and it can be regarded as being within the local area of the museum. Both areas used to be major entertainment districts during the Edo period, however, they are no longer regarded as such. However, five exhibitions on Ryōgoku in 2005 (two exhibitions), 2006, 2009, and 2013 represented the image of Ryōgoku as a lively entertainment district with sumo, fireworks, bridges, and portable shrines. For example, the exhibition *Ryōgoku's Portable Shrines* (2006), which presented nine portable shrines (*Mikoshi*), aimed at presenting the festive atmosphere of the area with nishiki-e showing the scene of festivals and spectacles. The exhibition *Bridge and Fireworks at Ryōgoku* (2009) was a small installation in the permanent exhibition, showing the history of the Ryōgoku Bridge, which bustled with people visiting there to enjoy the best view of firework displays. This image of Ryōgoku as a center of entertainment was reinforced in the exhibition *Entertainment District, Ryōgoku: Edo Popular Culture* (2013), which summarized the exhibitions mentioned above by showing how Ryōgoku used to offer various forms of entertainment to ordinary people of Edo and Meiji. The exhibition *Asakusa: the Past and Present* (2008) also presented the history of Asakusa as Edo's entertainment district, offering religious activities, festivities, and the most famous red light district of Edo, Yoshiwara.

The exhibition *The Tower: Stories of City and Tower* (2011) celebrated the opening of the Tokyo Sky Tree, a new landmark of Tokyo, which stands in museum's vicinity. The exhibition was not on the technology or on the history of the construction of the Tokyo Sky Tree, but on comparing it with towers found in Tokyo, Osaka, and Paris. Such comparison showed museum's awareness of international competition. The structure of the exhibition was organized from five different perspectives in order to see the tower such as "looking up from the bottom" or "looking over from the tower."[25] By presenting towers not as a product of technology, but in relation to people watching and experiencing them, the Tokyo Sky Tree and other towers were clearly defined as a part of the cityscape, as the sub-title of the exhibition "Stories of City and Tower" also indicates. At the same time, the Tokyo Sky Tree is also cast as part of the creation of a new tourist area straddling the banks of Sumida River.

> The new Tokyo Sky Tree in *Oshiage*, which will be a new sightseeing spot, will create a zone consisting of *Oshiage*, *Asakusa*, *Akihabara*, and *Ryōgoku*. From the next year onward, there will be more boats on the Sumida river, which flows through the zone. This exhibition is not to be seen as

[25] "The Tower: Kōsō Kenchiku - Tengoku heno Kaidan [The Tower: Skyscrapers and Steps to the Heaven]," ETH, accessed January 29, 2014, http://tower-ten.jp.

> focusing on one spot, but should be understood in the process of the formation of a new zone stretching both sides of the Sumida river.[26]

The zone on both sides of Sumida River is envisaged as a new touristic area. In fact, Sumida River is now being developed as a touristic resource under the direction of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government (cf. Chapter 7.2). A major exhibition on Sumida River[27] *Sumidagawa: The Beloved River of Edo* (2010), held a year before the *The Tower* exhibition proved the museum's active role in re-imagining Sumida River as a center of the new zone. Considering that the exhibited objects are mostly prints, drawings, and paintings from the Edo period as well as how the exhibition ends with 1930s, it is clear that the river did not form a major part of the cityscape since at that time. But the museum is now trying to create a new image of the river as a landmark in the new tourist zone surrounding the museum. The ETH actively participates in altering the images of local areas, and this also supports the tourism policy of the TMG (cf. Chapter 7.2).

In relation to tourism, there have been two more exhibitions. The exhibition *Urban Ecology: Tokyo Water City* (2005) showed Edo-Tokyo as an ecological water city like Venice or Amsterdam, making the best use of the body of water surrounding Tokyo for transportation, recreation, and image creation. It presented a new image of Tokyo, which could also support the government's plan to redevelop the waterside area. The exhibition *Beautiful Japan: Tourism in the 1910s–1930s* (2005) (under the category of popular culture) points to the museum's awareness of the importance of the image in tourism. The main focus of the exhibition was on the images of Japan produced in order to attract tourists in the Taisho period and in the early Showa period. The objects exhibited were mostly woodblock prints, posters, postcards, photographs, and they strongly emphasized images of "Beautiful Japan." Although the city was neglected in this exhibition, it is remarkable that it explained how the tourist gaze was created in those times.

Lost Landmarks

There are landmarks characterizing Edo's landscape crafted in ukiyo-e: Mount Fuji, Edo Castle, and Nihonbashi Bridge.[28] These components are also seen in the list (List 3.5), although none of

[26] "新たに押上に東京スカイツリーという国内外の新名所ができることで、押上・浅草・秋葉原・両国というゾーンができる。来年以降はその中央に流れる隅田川に多くの船が行きかうのでは。決してひとつの地点から捉えた展覧会ではなく、隅田川を挟んで新たなゾーンが形成される中での展覧会だとご理解いただきたい。" "Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan Tokubetsu-ten "The Tower" Kisha Happyō [ETH Exhibition The tower: Press Release]," Web EventReport, accessed February 4, 2014, http://www.event-report.jp/2011/12/07/江戸東京博物館「特別展『ザ・タワー』」記者発/. *Oshiage* is the name of the station near the Tokyo Sky Tree, one underground station away from *Asakusa*.

[27] Both "Sumidagawa" and "Sumida River" are used in the catalogues published by the museum.

[28] Makoto Takeuchi, "Nihonbashi no Tokuchō [The Characteristics of *Nihonbashi*-Bridge]," in *Nihonbashi – Egakareta Randomāku no 400 Nenn* [The 400 Years of Nihonbashi: The Foremost Landmark of Edo-Tokyo Seen in Art], ed. ETH and Asahi Shinbun-sha (Tokyo: ETH and

them symbolize Tokyo's landscape any longer. The view of the Mount Fuji is no longer a part of cityscape for most people in Tokyo. Nihonbashi Bridge, built in 1603 as the starting point of the five major roads connecting the major cities of Japan, used to symbolize a bustling center of Edo's economy, as all commodities and people arrived and departed through this bridge. However, with a highway stretching direct above it, the bridge is no longer visible and it has lost any symbolic power it used to have. Edo Castle was destroyed by fire-bombing during World War II. However, at the ETH, nine out of twenty exhibitions in this category were dedicated to those landmarks of the Edo period.

There was one large-size exhibition on Edo Castle held in 2006, celebrating the 550th of anniversary of the construction of Edo Castle. It was all about the castle, from its construction, its detailed plan, daily life, ceremonies, people working there, and so on. Although the castle only stands in our imagination now, it attracted about 217,000 people. There are also three exhibitions on historical photographs that captured the former Edo castle just in 1871. *Matsusaburo Yokoyama: The Man who Captured the Turbulence – Matsusaburo Yokoyama and the Meiji Era* (2010) was a particularly interesting example for showing the popularity of the theme among the Japanese, as the Japanese title of the same exhibition reads *Matsusaburo Yokoyama: The Man who Captured the Edo Castle 140 Years Ago*. It includes "Edo Castle" instead of "the Turbulence" in the English-language title. As the English title indicates, the exhibition was not only about pictures of Edo Castle, but it was also other art works of Yokoyama's. He lived through a turbulent period and was described as a "Da Vinci of Japan" and a "cutting-edge multi-media artist"[29] because of his invention of photographic oil painting.[30] But the choice of wording in the titles shows the Japanese visitors' special attraction to Edo Castle. In 2012 these glass plates were again presented in a smaller-size exhibition.

The 400 Years of Nihonbashi: the Foremost Landmark of Edo-Tokyo Seen in Art (2012) was a major exhibition that presented the image of Nihonbashi[31] as depicted in art from the Edo to Meiji Periods. It was not the history of the bridge itself, but that of the image and of how central Nihonbashi was perceived in the cityscape of Edo-Tokyo in art, while the poor present-day reality of the bridge was not discussed. In addition, in his contribution to the publication issued for the symposium on "Nihonbashi," the director Takeuchi also wrote that Nihonbashi was the center of Japan, and connected also to the world.[32] When one sees the contemporary Nihonbashi

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Asahi Shinbun-sha, 2012), 160.

[29] ETH, *Matsusaburo Yokoyama: The Man who Captured the Turbulence – Matsusaburo Yokoyama and the Meiji Era* (Tokyo: ETM, 2010), 3.

[30] ETH, "140-nen Maeno Edo-jo wo Totta Otoko: Yokoyama Matsusaburō [Matsusaburo Yokoyama: The Man Who Captured the Turbulence – Matsusaburo Yokoyama and the Meiji Era]," accessed September 23, 2015, https://www.edo-tokyo-museum.or.jp/s-exhibition/project/2303/140年前の江戸城を撮った男%E3%80%80 横山松三郎/.

[31] In Japanese Nihonbashi can refer to both the Nihonbashi district and the Nihonbashi bridge. In this paper, Nihonbashi refers to both the bridge and its surrounding area.

[32] Makoto Takeuchi, "Sekaihe no Mado, Nihonbashi [Window to the World. Nihonbashi]," in *Tokyo-to Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan Chōsa*

hidden under the highway, one would think that the citation above might be an exaggeration. Even as concerns the Edo period, it is difficult to accept that Edo was an international city in the same sense as London and Vienna were. However, the museum's strong desire to define Nihonbashi as the center of the Edo-Tokyo culture and Japan in a global context is visible. He also brought up examples of the possible influence of Dutch people briefly residing in the Nihonbashi area on Japanese intellectuals living nearby, writing, "local and communal cultural activities in Nihonbashi area were therefore developed as surprisingly advanced information and publication activities which stands in global perspective."[33] It is still debatable if the cosmopolitanism of the Edo period can rightfully be claimed as the museum insists. However, this is one of the most interesting examples among all of the temporary exhibitions at the three museums dealt with in this paper, insofar as the museum actively uses exhibitions as media to create new images of the city. It tries to "revive" the old landmark of Tokyo, which could support the marketing image of the city.

From the analysis above, it is clear that the museum is keen on creating touristic images of the local area of the museum and on identifying the cityscape of Tokyo with lost landmarks, while the museum is quiet about the life space of residents today. Considering that there were many redevelopment sites in the 1980s that greatly changed Tokyo's landscape, the lack of reference to such changes indicates that the museum has little interest in the current cityscape of Tokyo. Although *Nihonbashi, Ginza, Yudome: the History of Main Streets* (2005) showed the shopping area, these areas were already symbolic areas during the Meiji period with western-style buildings and trendsetting shops. As the Nihonbashi, Ginza, and Yudome areas are still posh high streets, the choice of the area for the exhibition clearly shows their preference for high-class, traditional locales with strong roots in the Edo area rather than new areas. The lack of interest in the contemporary cityscape and the life space of residents could also be explained by the fact that the cityscape of Tokyo does not accumulate any meaning over the course of time, as in Tokyo most buildings are prone to being part a "scrap and build" system.[34] In this sense, images created with lost landmarks in the museum can be more durable than the fast-changing cityscape of Tokyo.

There was an exhibition in 2013 that showed neither "local area and tourism" nor "lost landmarks." *Edo and Kyoto: Cityscapes in Asia* showed how Edo and Kyoto were depicted in

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Houkokushō 16: Nihonbashi Sinpojium Houkoku-sho [2001 Symposium "Nihonbashi Bridge" – Research Report (16)], ed. ETH and Tokyo-to Rekishi Bunka Zaidan, (Tokyo: ETM and Tokyo-to Rekishi Bunka Zaidan, 2003), 34.

[33] "日本橋界隈における地域連帯的な文化活動は、おのずと国際的視野に立つ、当時としては驚くほど先進的な、情報･出版活動として展開した。" Makoto Takeuchi, "Nihonbashi no Tokuchō [The Characteristics of *Nihonbashi*-bridge]," 165.

[34] The "Scrap and Build" system in relation to the construction of buildings and houses supported Japanese economic growth after World War II. Building non-durable buildings shortened the cycle of reconstruction. Yousuke Hirayama, *Tokyo no Hateni* [Beyond the Edge of Tokyo] (Tokyo: NTT Shuppan, 2006), 6–8.

world maps and how the planning of Edo and Kyoto was influenced by knowledge or information brought from neighboring countries in Asia. The exhibition was totally about the cityscape as seen from the perspectives of political power. It was more like a cityscape as seen from the 110th floor of the World Trade Center, as referred to by De Certeau (cf. Chapter 2.2.2).

7.1.3 Collective Memory

As the museum was built to preserve the historical heritage of Edo-Tokyo, which is also explicit in its naming, the history presented in the museum is limited to the Edo (1603–1868), Meiji (1868–1912), Taisho (1912–1926), Showa (1926–1989) and Heisei (1989–) periods.[35] It is clear that the focus is more on Edo (1603–1868) than on Tokyo (1868–), since out of 45 exhibitions, only 13 were mainly about Tokyo. (excluding *Exhibition City: Edo-Tokyo* [1993], which handled both.) However, as 19 out of 31 exhibitions on the Edo period were on themes related to the Tokugawa Family, a strong bias toward the Edo period in this category owes to the importance of the Tokugawa as a theme at the ETH. Therefore in the following, I would like to deal with exhibitions on the Tokugawa Family first.

The Tokugawa Family[36] (List 3.6)

As the Tokugawa clan made Edo the center of Japanese politics, the culture and history of the Tokugawa clan cannot be separated from the history of Tokyo. The importance of the Tokugawa Family was clearly demonstrated at the opening of the museum in 1993. The very first temporary exhibition at the ETH was *The Legacy of Tokugawa Ieyasu: Celebrating the 450th Anniversary of the First Shogun* (1993).[37] Considering his popularity among Japanese people in general, it was also strategically appropriate in attracting as much of the public's attention as possible and to presenting a clear self-image of the museum to the public. The exhibition was all about Ieyasu, showing his images, hobbies, clothing, and his accounts of military and financial matters.

Since 1997, all exhibitions except for *Learning of the Tokugawa Family – Momijiyama Bunko and Shōheizaka Gakumonjo* (2005) were on members of the family.[38] While there was a certain reservation of the museum recognizable when it came to taking up the Tokugawa as a theme in

[35] Some exceptions are archaeological exhibitions held after 1999 like the series *Unearthed Japan*. Another example is the exhibition *Ōta Dōkan and his time* (2007), which showed Ōta Dōkan's life, the construction of Edo castle, and the historical era of his life (1432–1486). Edo Castle was originally constructed by Ōta Dōkan, but finally came into the possession of the Tokugawa family in 1590.

[36] In addition, there were three major exhibitions on the Tokugawa Family, which were put under "popular culture" category, as they were on one of the famous NHK network's television series. (cf. Chapter 7.1.4) Tokugawa-related exhibitions were mostly held in cooperation with the Tokugawa Memorial Foundation and the Tokugawa Art Museum.

[37] The exhibition *The Legacy of Tokugawa Ieyasu* (1993) was prepared and presented by the Tokugawa Art Museum and the Tokugawa Memorial Foundation, not by the ETH. It could be because the museum was busy with opening and their first exhibition, *Exhibition City: Edo-Tokyo*.

[38] The exhibition *Princess Kazunomiya* (1997) was on an imperial princess, Kazunomiya, who married the 14th Shogun.

major exhibitions in the 2000s,[39] the number of mid-size and small-size exhibitions on the theme of the Tokugawa increased dramatically after 2003, probably because the popularity of the family attracts more visitors. Although some exhibitions, for example ones held in 2007 and 2009, examined the policies of shoguns, the exhibited objects were mostly personal objects of the family members. Focusing on personal aspects, rather than on their political or social role, means that any political and social legacy of the family does not form a collective memory of Edo-Tokyo. Although these exhibitions could relativize the image of the Tokugawa family created through mass media, the Tokugawa Period is still popularized, humanized, and de-politicized.

A notable change in major exhibitions is the shift of focus from the family members to their treasures.[40] This culminated in 2012, the 20th anniversary year of the museum, with two major exhibitions *The Tokugawa Art Museum Collection: Treasures from Owari Tokugawa Family* and *Nijo Castle*. The former showed "treasures" of one of the families of the Tokugawa clan, some of which are designated as national treasures. The latter was about Nijo Castle, which belonged to the Tokugawa family, but now stands in Kyoto. The main exhibited objects were art objects including thirty paintings drawn by the Kano school on the room partitions of the castle, designated as Important Cultural Properties by the national government. These two major exhibitions on the theme of the Tokugawa indicate that the history of the Tokugawa Shogunate has a legacy in forming a part of an important national treasure. In addition, these two exhibitions do not have a clear connection to Tokyo except through the Tokugawa family. As can also be seen in other categories, themes in major exhibitions are becoming more and more irrelevant to the city as such.

Others (List 3.7.)

Apart from exhibitions on the Tokugawa families, there were thirteen exhibitions on Tokyo and twelve exhibitions on Edo, but there were no exhibitions which focused on a particular period from multiple perspectives which would be comparable to exhibitions such as the exhibition *Kampf um die Stadt* at the WMK or the exhibition *1920s: The Decade that Changed London* at the MoL. In the following, the shift of interest from the functions of the city to communicating a message of encouragement is delineated, followed by a depoliticized history.

[39] The Tokugawa became a theme for a major exhibition only on the occasion of celebrations for the 10th and 20th anniversaries of the ETH, *The Tokugawa Shogun Family* (2003) and *Treasures From the Owari Tokugawa Family* (2012) respectively.

[40] This shift is not seen in smaller exhibitions. There were two small exhibitions on the treasures of the Mito Tokugawa family held in 2004 and 2005. The exhibition *Shiba Zōjō-ji* (2011) also focused on the treasures housed in the temple. However, other smaller exhibitions showed the lives and personalities of family members.

The Shift of Interest from the Functions of the City to Communicating a Message of Encouragement

Exhibition City: Edo-Tokyo (1993) was the first temporary exhibition fully organized by the ETH. It presented "the history of exhibitions in Edo-Tokyo, but it sought to go beyond a mere presentation of history, and it instead demonstrated that one of the functions of the city was to present various kinds of objects and information to the public."[41] It set forth a clear message that the museum is about the city and it put emphasis on both Edo and Tokyo. In this exhibition, the history of the city was seen from a thematic perspective, "an exhibition space," which the museum saw as one of the functions of the city.[42] This is the only exhibition under this category where a theme cut through different periods of the history of Edo-Tokyo.

The exhibition *Sankin Koutai – Metropolis Edo and Its System* (1996) also analyzed the function of Edo in the governance of the Tokugawa Shogunate. "Sankin Koutai" was the policy the Tokugawa Shogunate imposed on all feudal lords to commute between their fiefdoms and Edo in alternate years, which kept money flowing into Edo. While the exhibition delineated the system, the theme was also related to a contemporary issue as well.

> This system of centralization established during the Edo period changed its shape, but lives in today's Tokyo…We hope this exhibition can offer new perspectives to the discussions on decentralization or relocation of capital functions to reform the structure of centralization in Tokyo.[43]

In the 1990s in Japan, there was a debate about dispersing some capital functions of Tokyo to other cities.[44] Without clearly taking any sides, the exhibition gave a historical perspective to be used in the debate. Therefore, these two exhibitions along with the exhibition *Unearthed Cities Edo, Nagasaki Amsterdam, London, New York* (1996) (cf. Chapter 7.1.5) reflected the museum's interest in the city, in its function, and in possible debates on current urban issues. However, around 2000, the theme of the city disappeared except for the exhibition *Metropolitan Transport – One Hundred Years of History* (2011). But the history of the transport system of Tokyo was presented predominantly through old buses or trains, and the transport system was not seen as a network that enabled urban daily life for the people commuting every day. The themes frequently taken up instead concerned pioneers/innovations and the Tokyo Olympics, both of which reinforce memories of a "happy" past and cheer up a depressed society suffering from a

[41] ETH ed., *Exhibition City: Edo-Tokyo* (Tokyo: Edo-Tokyo Rekishi Zaidan, 1993), 2. (Originally in English)
[42] Shinzo Ogi, Noboru Miyata, Hidenobu Jinnai and Shunya Yoshimi, "Discussion," in *Exhibition City: Edo-Tokyo*, ed. ETH (Tokyo: Edo-Tokyo Rekishi Zaidan, 1993), 137.
[43] "こうして江戸時代につくられた集中構造は、近代の首都東京へと形をかえながら、その後も継受されて現在に至っています。。。現在の地方分権、首都機能移転問題など、東京への一極集中構造を改革するための議論に少しでも新しい見方を提供できれば。。。" ETH and Tokyo Shinbun ed. *Sankin Koutai: Kyodai-toshi Edo no Naritachi* [Sankin Koutai: Metropolis Edo and Its System] (Tokyo: ETH, 1997), 2.
[44] TMG, *My Town Tokyo '91 Tokyo Sougou Jisshi Keikaku* [My Town Tokyo: Tokyo Comprehensive Implementation Plan] (Tokyo: Tokyo-to Kikaku Shingi-shitsu, 1991), 4.

stagnating market after the burst of the economic bubble.

The theme of the Tokyo Olympics (held in 1964 and coming in 2020) came up four times (in 2002, 2006, 2007 and 2013).[45] This reflects the special meaning given to the Tokyo Olympics in 1964 within Japanese history. It was a symbolic event for Japan to be back to the world stage. It was a time that many Japanese could finally feel confident in the future after the devastation of the defeat in war. The focus on the Olympics could hence be understood as nostalgia looking back to the supposedly "good time" of the Showa 30s. (cf. Chapter 7.1.4)

As there were three major exhibitions on pioneers between 1998–2003, there must have been strong interest in pioneers and innovation during that time. Concerning the exhibition *Honda Sōichirō and Ibuka Masaru: Dreams and Inventions* (2002), curators stated that the idea came from their simple questions: "Why were they so energetic?" or "What made such rapid economic development possible?" in the face of the recession Japan has been suffering from since the burst of the economic bubble.[46] They then focused on two innovative people who founded the globe-spanning Japanese companies Honda and Sony.[47] They both started with a very small manufacturing firms, but made each into a global companies. They were success stories, at which Japanese people could only look back with awe and wonder in 2002. Their lives and episodes therein were segmented in sections called "keep dreaming" and "not being afraid of failures," which were very interesting and even touching and encouraging at times.[48] Such an exhibition was not only supposed to be nostalgic, but "[they] are supposed to be also able to give a certain kind of courage to the Japanese people, who lost confidence after the burst of bubble economy."[49]

The exhibition *Hiraga Gennai* (2003) also focused on the pioneering and innovative spirit of Hiraga Gennai (1728–1780), who was a man of various talents. By presenting Gennai, "the exhibition is a try to see Gennai not only as a person who lived 250 years ago, but also as a contemporary. Gennai might have seen further in the future than we do now."[50] From these

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[45] The exhibition in 2013 was about the forthcoming 2020 Olympic Games . The other three were concerned with the Tokyo Olympics in 1964.

[46] "不況の現実へ日本史の学芸員達がふとした疑問から"「何故元気がいいのか」""「なにゆえ急成長を遂げることができたのか」"に答えるために独自に調べたもの" ETH, Toshihiro Itaya and Shigeru Masuda ed. *Honda Sōichirō and Ibuka Masaru：Honda to Sony, Yume to Sōzō no Genten* [Honda Sōichirō and Ibuka Masaru：Honda and Sony, The Origins of Dreams and Inventions] (Tokyo: Asashi Shinbun-sha, 2002), 4.

[47] The exhibition plan was proposed by the museum's curators independently of any influence from the two companies. Two corporations lent exhibition objects without sponsoring it. "Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan Kaikan 20 Syūnen Kinen Tokubetsu Teidan [Special Talk on the Occasion of the 20th Anniversary of the Edo-Tokyo Museum]," *News Tokyo*, December 20, 2012, accessed March 30, 2014, http://www.newstokyo.jp/index.php?id=522.

[48] The director spoke in an interview about a message from a visitor. The visitor, who just lost his job, thanked the exhibition to motivate him again to look for a new job. "Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan Kanchō Takeuchi Makoto san: Syomin ga Hagukunda Bunka wo Hasshin [Makoto Takeuchi. Director of the Edo-Tokyo Museum. Transmitting the Popular Culture]," *Sankei News*, April 20, 2013, accessed November 23, 2014, http://www.sankei.com/life/news/130420/lif1304200002-n1.html.

[49] "なによりも旺盛な独立精神、社員の仕事への意欲を導きだす自由な社風、国内外への社会的貢献など、その理念は一企業にとどまらぬ、わが国全体の将来への普遍性を持ちえるといっても過言ではなく、さらにバブル経済の崩壊以降、自信喪失に陥った現代の日本人に、ある種の勇気を与えてくれるに相違ない。" ETH, *Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan Yōran 2002* [Yearly Report 2002] (Tokyo: Tokyo-to Rekishi Bunka Zaidan, 2003), 21.

[50] "本展は、単なる２５０年前の人物回顧としてではなく、現代人として源内を捉えてみようという試みです。源内の目は、今の

comments, this exhibition was also the museum's attempt at encouraging visitors and society at-large with a story of a person in their collective memory who might be able help Japanese people to see further in the future. The citation could even be read as reflecting the public's pale hope that a genius might appear and solve all of the problems they currently have.

The exhibition *Inō Tadataka* from 1998 strongly contrasts with the two exhibitions mentioned above. This exhibition was on the cartographer Inō Tadataka (1745–1818), known as the man who, with brilliant precision, made the first modern-era map of Japan. He was not a man from a dominant academic field, but from the class of townspeople, and he started his work as a cartographer after his retirement. While the above two exhibitions focused on special talents or personal characters, the exhibition *Inō Tadaktaka* did not use abstract terms such as dreams, efforts, or genius to describe its subject. This could be because the exhibition on Inō Tadakata was held in collaboration with Inō Tadatak Research Groups, whose priority was to make public Inō's works.[51] However, this difference indicates that it was only after 2000 that the museum started to use the theme innovation and innovative people to cheer people up or as a possible catalyst for getting Japan out of stagnation.

In addition, after 2000, there were also the exhibitions *Craftsmanship and Manufacturing in Edo-Tokyo: The World of the Akagi Collection* (2003) (category others) and *Wind-up Dolls* (2004 and 2007) (category others). The former exhibited the *Akagi* collection of early technological innovations, and the latter showed wind-up dolls (*Karakuri Ningyo*) made in the Edo period. These wind-up dolls have very intricate mechanics, which allow them to carry tea and write letters. Such examples of craftsmanship from the Edo period are a source of pride for "Japanese technologies and creativity."[52] The image of Japan as a technological superpower was reinforced in the exhibitions at the ETH.

Depoliticized History

As is mentioned above, there were no exhibitions at the ETH showing a particular period or sequence of historical events. While there were three exhibitions on personalities around the time of the Meiji Restoration (Katsu Kaishū [1999], Saigō Takamori [2002], Inoue Ren and Kawamura Kigen [2005]), there was no exhibition directly on the event. The focus was rather on individuals and how they lived through the time. While these exhibitions (List 3.8) showed micro-histories of the event based on the latest development in research, the lack of the representation of political conflict or social dynamics of this period is still notable. This is

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我々よりももっと未来を見据えていたのかも知れません。" ETH et al. ed. *Hiraga Gennai* (Tokyo: Tokyo Shinbun, 2003), 5.

[51] Ino Tadataka Kenkyu-kai and ETH, *Tadataka to Inō Zu* [Tadataka and His Works] (Tokyo: Awa Planing, 1998).

[52] ETH, "Mudai Karakuri Ten [Wind-up Dolls]," ETH, accessed August 31, 2015, https://www.edo-tokyo-museum.or.jp/s-exhibition/feature/1087/夢大からくり展-2007/.

compatible with the museum's aim of showing history from people's eye level. However, considering that there are no exhibitions on social issues, this might result in depriving the history presented of all conflicting or negative aspects.

The only exhibition on a historical political event that occurred in Tokyo falling under this category was *The City and its Memory of Riots: Hibiya Incendiary Incident* (2004). This dealt with a riot that happened in Hibiya after the signing the Treaty of Portsmouth to end the Japan-Russia war in 1904.[53] As the ETH notes, "[i]t was the first uprising of people in the capital Tokyo."[54] Such an event was relatively rare in Japanese history. And this exhibition was the only exhibition at the ETH that represented the clash between the masses and the government in public. However, even in this exhibition, it was not the conflict between the masses and the government that was the focus, but rather the "Japanese in the Meiji period who tried to establish their position in the international society and their anguish."[55] The event was put in a global context, not an internal political one. Considering that "Taisho democracy" became very active after the war with Russia, the exhibition not making any clear reference to it was a significant omission.

In addition, although there were six exhibitions on World War II, in all of its exhibitions the museum remained silent concerning issues such as the Yasukuni Shrine. As it is still a sensible theme, it would not be politically correct to touch upon the issue in the exhibitions. However, too much focus on the bombing of Tokyo and the miraculous recovery after the war could emphasize the victim position of Tokyo in creating collective memory if the reason why the war started did not receive a similar focus.[56] It is also interesting to see how in the exhibition *Tokyo Recovery: The Showa 20s in Color Photos* (2010)[57] the focus of the exhibition was not the devastating impact of the war on Tokyo's landscape and the resulting dramatic changes, but the power behind its recovery. As the ETH wrote, "We hope that visitors would feel the dreams and longing of people of Tokyo in overcoming the difficulties for the recovery of the city, and reconsider our future."[58] The narrative of World War II and the Tokyo Air Raid passed over into

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[53] Although the general public in Japan thought that Japan won the war, the Japanese government did not claim any compensation for the damage and loss caused by the war from Russia. People were angered by this and set fires in the area of Hibiya.

[54] ETH, "Toshi to Sōjōno Kioku [The City and its Memory of Riots: Hibiya Incendiary Incident]," accessed August 31, 2015, http://www.edo-tokyo-museum.or.jp/s-exhibition/project/3000/都市と騒擾そうじょうの記憶－日比谷焼き打ち事/.

[55] "国際社会の中における地位の確立を目指した明治日本の姿を、人々の苦悶の跡とともに振り返ります。" Ibid.

[56] See also Shinji Higuchi, "Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan no Mondai Ten [Issues Concerning the Edo-Tokyo Museum]," *Bunka Hyōron* 334 (1988–12): 183.
As Higuchi was a politician from the opposition party, his criticism was not free of political considerations. Nevertheless, in comparison to museums in German-speaking countries, which show more self-critical views, the exhibitions on World War II at the ETH could not avoid giving the impression of being severely lacking in such critical views.

[57] The exhibited photographs were mostly taken by American soldier Gaetano Faillace, whose family donated his pictures and negatives to the museum after his death.

[58] "この展示から、苦難を乗り越え東京の復興を目指す人々が描いた夢や憧れを感じていただき、私たちの未来を見つめなおす機会になれば幸いです。" ETH, "Tokyo Fukkou. Karā de Miru Showa 20 Nenndai Tokyo no Kiseki [Tokyo Recovery: The Showa 20s in Color Photos]," accessed August 31, 2015, http://www.edo-tokyo-museum.or.jp/s-exhibition/project/2435/東京復興－カラーで見る昭和 20 年代東京の軌跡－/.

the image of "Phoenix city, Tokyo," which is the term used in Edo-Tokyo studies.[59] This will be examined in detail in Chapter 7.2.

7.1.4 Popular Culture

There are 64 exhibitions covering 20 years in this category, almost three exhibitions per year on average. The increase since 2000 is especially clear in the form of smaller exhibitions because of the creation of two series of exhibitions held in 2000 and in 2004. The strong bias towards the Edo period was not seen in the 1990s, while Edo popular culture became more dominant after 2000. When ukiyo-e exhibitions are included under this category, the rates would be 31% and 35%, while art stands for 21% and 12%. As the museum regards woodblock prints as a part of the popular culture of Edo, its claim to being a museum presenting popular culture is partly justified from the museum's point of view.

As there are so many exhibitions that fall under this category, I looked first at only the major exhibitions in this category in order to find out a trend with which to start. List 3.9 shows the major exhibitions on theme popular culture. There was a major exhibition every one or two years, except between 2009 and 2013. But in regard to the content, exhibitions before 2004 were all on the theme daily life, then exhibitions on mass communication appeared between 2004 and 2010. Two exhibitions in 2013 were once again on daily life, but the perspective became more global, and therefore the nature of the exhibition was different from those before 2003. Therefore, in this chapter, I would like to see this change in focus from daily life to mass communication / publication, before moving to the rest of the exhibitions in the section "others."

Daily Life (List 3.10)

In the 1990s, daily life was presented analytically with a socio-historical perspective. Around 2000, however, an overt nostalgia appeared, which became later more hidden in the presentation of romanticized daily life of the Edo period.

From Daily Objects over Nostalgia to Romanticized Daily Life of Edo Tokyo

The daily life of ordinary people was a very popular theme in major exhibitions at the ETH until 2005. There were ten major exhibitions between 1994 and 2005. They vividly showed how people in Edo/Tokyo lived with objects used by ordinary people in their daily lives. However upon closer examination, a perspective change from analytical to nostalgic was already happening around 1999.

[59] Shinzo Ogi, *Edo-Tokyo gaku* [Edo-Tokyo Studies] (Tokyo: Toshi Shuppan, 2005), 40.

The major exhibitions *Summer in Edo: Cool Air and Beauty* (1994) and *Lights: The Past and the Present – The History of Lights and People of Edo-Tokyo* (1995) showed continuity and discontinuity in the daily life of Edo-Tokyo. For example, in the catalogue to the former, the ETH state that they "hope that this exhibition gives visitors opportunities to ponder the life in the Edo Period and consider what still applies to our life, what is gone, and what has been revived."[60] By bringing in a comparative and analytical perspective in relation to contemporary daily life, these exhibitions avoid creating a nostalgic atmosphere. The exhibition *E-Sugoroku* (1997) is of particular interest, as it characterizes the stance of the museum in the 1990s in relation to daily objects. It was an exhibition on Sugoroku. It is a board game with sections lined from a starting point to a goal. The line forms a story which reflects senses of values of the time. For example, one Sugoroku represented the life of women with each section showing important events in a woman's life such as marriage and giving birth. Or others represented the "successful" life of a man. Such an exhibition could be understood not only as showing popular culture, but also as a socio-historical analysis of a game. Although such a critical perspective was not overt, this exhibition interestingly showed the reproduction of social norms through daily activities of people. It is one of the most outstanding popular culture exhibitions held at the ETH.

On the other hand, since 1999, the nostalgic approach in temporary exhibitions has become clearer. The exhibition *Children in the Showa Period* (1999), presented pictures and dolls from the Showa era. It was an exhibition that aimed "to rediscover the *kokoro* (heart or soul) that existed in the Showa era and to pass them down to a new era by showing the Showa 30s from the perspective of children when…the life, mind, landscapes, and atmosphere of local areas were most diverse."[61] What the term *kokoro* (heart or soul) means could be clear in the following comment from the exhibition *Close but Distant Showa* (2000).

> After WWII, Japan became a major economic power in the world as a result of the rapid application of the value of efficiency since the Showa 40s [1966–1976]. However, many would have realized after the burst of the economic bubble that they were just like beautiful paper decorations. Namely, real important things were to be found in things which looked as useless at the first sight. There might be a hint for us in the Showa 30s [1956–1965] for what is the most important thing in our life toward the 21st century. Let's travel back to such lively period.[62]

[60] "現在の私たちの周辺に、いまだ脈々と引き継がれているもの、形を変えてよみがえったもの、あるいは全く失われてしまったもの － これらをご覧いただくことによって江戸の暮らしを考え、現代の東京の都市生活にどの面が生かされているのか、あるいは断ち切られているのか、そしてまた、復活したものは何かを模索するよすがとなれば幸いです。" ETH ed. *Edo no Natsu, Sono Ryō to Bi* [Summer in Edo: Cool Air and Beauty] (Tokyo: Edo-Tokyo Rekishi Zaidan, 1994), 3.

[61] "中でも、人びとの生活や意識、町の景観や風情などが最も変化に富んでいた昭和 30 年代という時代をこどもたちの視点で表現することで、その奥にある"こころ"の再発見と、新たな時代への継承を企画の狙いとした。" ETH, *Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan Yōran 1999* [Yearly Report 1999] (Tokyo: Tokyo-to Rekishi Bunka Zaidan, 2000), 22.

[62] "戦後、特に昭和四十年ごろからの急激な効率主義の結果、経済大国となったものの、それは名ばかりのハリボテだったことに、バブル崩壊後、多くの人が気づいたのではないだろうか。すなわち、一見無駄のように思えた多くの事柄の中に、実は必要なものがあったのだったと。二十一世紀に向けて、何が最も必要かということに関してのヒントが、昭和三十年代にあるのかもしれない。

Kokoro could be one of the real important things "to be found in things which looked as useless at the first sight." And the exhibition aimed at guiding visitors to "travel back to such lively period." The Showa 30s was regarded as a completely separated period from today, in which people could find something that they have lost. This was an exhibition that was strong in nostalgia.

This exhibition could be seen as a reflection of "The Showa boom," a nationwide nostalgia toward the Showa period.[63] As is explained in the citation above, the Japanese started having doubts about the materialism in the 1980s and these doubts became serious after the burst of the economic bubble. This reconsideration turned Japanese minds to the Showa 30s (1955–1965), when Japan was poor but cheerful and energetic.

The Showa 30s are presumed in the title "Close but distant Showa," although the Showa 30s are not clearly stated in it. The Showa period was very long, lasting from 1926 to 1988, but Showa nostalgia does not include the period of World War II (between Showa 14–20) or the economic prosperity in the 1980s. Furthermore, people find the simple life in the 30s-era *Kokoro* without paying any attention to the fact that the Showa 30s were full of social events and problems such as conflicts over the Japan-US Security Treaty and industrial pollution, and the museum made no critical appraisals of them, either.

This nostalgia cannot simply be seen as a creation of the mass media. Many people would agree that there was something important in the Showa 30s to be remembered and passed down to the next generation. The current director Takeuchi is one of these people, telling in an interview how a small room of a typical household of the Showa period (a reconstruction of such a room can be seen in the permanent gallery at the ETH) symbolized the simplicity of life and family value that we have now lost.[64] In an exhibition *Kizuna (The Bound): Families in the Showa Era and Their Hearts to Be Passed Down* (2010), which exhibited dolls dressed and set in daily scenes from the Showa 30s, the doll artist also said, "the world of the Showa period best suits expression of the calmness children feel when they are embraced by motherly love."[65] The Showa period itself was even identified with motherly love. The message of the museum in these exhibitions was

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さあ、そんな元気だった時代へ、タイム･スリップしてみよう。" Shinobu Machida, "Mazushikutemo Genki datta Showa 30 Nenndai [The Poor but Rich Showa 30s]," in *Chikakute Natsukashii Showa no Anokoro: Mazushikutemo Yutaka datta Showa 30 Nenndai Gurafiti* [Close but Distant Showa: Grafitti of the Poor but Rich Showa 30s], ed. Gakuyōsha (Tokyo: Tōei Kabushiki Gaisha, 2000), 50.

[63] According to Katagiri, Showa nostalgia was ignited in the 1990s by the Shin-Yokohama Ramen Museum, which recreated the landscapes of Shitamachi of the Showa 30s. The recent big Showa boom was the setting of the film *Always: Sanchō-me no Yuuhi* [Always: The Setting Sun of 3 Chome] in 2005. See Shinji Katagiri, "Showa Būmu wo Kaibō suru [An Analysis of the Showa Boom]," *Kansai Daigaku Shakaigakubu Kiyō*, 38 (3) (2007), accessed December 19, 2014, http://ci.nii.ac.jp/els/110006565892.pdf?id=ART0008546904&type=pdf&lang=jp&host=cinii&order_no=&ppv_type=0&lang_sw=&no=1410772902&cp.

[64] "Takeuchi Makoto san: Chiiki Saisei ga Kyoiku no Kagi to naru," [Takeuchi Makoto: Community Regeneration as a Key for Education], *Toyo Keizai Online*, accessed: November 19, 2014, http://toyokeizai.net/articles/-/1090.

[65] "母性に包まれた和みを表現するには、昭和の世界がぴったりくる、と思ったのです。" Akemi Abe, *Kizuna: Showa no Kazoku, Tsutaeru Kokoro* [The Bound: Families in the Showa Era and Their Hearts to be Passed Down] (Tokyo: Showa no Kazoku Ten Jikkō Iinkai, 2010), 45.

that there was something wrong in present-day society, but that we might rediscover something right in the past. The Showa 30s exhibitions showed not only objects, their usage, or changes in lifestyle. Objects exhibited in these exhibitions were given more symbolic meaning, thereby showing a sense of value, as *kokoro*, atmosphere, Japanese heart, or as something that we have lost in a materialistic society. *Kokoro* is a very abstract word and difficult to translate. But it is remarkable how often such abstract or even spiritual terms are used not only in exhibitions but also in official communication by politicians as well,[66] which will be detailed in Chapter 7.2.

This overt nostalgia toward the Showa 30s, however, disappeared after these exhibitions. But the major exhibition *Soul of the Meiji: Edward Sylvester Morse, His Everyday Life with Kind-hearted People* (2013) was on the same track, presenting a positive image of the period with "kind-hearted people" through the perspective of Dr. Edward S. Morse, an American zoologist who visited Japan three times to engage in research and teaching between 1977 and 1983. During his visits, he observed and sketched the daily lives of the people he encountered. As an academic, his observation and documentation were very precise. In fact, the catalogue of the exhibition is also very careful about citing his words, being limited to only factual description of what he saw and kept in his diary. However in presentation, the pictures taken by him were partly colored so that they appear attractive as well as nostalgic to visitors. After visiting the exhibition, visitors could buy replicas of daily objects exhibited at the exhibition. They remind visitors of Japanese traditional lifestyles, in which people in Meiji Japan "take good care of things and use them for a long time, love nature, and enjoy daily life kind-heartedly."[67]

And images of traditional Japanese life from a foreigner's view were also emphasized in *Flowers in Bloom: The Culture of Gardening in Edo* (2013), showing not only the gardening culture of the Edo people but also its sophistication of the popular culture, which was also highly appreciated by foreigners of the time.

> The British botanist Robert Fortune, who came to Japan about one hundred and fifty years ago, was awed by the flower-loving people of Japan. The love for flowers and plants, and the methods to cultivate them had been cherished by all classes, high and low.[68]

The theme of daily life presented an increasingly beautified image of the past as being the true Japanese heart (*kokoko*) and soul as well as the acme of sophistication of Japanese culture, all of which is a source of pride for the museum, even in global comparison.

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[66] Yousuke Hirayama, *Tokyo no Hateni* [Beyond the Edge of Tokyo], 62–71.

[67] "ものを大切にし、自然を愛し、心優しく、日々を楽しむ" "Meiji no Kokoro [Soul of the Meiji: Edward Sylvester Morse, His Everyday Life with Kind-hearted People]," Asahi Shinbun Digital, accessed: October 17, 2014, http://www.asahi.com/event/morse2013/goods/.

[68] ETH, *Hanahiraku Edo no Engei* [Flowers in Bloom- The Culture of Gardening in Edo] (Tokyo: ETH, 2013), 5. (Originally in English)

Bustling Edo[69]

While there were more major exhibitions on mass communication and entertainment after 2003, the theme daily life did not disappear. Since 2000, it was instead reinforced with small exhibitions, but they were mostly on daily life in Edo, showing the bustling cultural life of Edo. This could also be understood as a part of nostalgia, creating a lively image of Edo daily life that represents Tokyo, which in present-day reality faces complex and urgent problems.

For example, the major exhibition *Ō-Edo One Hundred and Eight Townsman's Wards* (2002) "tried to show from various perspectives the bustle, landscape, and works of the people of Edo, which became one of the world biggest metropolises of the time with over a million residents."[70] The ward was the smallest community unit in Edo and the closest to the daily life of people. The exhibition showed how they were organized, and how the people's life was also. The exhibition also examined the peculiarities of Edo such as the landscape of the *Nihonbashi* region, the commercial activities of great merchants, the system of the wards, spatial development, and the concentration of people, commodities, money, and information.[71] By showing a variety of works in which Edo people were engaged and the administration of daily affairs, the life of Edo people could be imagined vividly and dynamically.

However, when compared to similar exhibitions at the WMK and the MoL, the exhibition instead created the image of "bustling Edo daily life" without paying much attention to the shadow side of society. The aim was more "to make visitors understand that the formation of unique culture and identity in Edo around the middle of the 18th century led to the beginnings of the historical term 'Ō-Edo' or 'Edokko.'"[72] "Ō-Edo" connotes Edo's expansion and prosperity ("Ō" means great) and "Edokko" were the people living in "Ō-Edo" who have a certain particular character (being frank or short-tempered). "Edokko" (Tokyoites) is a term still used today to refer to people who were born in and grown up in the Shitamachi area, which retains a more traditional Japanese landscape than other areas in Tokyo.[73] While such landscapes are now disappearing because of the gentrification of the area, the exhibition reiterates the usage and legitimacy of the "historical" term as representing traditional values, life-styles, and characteristics of the people of Edo.

The small exhibition *Flowers of Edo: Firefighting and Festivals* (2007) was in the same line, presenting the image of bustling Edo with nishiki-e depicting fire fighters and their clothing as

[69] I translated the Japanese word "*Nigiwai*" as 'bustle." '*Nigiwai*' is frequently used by the ETH.

[70] "１８世紀には人口１００万人を擁する世界最大級の巨大都市となった江戸の賑わいと景観、江戸庶民のなりわいをさまざまな角度から紹介した。" ETH, *Ō-edo Happyaku Yachō Ten* [Ō-edo One Hundred and Eight Townsman's Wards] (Tokyo: ETH, 2003), 22.

[71] ETH, *Ō-edo Happyaku Yachō Ten* [Ō-edo One Hundred and Eight Townsman's Wards], 22.

[72] Hiroaki Ichikawa and Fumihiko Hara, "Ō-edo Happyaku Yacho Tenn no Konseputo to Seika ni Tsuite [The Concept and Achievement of the Exhibition *Ō-edo One Hundred and Eight Townsman's Wards*]," in *Ō-edo Happyaku Yachō Ten* [Ō-edo One Hundred and Eight Townsman's Wards], ed. ETH (Tokyo: ETH, 2003), 212–213.

[73] *Shitamachi* area is now wider than the area where townspeople lived during the Edo period. But *Shitamachi* and *Edokko* are now associated with the vague image of the area and human characteristics which supposedly have their roots in Edo culture.

well as a Mikoshi, a portable shrine used in festivals.[74] The major exhibition *Learning in Edo* (2005) showed another aspect of the image. In Edo, learning was not restricted to the ruling class. There were small schools called *Terakoya*, in which children of townspeople could learn basic reading, writing, and counting. This system of learning for commoners ended up supporting the high literacy level and the printing culture of Edo. To wit:

> Unfortunately, many excellent features of Terakoya education have been lost during the process of modernization. However, it would be worth looking at those features of discontinuity which we have not valued and casted off in order to consider the problems that the present school education faces.[75]

The message here was that we should realize that Edo probably had a better education system than now and that we could learn something from it.[76] In this exhibition there was not only pride in the culture of Edo but also the message again: "learn from the past." Along with the exhibitions mentioned above, Edo was shown as a bustling place with a functioning system of cohabitation and education; and Japan should now turn to it in order to rediscover traditional Japanese "greatness" and solid identity based on them.

As a remarkable exception in the 2000s, the major exhibition *Tokyo Trendy Life* (2003) showed the daily life of Tokyo. The exhibition was about changing trends in Tokyo over the last 150 years. This exhibition was not simply about the history of consumption, but it attempted to see how trends symbolize certain periods. For example, a new trend of eating meat was a reflection of rapid modernization in the Meiji era. It did not only show what people ate and wore but also how people lived through times of material scarcity through improvising with materials at hand during wartime. But the exhibition showed little interest in more critical issues such as the people who were supporting this consumer culture, or the people who made the clothes and their working conditions.[77]

Mass Communication/Publication

List 3.11 contains exhibitions on mass communication that span the following sub-groups: manga (3), magazines (3), films (3), television and radio writers (1), popular singers (1), and

[74] As is said in a proverb, "fights and fires are the flowers of Edo," which means that fire fighters and short-tempered people represented the culture and life of Edo, fire fighters are regarded as being an important element in the image of bustling Edo.

[75] "残念ながら、寺子屋教育の優れた点の多くは、近代化のなかで失われてしまった。しかし、現代の学校教育が抱えている問題を考える際には、その形成過程で、切り捨ててきた不連続面にこそむしろ注目すべき価値があるのではないだろうか。" Hiroaki Ichikawa and Hidekazu Ishiyama, *Edo no Manabi: Kyōiku Bakuhatsu no Jidai* [Learning in Edo: the Age of the Burst of Education] (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 2006), 4–5.

[76] "混迷を深める教育現場の明日を考える多くの人々に、江戸時代の「学び」の実態をしってもらいたいという気持ちの高揚が、この企画をすすめる原動力となった。" Ibid., 127.

[77] A report by Wakizou Hosoi *Jokō Aishi* depicted the harsh working conditions of young women working in the spinning industry. See Wakizou Hosoi, *Jokō aishi* [Tragic Stories of Factory Girls], rev. ed. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shinsho, 1980).

actors (1). While most of these focus on a particular person and their works or the history of the film industry, exhibitions on magazines, especially *20th-Century Tokyo in Magazines* (2012) were of particular interest because of a focus on the role of the magazines in society in comparison to recent increases in Internet usage. Magazines were regarded as "'mirrors' of the age and its society" and as "historical materials."[78] This could be understood as a part of the long history of the publication culture of Edo-Tokyo. It might have been very natural for the museum to see magazines as historical materials in the same way as it saw nishiki-e and illustrated literature as historical materials of Edo's publication culture.

There were two major manga exhibitions in 2004 and 2009. The exhibition *Mizuki Shigeru* (2004) was on the manga artist Mizuki Shigeru (1922–2015), who is famous for manga depicting the world of monsters. The exhibition not covered only his works, but also his life and personality, especially his life as identified with the history of the Showa period.

> He was a naughty boy, but one who showed outstanding talent for drawing, succeeded as a manga writer, despite the difficulties of living through the wartime. His life of extremely hard working epitomized the history of the Showa Era itself.[79]

His success after long, difficult years and hard work was identified with the values which ostensibly represented the Showa Period.[80] It was a manga exhibition, but at the same time, Japanese society of the Showa period was also represented.[81] There was a clear nostalgia behind this exhibition that was already found in daily life exhibitions. Although the focus shifted from daily life to mass media, the nostalgia was still strongly present.

The major exhibition *The 80th Anniversary of Tezuka Osamu: Message to the Future* (2009), on the other hand, shows the blurring line between high culture and popular culture taking place at the ETH. The exhibition was on a famous Japanese manga artist, Tezuka Osamu (1928–1989). He held a medical degree, and the theme of his manga ranged from history to medicine, and some were even ethical and philosophical, while they were part of popular culture because of being cartoons circulated by means of mass communication. As the exhibition focused on his life, his works, and the message behind his work, the content of manga was handled rather

[78] "雑誌は、最新情報を継続的に提供する出版物であり、その時代の社会状況を反映する「鏡」のようなものといえます。当館は、雑誌を東京の社会を映し出す貴重な歴史資料としてとらえ、現在約 9 万 5 千点を所蔵、その一部を図書室で公開しています。ETH, "Zasshi de Miru Tokyo no 20 Seiki: Kanzō Shiryō Shōkai [20th Century Tokyo in Magazines: The Collection of the ETH]," accessed August 31, 2015, http://www.edo-tokyo-museum.or.jp/s-exhibition/project/1192/雑誌にみる東京の 20 世紀-館蔵資料紹介-/.

[79] "絵だけは抜群に上手はわんぱく少年が、戦争という時代の波に翻弄されながらも漫画家として大成功し、モーレツに働いてきた姿は、一人の人間を通した昭和史そのものといえます。" Asahi Shinbun sha, *Dai Mizuki Shigeru Ten* [Mizuki Shigeru Exhibition] (Tokyo, Asahi Shinbun-sha, 2004), 3.

[80] His life was very dramatic. He failed several times in formal education, and several times almost lost his life during World War II, and he had very long difficult life in poverty as an unknown manga artist until he finally became popular in his 40s.

[81] This tendency was also seen in the exhibition *Misora Hibari and the Showa Period* (2006).

seriously.[82] This is an example of the line between popular culture and high art becoming blurred, and of how manga was taken seriously at the ETH.

Exhibitions Related to the Television Program "Taiga Drama" (List 3.12)

Within this category, what is most characteristic of the ETH is its close relation to a television program produced by Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai (NHK)[83], a long-running, yearly historical series (period drama) called "Taiga-drama," which started in 1963.[84] Since 1997 there has been an major exhibition almost every year on the theme of the television series at the ETH.[85]

While television programs contain fictional elements and stories are told along with the life of a person, exhibitions are meant to give visitors more historical understanding of the person as well as of the period in question.[86] However, at the same time, close co-operation between the production team and the museum is also visible. For example, the producer or scenario writer gave a talk at the ETH.[87] The exhibition's audio guide was narrated by one of the actors using the theme music of the program.[88] This evoked the images presented by the television program within the exhibition. For both sides this was a good way of marketing. But at the same time, it was a very populist strategy.

While wider public access to those exhibitions cannot be denied, the case of the exhibition *Tenshōin Atsuhime* (2007) (a wife of the 13th Shogun) should be examined critically. The huge success in 2008 of the Taiga drama *Tenshōin Atsuhime* created an "Astuhime Boom," and its economic effect in Kagoshima, her birthplace, was estimated at about 29.6 billion yen (about 21 million Euro).[89] In 2008, even the ETH was looking for any possible way to benefit from the boom. The exhibition *Shugyoku no Koshi: Edo Pallaquin/Sedan Chairs* (2008) presented her pallaquin on loan from the Smithsonian Museum to the Japanese public for the first time. The exhibition *Satsuma-yaki: Traditional Beauty that Fascinated Paris and Atsuhime* also uses "Atsuhime" in its subtitle, as *Satsuma-yaki* are traditional ceramics from her birth place, although this exhibition was to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the relationship between Japan and France.

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[82] The exhibition space was divided according to his famous works, in which his doubts on our overconfidence in science and technology, and his philosophy on life, death and the universe were examined.

[83] Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai (NHK) is a national TV production company.

[84] Unlike most Japanese TV series which last only 3–6 months per year, Taiga Drama is a year-round drama with around forty 45-minute episodes broadcast on Sunday evenings starting in January. The content comes mostly from before the early Meiji period, with only three exceptions set in the Taisho and Showa periods out of 53 series.

[85] The series to which a temporary exhibition was not dedicated were ones held in 2005 (Yoshitsune), 2007 (Kansuke Yamamoto), and 2009 (Naoe Kagetsugu).

[86] The author has seen the whole series of *Tenshōin Atsuhime*, which was based on a historical literature. There were many fictional elements, reflecting the popular value of contemporary society, which in this series was the value of "family."

[87] At the exhibition *Tenshōin Atsuhime* (2007) the talk was but cancelled because of the writer's health problems.

[88] *Tenshōin Atsuhime* (2007) and *Ryōma-den* (2010), for example.

[89] Chiiki Keizai Kenkyū-jo, "NHK Taiga Dorama Hōei niyoru Kagoshima-ken heno Keizai kouka [On the Economic Effect of the Taiga Drama 'Atsuhime' on Kagoshima]," October 16, 2008, accessed August 23, 2015, https://www.ker.co.jp/images/contents/investigation/atsuhime_20081016.pdf.

The Influence of Mass Media (Television/Film) in All Categories

As a general trend at the ETH, the influence of mass media (television) was more visible in the exhibitions in the 2000s. For example, the small exhibition *Ichikawa Danjūrō and Ebisō* (2004) (under the category of high culture) was on actors from the famous Kabuki families. The 11th *Ebisō* (1977–) set the new Kabuki boom in 2000. Popular writer Hayashi Fumiko (1903–1951) and her work *Hōruo-ki* were themes in the exhibition *Hayashi Fumiko and Tokyo Hōrou* (2010) (under the category of popular culture). *Hōrou-ki* was a very popular story which has been filmed and staged many times. While the exhibition sheds light on current social issues,[90] it is also a populist exhibition, as it celebrated the 2,000th appearance of a renowned actress who continuously played the heroine of the story over forty years. Four exhibitions on *Chūshingura* (under the category of high culture) were on a popular literary work written in the middle of the 18th century, based on an actual historical event in the Edo period. The story has been made into television dramas many times. As these dramas were often shown in December, the story is now very popular for symbolizing the end of the year. Considering that all four exhibitions started or ended in December, it could be said that these exhibitions used the popularity of the theme and chose the best timing to show them. *The world of the film 'Akane Sora' – Edo Cuisine and Fukagawa* in 2006 (under the category of popular culture) exhibited the film set and its reconstruction of tofu-vending stalls.

The above exhibitions show that the museum was rather passive in relation to mass media. The ETH made the most use of booms in popular culture created by other mass media. There is only one example of an active role played by the museum creating a boom by itself, namely the exhibition *Inō Tadataka* (1998) (cf. Chapter 7.1.3) which attracted over 100,000 visitors. After some sensational findings of the lost original maps by him in Paris and Tokyo as well as the accompanying media coverage (the Asahi Newspaper and the NHK), the exhibition and outside activities organized by both the group and the museum caused a small "Inō Tadataka boom."[91]

Others (List 3.13)

The list contains mostly small exhibitions celebrating New Year's Day (2005, 2007, 2010, and 2012) and the Girls' Festival (2006), with items used for the events or related with the animals of the Japanese zodiac from each year (2007, 2010). Two major exhibitions, *Trains: Travels on Train in the Showa Period* (2007) and *Insect Exhibition* (2010), would have aimed at attracting

[90] The exhibition *Hayashi Fumiko and Tokyo Hōrou* (2010) was concerned with her popular literary work from 1930 about a woman living alone in Tokyo in the Taisho and Showa periods. As the literature was based on her private life, the exhibition strongly reflected the social milieu of a woman living alone in Tokyo at the time.

[91] Ichirou Watanabe, "Inō Daizu 214 mai, Shijō Hatsu no Zenzu koukai made [Inō's Maps. The Making of the Exhibition Presenting all of His 214 Works for the First Time]," *Inō Tadataka Kenkyū* 38 (2004), accessed October 7, 2014, http://www.inopedia.jp/img/f_users/r_10787743img20100720112850.pdf.

families during their summer holiday. The former exhibited models of trains while focusing on the Showa 30s, so that all generations could enjoy things together. The theme could be populist, but it is also visitor-friendly.

Unlike the WM and the MoL, fashion was not a frequent theme. The exhibition *Fire in My Heart – Yamamoto Kansai "Genki"ism* (2008) was the only fashion exhibition, and it dealt with the designer Yamamoto Kansai (1944–), who was the first Japanese to have held his own fashion show in London. This exhibition intended to show his work, but through his work it also aimed to show the Japanese sense of beauty. His work was described as being created with his soul to express Japanese aesthetics.[92] His works were exhibited around the theme of Japanese festivals, where he believes Japanese beauty lies.[93] What is represented here was not his individual sense of beauty or the city that might foster his talents, but the Japanese sense of beauty as a whole. It is noteworthy that the notion of the "creative city" was not at a point of reference, although Tokyo's cultural policy emphasizes creativity.[94] Kansai was, in a sense, the personification of the Japanese sense of beauty and creativity.

7.1.5 International

Among the three museums dealt with in this paper, the ETH is the only museum that frequently holds exhibitions on foreign cultures. Most of them are of major, attracting over 100,000 visitors.[95] Exhibitions on international themes appear on the list of major exhibitions on average once a year until 2002. However, the number has increased since 2004, especially between 2006 and 2009. There were even four international exhibitions in the year 2006 out of five major exhibitions in total. In 2008, there were again four international major exhibitions out of five, and the one remaining exhibition was on the television program "Taiga Drama" (cf. Chapter 7-1.4). This cannot help but give the impression that the themes of the major exhibitions were getting away from the theme of Edo-Tokyo.

International exhibitions at the ETH are mostly travelling exhibitions, proposed and organized by outside bodies or in conjunction with them, and they are often supported by newspaper publishing companies or broadcasting corporations. Historically in Japan, newspaper companies

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[92] ETH, "Atsuki Kokoro Ten: Kansai Genki Shugi [*Fire in My Heart – Yamamoto Kansai 'Genki'ism*]," accessed Jun 30, 2015, http://www.edo-tokyo-museum.or.jp/s-exhibition/project/2876/熱き心展～寛斎元気主義～/.

[93] Ibid.

[94] TMG, *Toumen no Tokyo-to Bunka Seisaku Shuhō no Tenkan to Torikumi* [Tokyo Cultural Policies: Provisional Changes in Methods and Approaches] (Tokyo: Tokyo-to Seikatsu-Bunka Kyoku, 2000).

[95] Within 14 weeks the exhibition *World Heritage Pompei: The Glory of Ancient Rome* (2001) attracted 388,147 to the ETH alone. Other examples of exhibitions which attracted more than 200,000 visitors are: Exhibitions *Egyptian Museum in Cairo* (1993), *In Commemoration of the Tri-Centennial of St. Petersburg: Hermitage Museum Exhibition - The Glory and Legacy of Catherine the Great* (2004), *Shi Huangdi* (2006).

and department stores played a leading role in holding exhibitions.[96] The actual work of marketing is in the best hands of professionals, which have nationwide coverage and sufficient financial resources. Exhibitions are also often held in cooperation with other foreign museums and public institutes dealing with foreign affairs; and many exhibited objects come from overseas collections.[97]

I have identified two groups in the list, one with exhibitions concerning Tokyo and Japan in an international context, and others presenting foreign cultures.

Tokyo and Japan in an International Context (List 3.14)

Until 2000: Analysis of Japan from an Outsider's Perspective

In regard to the content of exhibitions, there is a clear line before and after 2000. Until 2000, the museum's aim of setting Japan and Tokyo in a global context was clear. And this was mostly done using objects on loan related to daily life and popular culture in Edo.

The exhibition *Japan and Edo in The World: The Collection of Toyo Bunko* (1994) was a major exhibition using a collection on loan from the Oriental Library (*Toyo Bunko*). The exhibition *Worlds Revealed: The Dawn of Japanese and American Exchange* (1999) mostly presented the collection of the Peabody Essex Museum. The exhibition *Japan Siebold Father and Son Encountered: the 200th Anniversary of the Birth of Siebold* (1996), also showed how the father-and-son pair Philipp Franz and Heinrich von Siebold saw Japan, using the Siebold collection from Germany which contains over 700 objects from daily life that they brought back from Japan. This tendency toward presenting daily objects preserved abroad was also visible in the exhibition *A Very Unique Collection of Historical Significance: The Kapitan Collection from the Edo Period – The Dutch Fascination with Japan*" (2000). Such exhibitions showed what was unique about Japanese society and daily life from the point of view of foreigners.

This "seeing Japanese culture from outside" is very typical of perspectives at the ETH. This can be explained by the history of self-reflection, self-criticism, and self-improvement in the process of struggle against advanced military and technological powers from the West. At the same time, encounters between different cultures were presented as if they occur with little conflict. In the foreword by the director to the exhibition "Japan and Edo in the world" in 1994, it reads,

> As we move into the 21st century in this era of internationalization and historic changes, how are we in Japan to relate to people of different histories and cultures? We hope that a better understanding of "the world that Japan saw and the Japan that the world saw" in modern times may provide some

[96] While art museums began to be set up in Japan in the 1920s, the Mitsukoshi department store already held its first art exhibition in 1904. The Asahi Shinbun started its activities to foster and promote culture in 1906. They had more practical "how-to" knowledge than museums of the time.

[97] There is only one exception here. *Edo and Japan in the World* (1994) exhibited objects mostly from the Toyo Bunko, a museum in Tokyo.

clues.[98]

This strongly indicates that the museum felt changes in present-day society resulting from the influence of globalization. However, there is a lack of recognition of the different nature of encounters between different cultures in the past and now. The museum sees Japan and the world as still separate entities, not cannibalizing each other, but seeing each other from some distance.

After 2000: "Top of Sales Point" Strategy

After 2000, the characteristics mentioned above disappeared.[99] One of the reasons behind this would have been the introduction of "three Ts" strategy for the planning of temporary exhibitions since 2004. Three "Ts" stand for target, timeliness, and "top of sales point."[100] After the introduction of the strategy, most international exhibitions were designed to exhibit ukiyo-e and precious objects that might fetch millions of dollars at auctions.

"Top of sales point" refers to famous, valuable, or rare objects. Although it was an ongoing policy of the ETH to bring back the Japanese heritage held by collections abroad temporarily, it is clear in the list that the number of these "homecoming" exhibitions has increased, especially after 2006. And "homecoming" objects were not daily objects seen in *Japan Siebold Father and Son Encountered* (1996), but art works, mostly ukiyo-e. For example, the exhibition *The Allure of Edo* (2006) showed the ukiyo-e collection owned by the Museum of Fine Art, Boston.[101] It was called a "phantom collection," as for a long time it was not researched because of the sheer volume of the collection. However, in 1996, a group of Japanese researchers finding over 700 original drawings/paintings caused a sensation.[102] This collection includes one of only a few existing original and extremely precious paintings of Harunobu Suzuki (1724–1770), which was one of the "top of sales point" of the exhibition *The Allure of Edo*.

Just two years after the exhibition, the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston came for the second time in 2008. The exhibition *Printed Treasures: Highlights from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (2008) showed some important prints, the half of which were exhibited outside Boston for the first time. The Exhibition *Siebold & Hokusai and His Tradition* (2007) (under the category of high culture) also brought home Hokusai's ukiyo-e now owned by the National

[98] Kota Kodama, "Goaisatsu [Greeting]" in *Sekai no Naka no Edo Nihon: Tōyō Bunko wo Chūshin ni* [Edo and Japan in the World: The Collection of Toyo Bunko]," ed. by ETH and Tōyō Bunko (Tokyo: ETH and Tōyō Bunko, 1994), 3. (Originally in English)

[99] The exhibition *Soul of Meiji: Edward Sylvester Morse, His Everyday Life with Kind-hearted People* (2013) was the only major exhibition in the list which showed daily lives of people since 2000. But as shown in the last chapter, this exhibition also encouraged strong nostalgia.

[100] ETH, *Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan Yōran 2004: Shinkō Jigyō* [Yearly Report 2004: Promotion Activities] (Tokyo: Tokyo-to Rekishi Bunka Zaidan, 2005), 1.

[101] This was the first time that the Bigelow collection was shown in Japan as well.

[102] The bulk of the collection was formed by the ukiyo-e collection donated by William Bigelow, who bought many ukiyo-e in Japan during the Meiji Era. See ETH, "Boston Bijutsu-kan Shozō – Nikuhitsu Ukiyoe Ten: Edo no Yūwaku [The Allure of Edo: The Collection of the Boston Museum – Ukiyo-e Paintings]," accessed August 31, 2015, http://www.edo-tokyo-museum.or.jp/s-exhibition/special/1833/ボストン美術館所蔵−肉筆浮世絵展「江戸の誘惑」/.

Museum of Ethnology, Leiden and the Bibliothèque nationale de France, which stood for almost half of the whole exhibited objects. At this exhibition, "Top of Sales" works were on parade, as visitors could enjoy his works which were so far not known in Japan as well as his well known works.

The ukiyo-e "home coming" continued. In 2009, the exhibition *Sharaku and Other Hidden Japanese Masterworks from the Land of Nausicaa* (2009) brought home an original ukiyo-e painting whose discovery in 2008 caused a sensation in Japan. *Sharaku* (1763?–1820?) was a ukiyo-e painter, whose original paintings no longer exist in Japan.[103] Therefore, this was the first time that his original paintings were exhibited in Japan. In the same year the exhibition *Beautiful Shin-Hanga: Revitalization of Ukiyo-e* (under the category of high culture) again presented for the first time in Japan 30 works of shin-hanga works from the collection of Robert Muller. In 2013, the exhibition *The Flowering of Edo Period Painting: Japanese Masterworks from the Feinberg Collection* presented Japanese art collected privately by Robert and Betsy Feinberg which comprised a wide range of Japanese paintings from the Edo period.

Those exhibitions were held between 2006 and 2009. 5 out of 13 international exhibitions were on coming-home ukiyo-e collection with a rate of one exhibition every year. But it decreased between 2009 and 2011, perhaps as a result of the global financial crisis of 2008.

Exhibitions Presenting Foreign Cultures

List 3.15 shows exhibitions that have little to do with Edo-Tokyo or Japan. As they are not related to the city, I do not analyze the content in detail. The increase after 2000 is, however, obvious. This must also be a part of three "Ts" strategy, attracting visitors with world famous objects such as frescoes from Pompeii (*World Heritage Pompeii – Glory of Ancient Roma* [2001]) or the Terracotta Army (*Shi Huangdi and Terracotta Army – the World of Records of the Grand Historian Sima Qianin* [2006]).

Those exhibitions were often a part of cultural exchange events organized by governmental bodies. For example, the very successful exhibition *Pompeii* (2001) was one of a series of events for the "Italian Year", organized by various public and private institutions promoting Italian culture in Japan. The exhibition *Beijing: Forbidden Palace* (2008) was a part of commemorative events surrounding the 30th anniversary of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Japan and the People's Republic of China (1978). These exhibitions represent the relationship between two countries rather than a relationship with Tokyo. As the museum of the capital city, this would not be inappropriate though. However, considering that there are national history museums and

[103] During a short period of 10 months, he produced 145 works and then suddenly disappeared. Little of his biography is known.

galleries in Tokyo, which would also be appropriate places to show these exhibitions, this is also a part of the self-identification and marketing of the museum as a major museum in Tokyo.

Marketing Strategy: Catchy Titles

The wording in titles and posters became more and more catchy for international exhibitions. Although it is not clear in the translated version of titles, Japanese titles contain words like "miracles" (twice in 2006 and in 2013), "eternal beauty" (2002), "eternal city" (2005), and "phantom" (in 2005 and in 2009). None of these terms were used in the 1990s though. In the wording of the title, "*Sharaku* and Other Hidden Japanese Masterworks from the Land of Nausicaa," Greece, which was not seen favorably at the time because of its economic crisis, was veiled with the word "the land of Nausicaa." Nausicaa is not well known as a character from Homer's Odyssey in Japan, but more so a famous character from the very popular animation film, *Nausicaä of the Valley of the Wind*, from Miyazaki Hayao (1941–).

Posters for the exhibition of the Feinberg Collection also contain advertising slogans like "all stars," "*Hyakka Ryōran*" (the Japanese term expressing gorgeousness, like a garden with thousands of various flowers in full bloom), "world premier (*Sekai Hatsu*)," or "don't miss out the big scoop! (*Dai Skūpu wo minogasuna*)." As they were exhibitions held in cooperation with many other museums and mass-media outlets, the ETH would not be responsible for the marketing. However, it is difficult not to come away with the impression that the museum is becoming more and more like an entertainment business as far as some major exhibitions on international themes are concerned.

Chapter 7.1.6 Permanent exhibitions at the ETH

The permanent exhibition space of the ETH is on the 5th and 6th floors, which are more like a single room with a loft. On the 8,934 m^2 floor space, only 400 years of history are exhibited, and these are divided into two zones: the Edo zone and the Tokyo zone. Since opening in 1993, there was no significant renovation undertaken until 2015.

The most typical characteristic of the permanent exhibition at the ETH is its collection of models and miniatures. There are full size models of buildings and also miniatures of towns, streets and buildings, each evincing fascinating detail based on historical research. Most of the walls of the exhibition space are with showcases or hanging panels. Models and miniatures are mostly put in open spaces, which create paths between them. The visitor route is clearly marked with arrows on the floor, and each section with signposts. These signposts do not contain any explanations, while some summarizing explanations are available in a portable guidebook available for purchase at the shop. There are also audio guides and free volunteer guides in different languages that are available on request. Therefore, the choices are broad, and information is available when needed. In what follows, I first analyze each zone. Then they will be analyzed in regard to the five categories used in the analysis of temporary exhibitions.

Edo Zone

In contrast to the Tokyo zone, which is organized chronologically and with focus-themes, the Edo zone is arranged thematically without any clear timeline. Each section does not show changes relevant to the focus-theme over 260 years. This deprives the visitors of a sense of time. It is like seeing a frozen moment in the past, without any change, development, or degeneration.

The Edo zone starts with a full-size model of Nihonbashi Bridge (half-length). The bridge actually stands on the 5th floor, but its height is equivalent to being on the 6th floor (Figure 3.2). By physically crossing the bridge, visitors can simulate moving between today and the Edo era while overlooking a full-size model of "Nakamura-za," a Kabuki theatre on the left side of the Edo zone, and a full-size model of a newspaper company built in a Western style on the right side of the Tokyo Zone. The bridge symbolizes the entrance (or initiating zone) to the created fantasy space of the past. The space after the bridge should not be looked at from an outsider's point of view, but it should be experienced and felt by visitors as if they were in the Edo period. It also symbolizes the policy consistent throughout the museum's permanent exhibition space of encouraging visitors to "feel, experience, and enjoy."[104]

[104] ETH, *Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan Kensetsu no Ayumi: Kensetsu to Kaisetsu-Junbi no Kiroku* [The Edo-Tokyo Museum's Founding History: Records of the Construction and Opening Preparations] (Tokyo: Tokyo Rekishi Bunka Zaidan, 1997), 42.

After the bridge, three flat showcases come into view. One contains the miniatures of the area around Nihonbashi (Bridge). The buildings and the main street after the bridge are reconstructed on a 1:30 scale, with hundreds of figures moving up and down the main street.[105] It shows the hustle and bustle of the Nihonbashi as a center of the Edo economy. Then there are two more showcases containing a miniature version of a daimyo's residence, and a part of an Edo castle. With a map of Edo that shows the living areas of Bushi and Chonin in different colors while presenting both miniatures in the center of the area, the message is clear that two important features of the Edo period are the ordinary people's bustling economic activities and their culture and the Tokugawa Shogunate, although in effect, the Tokugawa and feudal lords are visible only in Section 1 on the sixth floor. This underrepresentation of Bushi reflects the trend in academic research as well as an increase in the in the 1980s-era general public's interest against the formerly dominant view of a solid feudal hierarchy stifling the samurai during the Edo era (cf. Chapter 7.2).

Visitors proceed down to the fifth floor via an escalator to Section 2, which covers the daily life of warriors of feudal lords (*Daimyo*) in Edo. Their life received more space than feudal lords and direct vassals of the Tokugawa family, who were the ruling classes of Edo. But with no model or miniature, their presence is also minor. After this section the exhibition is dominantly about townspeople (*Chonin*) with various full-size models and hands-on objects. A model of a ward of townspeople at the entrance to Section 3 shows their living condition. A ward is enclosed with a gate that is meant to be closed at night for safety and supplied with water by wooden ducts under the streets. Along the wall, their clothing, foods, works and living standard are vividly shown through daily objects and panels with illustrations and statistics. The lives of townspeople imagined here are relatively happy, taking place in a dense but safe community with clean water. Clothes were recycled and seasonal foods were enjoyed. In full-size models of row houses, two scenes from their life are recreated. In one room, there is a mannequin of a man working hard. And in another room, a birth scene is reconstructed. A mother is about to give birth to a second baby, and her husband and her first son is waiting for the new baby's arrival by her side. These show an antithesis to the current throw-away culture and abundance of foods regardless of season, and contemporary living standards: a nuclear family instead of the multi-generational family that would have been typical of the Edo Period, hygiene, hard work, and the presumption of privacy. And the richness of the Edo culture that they enjoyed and the economic system

[105] According to the director, all of the figures have their own stories and they behave differently according to their stories. See "Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsukan Kaikan 20 Syūnen Kinen Tokubetsu Teidan [Special Talk on the Occasion of the 20th Anniversary of the Edo-Tokyo Museum]," *News Tokyo*.

supporting this cultural flourishing is presented in its fullness in the following sections.

Edo Culture

Out of all of the possible elements of culture, publishing and information (Section 4), the four seasons and popular spots (Section 7), Edo aesthetics (Section 9) and the theatre and pleasure quarters (Section 10) are taken up as themes that form sections of the permanent exhibition. Section 4 "Publishing and Information" is rather a smaller section with a model of the front of a bookstore, but the presentation of the process of producing woodblock prints is impressive.[106] While ukiyo-e are being treated more and more as art objects in temporary exhibitions, ukiyo-e woodblock prints are shown here as a forerunner of mass media. The model of a bookstore "was the equivalent of a store that sells posters and photographs of movie stars today."[107]

Section 7, "The Four Seasons and Popular Spots in the City," shows seasonal events, festivals, and the fanfare that colored life in Edo. The dominant features in this section are a model of the western side of Ryogoku Bridge (an entertainment area for the masses) and a portable shrine (*Mikoshi*) (Figure 3.3). With paintings and objects depicting various festivals, events, and famous touristic places in Edo, this section shows entertainment enjoyed by the masses. Section 9, "Edo Aesthetics," on the other hand, shows the Tokugawa Period as "a golden age of handicrafts,"[108] with woodblock prints and crafts works such as lacquer ware and clothing (*kimono*). In Section 10, "The Theatre and Pleasure Quarters," a Kabuki stage was installed on the wall with life size mannequins of lavishly costumed Kabuki actors and a 1:30 model of the Nakamuraza (a Kabuki Theatre) was set in the center. On the other wall, there is a section of pleasure quarters. In the corner of the space, there is another model showing the stage techniques used in Kabuki plays. Behind this section is a full-size model of the front of the Nakamuraza, which visitors can see from Nihonbashi Bridge (Figure 3.2). This marks the end of the Edo Zone.

In this limited space, the Edo culture is presented as containing three elements: popular culture, high culture, and mass communication. Although it is not clearly said, the contrast between popular culture and high culture is visible both in the titles and the presentation. The difference is hinted at in the use of the terms "The aesthetics of Edo," which connotes high culture, and "popular spot." The use of space is also contrasted, with popular culture in an open space and aesthetics in a covered space. While all other sections had high bare ceiling and were in more of a warehouse space, Section 9 and Section 10 are covered by a low ceiling. With more lighting, it

[106] As only one color could be applied to each block, producing one ukiyo-e with many colors requires multiple impressions of many blocks with different curves on a paper. This process is also put on display.
[107] ETH, *The Edo-Tokyo Museum* (Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Foundation for History and Culture, 2010), 18.
[108] Ibid., 28.

gives the impression of being closed-off, as the ceiling is closer. In addition, while other sections are packed with objects, panels, and captions, objects in Sections 9 and 10 are more spaciously presented with chairs in the middle of the room for visitors to rest (Figure 3.4). It makes the space aesthetically pleasing, but as a result it is deprived of the lively atmosphere that the other sections have. With no explanation of who made and used the craftworks, Section 9 becomes a representation of the aesthetics of Edo. None of the models in Section 10 really succeeded in presenting the vibrancy and enthusiasm that townspeople of Edo might have had toward Kabuki. The model of the Nakamuraza was empty, showing only the structure of the building.

When two models, one of the western side of Ryogoku Bridge (Section 7) and the other of the Nakamuraza (Section 9), are compared, the entertainment offered on the west side of Ryogoku Bridge is much more casual as something that takes place in barracks, while Kabuki is performed in the more exquisite building. It is clear that people visiting the western side of Ryogoku Bridge and people visiting the Nakamuraza and pleasure quarters (Yoshiwara) were different; therefore, townspeople's lives would not have been homogeneous. However, the Edo Zone gives the impression that two popular entertainment areas are offered to any townsperson who partakes in the popular culture of Edo. The section on pleasure quarters is the only section that tells of such social difference. The life of women in Yoshiwara is shown with a panel. However, being set in the same section with theatre, the image of entertainment is more emphasized.

Economic System

"Edo Business" (Section 5) and "Edo and the Surrounding Villages and Islands" (Section 6) are about Edo's economy, which supported the flourishing culture of Edo. A model of "Higaki Kaisen," a ship used for trade between Edo and Osaka (*Kamigata*) and a model of the "Mitsui Echigoya", a prospering Kimono shop, are the main attractions in the center of the space. On the wall, the currency system and the life of an apprentice are both explained. The similarities between commercial advertisements of the Edo era and those of today are also seen in their use of printed advertisements featuring famous actors as well as with umbrellas and hand towels bearing logos or store names. Such a focus on advertisement shows the contemporary perspective of the museum. With "Edo and the Surrounding Villages and islands" showing the movement of people and commodities to and from Edo, it is also emphasized that Edo was a metropolis with a network of information, commodities, people, and capital. The emphasis on marketing and networking in the Edo period shows how life in Edo was close to today's and how "advanced" the Edo economy in fact was.

In addition, in the smaller Section 8 "Culture in the City," which lacks eye-catching models and objects, the message is clear.

> The common image of the Edo period has been one of Japan's complete isolation from international affairs. In fact, however, exchange with the Dutch, Chinese, and Koreans continued throughout the period. The chief of the Dutch trading colony at Nagasaki paid regular visits to Edo; and missions from Korea were also a common occurrence. Thus although this period is often seen as one of "National isolation," Japan was not indifferent to the contemporary world.[109]

Although the above quote still belies some reservation in declaring that Edo was an international city, there is a clear effort being made to emphasize Edo's alleged "cosmopolitanism."

Tokyo Zone

The bridge standing between the two zones could also be alternately interpreted as separating the Edo and Tokyo zones or connecting the two zones.[110] I interpret the bridge as a common symbol for both zones because for the museum Nihonbashi was and is the center of Edo Tokyo, as is seen in Chapter 7.1.3. Although the exhibition space is divided into two zones by the bridge, it stands above both, overlooking the two zones. In addition, the Edo zone and the Tokyo zone have distinctive features, namely a traditional Kabuki theatre and a completely different western-style brick building facing each other. The first two sections "Civilization and Enlightenment" in Tokyo" and "Behind the Scenes of 'Enlightenment'" represent the continuities and discontinuities between Edo and Tokyo. For example, the full-size model of the brick façade of the Asano newspaper company at the entrance of the Tokyo zone represents a sign of the rapid westernization of Tokyo. However, behind this there is a space covered by a low ceiling and made into a narrow passage-like space, in which the history of the opening up of the country, the demise of the Shogunate, and the establishment of the new government are seen from the beginning. The passage turns behind itself, which contains objects from the collection of Dr. Morse on daily life in the Meiji Period as well as a rickshaw showing the life of commoners.[111] They are signs of westernization as well as the continuity of the daily life of ordinary people in Edo. In addition, after these passage-like spaces, visitors enter a little more spacious room with dim light. The space contains four impressive models of Rokumeikan (a western style building for balls and parties),[112] of the national bank, of the town of Ginza, and of

[109] From the caption in the front of the showcase on cultural exchange in the section "Culture in the City" (originally in English).
[110] Jordan Sand, "Monumentalizing the Everyday," *Critical Asian Studies* 33:3 (2001), accessed March 12, 2014, doi: 10.1080/14672710121867. Millie Creighton, "The heroic Edo-ic: Travelling the History Highway in today's Tokugawa Japan," in *Japanese Tourism and Travel Culture*, ed. Sylvie Guichard-Anguis and Okpyo Moon (London: Routledge, 2009).
[111] The rickshaw represents partly change, since it was invented after being inspired horse-drawn carriages from the west, but it was a part of the daily life of people, because it was the easiest job for the poor or ex-samurai to start without long training.
[112] The model is installed under a glass floor. Through it, visitors can see the ceiling of the building open up and people dancing in western-style dress to the music of Johan Strauss. In the glass cases on the wall visitors see western-style lamps and dress.

the Orthodox Church Nikolai-do, as well as their surrounding areas. All of this shows the mixture of western and Edo building characteristics and lifestyles.[113]

From Section 3, "Tokyo Industries," visitors come back into an open space with a high ceiling. Section 3 is something of a patchwork with its various themes of political movement for democracy, a new education system, the development of commerce and industries, the living conditions of workers, and urban problems all being presented in a very limited space. The eye-catching objects in the center of this section are a photo booth and a black cab with road signs. They symbolize changes in lifestyle amidst fast modernization. It is remarkable that the section touched upon social issues and even political issues, which are rarely seen both in the Edo zone or in temporary exhibitions. However, in comparison to the MoL's permanent exhibition, both social problems and any political movement fighting against them are secondary additions. There are references in captions and there is a model of a house where activists for democracy were based, but there are no objects to appeal to the visitors, such as pictures of the people involved, objects showing living conditions of the workers, or any detailed information of their actions and demands. Although exhibitions are designed to appeal to the sensitivities of visitors, the intended effect does not include criticism.

Section 4, "Urban Culture and Pleasures," presents a model of the Denkikan at Asakusa (a theatre which at first showed electronic gadgets, and later became a movie theatre.) and a model (about 7 meters high) of the Ryōunkaku tower in Asakusa. A glass-case on public culture focuses on entertainment as well as the development of the publication industry in the Meiji and Taisho Periods. The main focus in this section is mass culture and the development of mass media, while daily objects such as food, clothes, and toys are not to be seen.

Section 5 is a small space which is allocated to the Great Kanto earthquake (1923). Although there are many ways to periodize the history of Tokyo such as the Meiji/Taisho/Showa Periods, the Great Tokyo earthquake is regarded as a dividing line in the permanent exhibition. The Great Tokyo Earthquake changed the cityscape of Tokyo dramatically, destroying all remaining parts that still retained the memory of Edo. In this regard, the change of the cityscape is seen as marking an epoch. In addition, focusing on the recovery after the earthquake serves as a reflection of the talk of "Phoenix Tokyo" (Chapter 7.2).

The themes of "Modern Tokyo" (Section 6) include jobs, female workers or modern girls with short hair cuts, a new transport system in Tokyo, children's games, new electric machines, the living standard of workers, increasing leisure times, and houses. The two types of housing are reconstructed in full-size: one typical of ordinary people and the other of the better off (Figure

[113] For example, in the model reconstruction of Ginza high streets, while the main streets appear western in style with their brick buildings, people living just behind high streets appear to live in the same way as they did in the Edo period.

3.5). They are mixed in style with Japanese and modern western facilities. This section is predominantly about the daily life of people, which makes for an interesting contrast with Section 4. It is also very enjoyable to see how kids play and how ordinary people spend their leisure time. But it should be noted that it was the time when Japan was heading toward World War II. The Maintenance of the Public Order Act was introduced in 1925. Mass media fell under scrutiny. The Great Depression started in 1929 had a huge impact on the Japanese economy, with the army coming to seizing political power. The atmosphere of society would have not been simply cheerful and free. But "Modern Tokyo" completely recovered from the damage of the Great Kanto Earthquake, and it is presented as being happy, warm, and joyful, as if all political, economic, and social circumstances surrounding World War II would not have affected life in Tokyo. The way to World War II is displayed with minimum information on the cancelled world exhibition and little from newspapers reporting the events leading to World War II.

The title "Tokyo during the Air Raids" (Section 7) already shows that the section is not generally about the war, but the damage caused by the war on the land and people of Tokyo. Pictures of devastation, evacuating children, bombs used for the air raid, and burned down metal objects show the harshness of the air raids. A model of a house from the wartime period shows how people prepared against air raids. Throughout the exhibitions in the Tokyo zone, it is noteworthy how there are few people to be seen among the exhibited objects. In contrast to the World War II section at the MoL, this lack of human presence is particularly extraordinary. Although there are children's dairies kept during the war and a couple of small-size pictures of some women working, there are no picture of people sleeping in shelters or personal memories recorded to be heard in the exhibition space. Such emotional appeal is avoided.

The very last section of the permanent exhibition "Reconstructed Tokyo" is all about the miraculous recovery of Tokyo, which finally regained its international status with the success of the 1964 Tokyo Olympics. In the center there is a Subaru car, and on the wall there are the "three sacred treasures (*Sanshu no Jingi*)": washing machine, refrigerator, and vacuum cleaner. This section is about how life in Tokyo improved in material terms and was transformed by the mass production of electronic devices. This is a very positive ending to the success story of "Phoenix city" Tokyo. The whole exhibition ends with the 1964 Tokyo Olympics.

Representation of Five Categories

High Culture

Unlike temporary exhibitions, high culture hardly represents the culture of Edo Tokyo. It is only "the aesthetics of Edo" that represents high culture in an aesthetic space. The interesting

difference between the permanent exhibition and temporary exhibitions is that ukiyo-e are not particularly focused upon in the permanent exhibition, while kabuki is one of the main attractions with the full-size model of the Nakamuraza. This might explain the strong presence of ukiyo-e in temporary exhibitions, especially after 2002, while kabuki has not often been a theme in temporary exhibitions. Kabuki, as performance art, is better represented in the permanent exhibition with spectacular models. But it is clear that both ukiyo-e and kabuki are the two pillars that represent Edo high culture. Considering the popularity of ukiyo-e arts in galleries and kabuki actors in mass media, it makes sense that there would be more traditional cultural productions that the museum would preserve and support.[114] The choice of ukiyo-e and kabuki is more about making use of their popularity rather than preserving or supporting them. Considering that the logo of the museum is taken from an eye of a kabuki actor depicted in a woodblock print, both kabuki and ukiyo-e are symbols of the ETH.

Landscapes

As historical buildings are very vulnerable to earthquakes, fires, and reckless development plans, there is a clear effort to preserve the cityscape within the museum. There are four landmark models standing in the exhibition space. Nihonbashi and kabuki theatre encapsulate the image of Edo: centrality, economic prosperity, openness, and bustling atmosphere present an alternative image to pre-modern feudal Edo. The brick buildings of Asano Shinbun and Ryōunkaku (a tower in Asakusa) represent Tokyo's westernization, modernization, and the development of mass communication and mass culture. This can be understood as promoting the idea that the general image of Tokyo should be kept progressive and lively.

On the other hand, models of houses, streets, wards, and gathering spots represent the life space of residents, especially townspeople (*Chonin*) in Edo and ordinary people (*Shomin*) in Tokyo. However, the cityscape of Edo-Tokyo presented here with models actually supports the creation of the image of the Shitamachi area, which is geographically restricted, to represent the whole of Tokyo.[115] The Shitamachi area was an area where townspeople lived in the Edo Period, and most models in the museum are landmarks of the area that have vanished, including models of the tower and the theatre in Asakusa in the Tokyo Zone. There are only a few references to the area outside of Shitamachi in the permanent exhibition, and they mostly refer to it as part of trading and transport networks. It reflects a lack of awareness of the regional differences in the city spaces of Edo and Tokyo historically as well as in the segmentation of the city within

[114] "Rakugo" and "Jō-ruri" are occasionally performed in the hall at the museum, and there are also workshops for crafts. However, these are invisible in the permanent exhibition.

[115] "Edo and the Surrounding Villages and Islands" is the only section that touches upon the area outside Shitamachi.

today's globalizing world.[116] Such a simplified image could easily be applied to the marketing image of Edo-Tokyo.

Collective Memory

As culture is the central theme of the museum, the history of Tokyo is told along with the changing culture, lifestyle and economic system. There is no political event mentioned, even the Meiji Restoration (*Meiji Ishin: 1868*) which separated Edo and Tokyo, was not given particular emphasis. Only the Great Kanto Earthquake and the bombing of Tokyo are the two historical events exhibited with details. While it should be appreciated that the history of ordinary people became the center of the narrative, removing political and social history results in creating an impression of culture being detached from social and political environments. For example, while there is an effort to put Edo in a global frame, Tokyo's international position after the Meiji Restoration is not referred to at all, as if Tokyo is irrelevant to Japanese foreign policies or any international events.

Social Issues

Social issues are more visible in the permanent exhibition than in temporary exhibitions, although this only concerns the Tokyo zone, where they are rather additional. The Edo period is presented as if there were no social problems for over 260 years. Even pleasure quarters are shown as a part of culture. No difference among townspeople is made a focus. Poverty, criminality, religious differences, and disease are almost completely ignored. On the other hand, the image of Tokyo is not presented as being absent of any problems. Nevertheless, while the effort to include those issues should be appreciated, this approach also works very effectively to make a contrast between the harmonious Edo period and Tokyo with problems caused by modernization and westernization. In addition, history after the Great Kanto Earthquake is shown without any critical view. Tokyo before the war is simply happy with new leisure time, toys, and simple but warm family life in better equipped houses, which is as if to say that the daily life of people in Tokyo was suddenly disrupted by World Waw II, the causes of which should be looked for outside of Tokyo. The war section presents a conventional view of Tokyo as victim of the bombing, and after the war the miraculous recovery of the "Phoenix city Tokyo" is presented.

[116] It could be said that the segmentation of the city space is not as acute as in London. But in a "hot spot" in the bay area, globetrotting super-rich people live completely detached from the surrounding area. See Hirayama, *Tokyo no Hateni* [Beyond the Edge of Tokyo], 75–77.

Popular Culture/Daily Life

Popular culture is represented mainly with daily life and mass communication. Based on very detailed academic research, this helps to satisfy visitors' intellectual curiosity. However, the image is unitary, harmonious, simple, healthy, and young, all of which supplies visitors with not only an understanding of the details of daily life in the past but also the fantasy that the "traditional" Japanese way of living was much richer than today's. Being detached from all possible negative aspects, this provides a way of escape from the reality behind the nostalgic image of good old days. Joy Hendry writes on some Japanese museums, including the ETH, that "Museums, yes, they are named as such, but an element of fantasy travel is rather encouraged inside them!"[117] As the model of Nihonbashi is an entrance to a "time trip" to the past of Edo Tokyo, fantasy is not rejected at all.[118] A curator at the ETH also said in an interview, "I wanted the visitors to enjoy a different culture, which is history."[119] The history of daily life of ordinary people shown in the permanent exhibition is close enough to feel relevant, and distant enough from reality for people to enjoy.

In addition, the presentation of Edo's daily life and kabuki clearly reflect a Shitamachi boom and kabuki boom. With the result of the analysis of the temporary exhibitions, it could be said that the ETH is strongly influenced by mass media. This rather commanding position of mass media over the museum could be explained as a general trend in Tokyo's art scene.

> While non-profit art institutions (galleries, museum, and theatrical art such as music, opera, theatre, dance) weigh large in New York, commercial art culture, television, or films weigh large in Tokyo. In New York, more focus is set on the functions of artistic creation which are detached from the commercialism than in Tokyo. The quality of culture in Tokyo would be questionable.[120]

Certainly kabuki and *Shitamachi* culture are a part of Edo-Tokyo's culture. However, given how kabuki and *Shitamachi* contributed to the very popular image of Edo-Tokyo through mass media, it would be more appropriate for a museum to display a certain critical spirit in examining such booms and their effect on culture.

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[117] Joy Hendry, "Fantasy Travel in Time and Space: A new Japanese Phenomenon?" in *Japanese Tourism and Travel Culture*, ed. Silvie Guichard-Anguis and Okpyo Moon (London: Rougledge, 2009), 132.

[118] On the official Tokyo Travel Guide online by the TMG, the ETH was introduced as a place for time trip. See TMG, "Go Tokyo," accessed August 31, 2015, http://www.gotokyo.org/jp/event/column/h25/001.html.

[119] "歴史という異文化を楽しんでもらいたかったんです。" Yasuo Omata, "Wave Konohitoni Aitai: Nitta Taro" [Meet people: Nitta Taro], Midorino Goo, October, 2, 2003, accessed May 24, 2014, http://www.goo.ne.jp/green/business/ecologue/wave37.html.

[120] "ニューヨークは、音楽、オペラ、演劇、ダンス等の舞台芸術と美術館、博物館などの非営利 Non-profit の芸術機関の割合が大きく、東京は商業ベースの芸術文化及び、テレビ、映画などの比重が大きいことが示されるのであり、ニューヨークの方が商業ベースから離れた芸術創造の機能が重視されてきたことが分かるのであり、東京の文化の質が問われることにもなると思われる。" Masayuki Sasaki, "Sangyō Hatten to Toshi no Shinka ni Kansuru Kenkyū [A Research into the Industrial Development and Evolution of the City]" (PhD diss., Kyoto University, 1997), 116, accessed June 12, 2014, doi: 10.11501/3123548.

Conclusion

By simulating real experience, this permanent exhibition is accessible to a diverse cross-section of people. They can walk around enjoying models and trying out materials without being overloaded with detailed information. The warehouse-like construction, with its visible bare ceilings, also gives less formal impression. It is an enjoyable place, which certainly produces a less authoritative or elitist atmosphere from what the museum used to emanate. It offers opportunities for experiencing an unusual time in the simulated past, which is encouraging, giving visitors a sort of escape from the real world and affirming their sense of place.

The masses are presented as well as addressed by these exhibitions, although individuality is invisible. Personal accounts are rarely seen. Conflicts and local difference are hardly visible. As the presentation provides a fantasy with little analytical or critical perspective, similar to the one provided by the mass media, it is not a place to help visitors to come to terms with the real world they are living in through historical understanding. As they are so detached from the real world, it is difficult to say that the permanent exhibition presents the living space of residents. It presents instead a beatified image of the space for the identities of residents as well as for the marketing of the city.

7.2 The Image of the City of Tokyo since 1993 as a Conclusion to the Content Analysis of Exhibitions at the Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan

The Image of the City Presented at the ETH

Although there is no clear line to be drawn, there is a change in the image of the city presented at the ETH that took place between 2000 and 2003. While the city was presented by focusing on its urban function, the daily life of Edo-Tokyo, and ukiyo-e as popular culture, the focus after 2000 clearly shifted to themes of ukiyo-e as art works, the Tokugawa and their treasures, tourism, mass communication, and a nostalgic focus on Edo's daily life and the Showa 30s. For over twenty years, the museum has been consistent in being quiet about social issues, political issues, and individuality; and this shows that it is very self-conscious about the international positioning of Japan.

Until 2000: Edo's Daily Life and Urban Structure

Until 2000 the most dominant category was that of high culture and collective memory, although high culture was seen more as a means for mass media and the formation popular culture. Artists' lives and their works were examined from a socio-historical perspective. This could be understood as evidence that the museum was interested in the expressive energy of Edo's urban society at the height of its economic and cultural maturity. Under the category of collective memory, Edo was also recognized as a dynamic urban space with networks and concentrations of money, commodities, people, and information. On the other hand, under the category of popular culture, major exhibitions were dedicated to showing the life space of residents of Edo-Tokyo. In the permanent exhibition, the daily life of ordinary people is vividly expressed with models and reconstructions rather than depictions of samurai society and culture, although diversity is neglected. The museum exhibitions during this period vindicate to a considerable extent the claim that the ETH is a museum that aims at presenting the popular culture of Edo-Tokyo, although daily life in Tokyo was rather secondary. At the same time an international comparative view has been consistently apparent since 1993. Before 2000, the external perception of Japan was a strongly represented theme in the international exhibitions. This also leads to the conclusion that the museum was very conscious about the international image of Japan.

Therefore, it could be said that there are two images observed before 2000 both in the analysis of permanent exhibition and temporary exhibitions, which are also described by Jordan Sand as

"World City versus Ethnic Tokyo."[121] This could be understood as a reflection of two different perspectives from which to imagine the city. On the one hand, there was the group of Edo-Tokyo studies (with Directors Ogi and Takeuchi being the leading figures) that conducted detailed research into daily life in Edo-Tokyo. On the other hand, there was the Governor's ambition of making Tokyo a world city with a focus on urban functions and Tokyo's leading position in the international community. While Sand sees the national government as a strong player in the marketing of "Tokyo World City," I would like to focus on the policies of Governor Syunichi Suzuki (1979–1995) and the Tokyo Metropolitan Government (TMG).

The Governor's Ambition

Localization as a reaction to fast modernization was in progress throughout Japan in the 1980s, amidst Japanese society starting to fear losing their traditional lifestyle. This was manifested in the movement called "Furusato-zukuri" (creating hometowns or hometown-like atmospheres) initiated by the national government as well as in the surging numbers of new local museums and local history study groups.[122] A section for community culture (*Komyunitī Bunka Bu*), which was responsible for such planning until the establishment of Edo-Tokyo Museum Foundation, was founded in 1989 by the TMG's Bureau of Citizens and Cultural Affairs in response to such movements toward localization.[123] In a 1980 report by the department, Tokyo was referred to as a community, "my town," and local Tokyo; and it was lamented that "Tokyo has characteristics of the capital and the center, but has not had a strong sense of a local."[124] In order to foster the culture of Tokyo, there needs to be a recovery of traditional cityscapes, customs, traditional craftwork, and local events.[125] In the shift from "the era of economy" to "the era of culture,"[126] an emphasis was put on community activities and local residents' active participation in creating their own unique culture in Suzuki's development plan *My Town Tokyo*.[127] Hence, the museum was planned in the context of the localism that swept the nation in the early 1980s rather than in terms of globalization.

In 1986, however, while the report still included "Furusato (hometown) Tokyo," it also started to refer to the museum as a symbol of Tokyo.[128] In 1988, after the economic bubble which started

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[121] Jordan Sand, "Monumentalizing the Everyday," 351.
[122] Jennifer Robertson, *Native and Newcomer: Making and Remaking a Japanese City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).
[123] Since 1986 the TMG has also financed the publication of a magazine on Tokyo urban culture, "Tokyo-jin."
[124] "これまで、東京は、首都あるいは中央としての性格が鮮明であり、一地方としての東京の存在は希薄であった。" TMG, *Komyunitī Bukai Houkoku-sho* [Community Section Meeting Reports] (Tokyo: Tokyo-to Seikatsu-Bunka Kyoku, 1980), 88.
[125] Ibid., 91–92.
[126] "「中央の時代」から「地方の時代」へ、あるいは「経済の時代」から「文化の時代」へ価値観の転換" TMG, *Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan Junbi 1983 – Tokyo-to Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan Kensetsu Junbi Gaiyō* [The Edo-Tokyo Museum Construction 1983 – An Overview of the Construction Planning of the Edo-Tokyo Museum] (Tokyo: Tokyo-to Seikatsu-Bunka Kyoku, 1984), 3.
[127] "My Town Tokyo" was a development plan presented by the Suzuki government every two years.
[128] TMG, *Tokyo-to Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan Kensetsu Iinkai Houkoku-sho – Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan no Kihon Kousou ni tsuite* [The Edo-Tokyo Museum Construction Committee Report – The Basic Concept of the Edo-Tokyo Museum] (Tokyo: Tokyo-to Seikatsu-Bunka

in December 1986, the term "Furusato" disappeared and it was determined that the museum "should be appropriate as a symbol of the capital Tokyo."[129] This change of the focus from "Furusato Tokyo" to "World City Tokyo" was also noticed by Higuchi, with the centrality of the residents of Tokyo in the plan being overshadowed after half of the membership of the planning committee changed in 1985.[130] The image of Tokyo that the museum envisioned shifted from the one of a local community to the one of a world city after 1988.

This change might be connected to the "Urban Renaissance" that was initiated in 1983 by Yasuhiro Nakasone's national government. It was a project that aimed to make Tokyo a world city that could offer enough office space for the dramatically increase in the presence of global companies in the 1980s, and the TMG followed the policy of the national government encouraging deregulation, privatization, and fiscal retrenchment to develop Tokyo into a world city. In *My Town Tokyo 1991*, it is emphasized how, as a world city, Tokyo needs to have both a good business environment and comfortable urban space as well as a culture which would make Tokyo deserving of the status of being a world city. Culture is seen as a "must-have criteria" for being a world city, while residents were seen as beneficiary of the cultural offers made by the city instead of as active participants. In addition, the symbolic meaning of its massive building also became more central in the planning of the ETH in the later 1980s. The construction of the ETH and the new city hall were regarded as the landmarks of Suzuki's massive urban development plans,[131] which are now called "Hakomono Gyosei," sarcastically referring to the policy of the successive construction of monumental facilities without any concrete plans for maintaining them in the long term.

Edo-Tokyo Studies

However, from the analysis of the exhibitions, it cannnot be denied that the life space of residents was still to some extent visible in the 1990s at the ETH. The reason for this could be explained by looking at the "Edo-Tokyo Studies (*Edo-Tokyo Gaku*)," on which the ETH's exhibition concept is based. It was advocated by Shinzo Ogi, the second director of the ETH, and developed by interdisciplinary academic groups to which current director Takeuchi also belongs. Edo-Tokyo Studies was defined by Ogi (2005) as "open and interdisciplinary studies researching the formation and development of the city and the process of its cultural transformation from a

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Kyoku, 1986), 6.

[129] "首都東京のシンボルにふさわしい施設として構築することをめざしています。" TMG, *Tokyo-to Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan Kensetsu Kihon Keikaku* [The Basic Plan of the Construction of the Edo-Tokyo Museum] (Tokyo: Tokyo-to Seikatsu-Bunka Kyoku, 1988), 3.

[130] Higuchi, *Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan no Mondai-ten* [Issues Concerning the Edo-Tokyo Museum], 3.

[131] The Tokyo Metropolitan Theatre, (1990), the ETM (1993), the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography (1995), and the Museum of Contemporary Art Tokyo (1995) were all founded with monumental buildings one after another amidst the development of Tokyo Waterfront City and the construction of the Tokyo International Forum (1997).

consistent view in order to find its continuity, discontinuity, and characteristics of the city of Edo Tokyo."[132] Edo-Tokyo Studies were the reaction to the traditional learning of the Japanese history separating the Edo era and the period after Meiji as if there were no continuity between them. In addition, the Edo period was regarded as a pre-modern period with a rigid feudal system focusing mostly on political events and the system of hierarchical samurai society. Edo-Tokyo Studies, rebelling against such a view, shows continuity and discontinuity between the two periods in Edo-Tokyo, and the lively life of Edo commoners instead of samurai life full of formalities.

In comparison to more local-oriented study groups, which became very popular in the 1980s (e.g. the Shitamachi Boom or street observation groups),[133] Edo-Tokyo Studies focuses on Tokyo as a city, both in terms of its function and as life space of ordinary people. It serves both purposes: providing residents with a sense of locality/"furusato" and legitimacy to begin to make a world city out of Tokyo. Sociologist Mikio Wakabayashi made a remark on the Edo-Tokyo studies in a discussion with a group of architects,

> When the bubble economy boomed and Edo-Tokyo Studies became popular, people thought that Tokyo would be the biggest global city. As the city was in something like a state of amnesia [because of the fast changing cityscape and lifestyle of Tokyo], Edo-Tokyo studies played a role in securing its memory. As the Edo Tokyo Museum represents, it [the discourse of the Edo-Tokyo studies] was processed in the movement of the government and the museum working together to enshrine the memory in the museum and transform Tokyo into a global city without any concerns [about losing traces of the past in reality].[134]

While the cityscape is changing with massive development plans and lifestyles becoming standardized through modernization, people find the old cityscape of Edo-Tokyo and the characteristics of "Eddoko" (Tokyoites) and their lifestyle in Edo-Tokyo Studies, which materialize in the museum. Ogi characterized Edo as "filled with humane neighborly love"[135] and Tokyo as "phoenix town."[136] Takeuchi also called the power and energy of commoners of Edo the "DNA" of Tokyoites,[137] which gives them a sense of pride and a sense of roots. At the

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[132] "江戸東京学とは、江戸から今日までの都市形成発展と、文化変容の過程を一貫した視座からとらえ、その連続性や非連続性と、江戸東京の都市としての特性を学際的に研究する開かれた学である。" Shinzo Ogi, *Edo-Tokyo Gaku* [Edo-Tokyo Studies], 15.

[133] Street observation groups conducted detailed research into local areas in Tokyo to learn its history. See Jordan Sand, "Street Observation Science and the Tokyo Economic Bubble, 1986–1990," in *The Spaces of the Modern City: Imaginaries, Politics, and Everyday Life*, ed. Gyan Prakash and Kevin M. Kruse (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press , 2008). While street observation groups are mostly groups of artists and intellectuals, there is also a scholarly group. See Hidenobu Jinnai, *Edo-Tokyo no Mikata Shirabekata* [How to Observe and Research Tokyo] (Tokyo: Kajima Shuppankai, 1989).

[134] "バブルが膨らみ、江戸東京学が流行った当時、人々は東京が世界最大のグローバルシティになると考えていたのです。都市が記憶喪失になるような状態のなかで、記憶を担保するようなものとして江戸東京学はありました。江戸東京博物館が体現しているように行政も一緒になって記憶は博物館のなかに囲い込み、心置きなくグローバルシティに変身しようとする動きのなかで話が進んでいたのだと思います。" "Kenchiku Riron Kenkyū 4: Maki Fumihiko hoka 'Miegakuresuru Toshi – Edo kara Tokyo he' [Research in Architecture Theories 4: Maki Fumihiko et al. 'The City appearing and disappearing – From Edo to Tokyo']," 10+1 Website, December 27, 2013, accessed December 15, 2014, http://10plus1.jp/monthly/2014/04/-04.php.

[135] Ogi, *Edo-Tokyo Gaku* [Edo-Tokyo Studies], 25.

[136] Ibid: 40.

[137] Makoto Takeuchi, "Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan no Rinen [Principles of the Edo-Tokyo Museum]," in *Toshi Edo heno Rekishi Shiza: Ō-edo*

same time, the city can retain a unique cityscape while actual areas retaining old landscape are being gentrified.

In addition, by focusing on urban functions in Edo continuing into Tokyo, Edo-Tokyo Studies gives theoretical support to the ambitions of Governor Suzuki. He was well known for putting on the World City Exhibition in Tokyo. It was planned for 1996 in the newly developed waterfront area, but it was cancelled by his successor in 1995 because of the TMG's huge financial deficit.[138] The "World City Exhibition" aimed at starting a new international (or inter-city) event called "City Frontier" which was to equal other international events such as the "Expo." This plan showed Suzuki's ambition to make Tokyo an exemplar city of the age of globalization. *Exhibition City* in 1993, which was the first exhibition organized by the museum, should be seen in relation to this unrealized World City Exhibition. Other exhibitions emphasizing urban functions in Edo and its continuity into Tokyo could also be understood within the same framework. They show the confidence of Tokyo at the time as a leading world city whose foundation was laid already in the Edo period. As a one of the exhibition planners states, "we need to know that Tokyo is currently the only city of such scale in the world."[139]

From the above, it is clear that the image of the city presented at the ETH in the 1990s showed both World City Tokyo and Ethnic Tokyo. The Edo-Tokyo museum in the 1990s was a quintessential fusion of these two images. They were compatible, as the negative influence of the former was compensated for by the latter. After 2000, these two images continue, but their fusion has become even stronger in creating a marketing image of Tokyo.

From 2000 onward

The most strongly represented category at the ETH after 2000 was also high culture with 21% of the total, followed by popular culture (27%) and collective memory (16%). In the category of collective memory, the theme the Tokugawa increased and their history was appreciated for its cultural value more than for any political and social meanings. In the meantime, the sudden appearance of the theme of landscape since 2000 shows a clear connection to tourism. The category of popular culture mostly presented nostalgic images of bustling Edo, "kind-hearted" Meiji, and the Showa period representing Japanese "kokoro" (heart or soul), or themes related to mass media. The contemporary life space of residents was hardly visible, while Edo's daily life

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Happyaku Yachō Ten, Buke Hairyō -chi, Edo Shuto-ron [A Historical Perspective toward Edo City: The Exhibition 'Ō-edo One Hundred and Eight Townsman's Wards,' Land bestowed to Worriers and Capital Edo], ed. Makoto Takeuchi and Manabu Ōishi (Tokyo: Meichō Shuppan, 2004), 206.

[138] Suzuki was successful in bringing Tokyo's finance into the black in the 1970s. However, his redevelopment plan for Tokyo created a massive deficit after the bubble economy burst. He was succeeded by Yukio Aoshima in 1995, who cancelled the exposition, although preparations were already quite far along.

[139] "これほどのスケールをもった都市は世界で唯一だ、というような状況にあることを知っておく必要がある。" Kiyonori Kikutake et al, *Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan* [The Edo-Tokyo Museum] (Tokyo: Kashima Shuppan, 1989), 6.

continues to be well represented, albeit in a celebratory way. Therefore, it could be concluded that the image of the city presented in the 2000s is more commodified and static and that this is in order to sell the city as well as to attract visitors by having less of a focus on urban dynamics and the actual life space of people. The image of bustling Edo-Tokyo (in the past) with high arts, Tokugawa themes, lost landmarks, Japanese technologies, and manga are the simplified images for marketing the city in relation to the tourism policy and the cultural policy of the TMG. In the following, I would like to show this close relationship between the museum and Governor Shintaro Ishihara's policies.

Governor Ishihara's Development Policy and Tourism

What underlined policies under Governor Ishihara (1999–2012) is a sense of emergency and a need to join the global competition in oder to pull Tokyo, and consequently Japan, out of its crisis after the burst of economic bubble. The Ishihara government used the terms "crisis," "competition," and "world city" one after another in official papers.[140] By urging on the anxiety of the people of Tokyo about losing their status at the world stage, he pushed the policy of making Global Tokyo.[141]

Tokyo Kousou, published in 2000,[142] showed the long-term development plan of the TMG under Ishihara. In it, along with the development of infrastructure and the social system for an aging society, stress was put on the development of tourism. Following the plan, tourism policy clearly shifted from being regarded as a service for the residents to being an industry.[143] This was the turning point of the TMG's tourism policy, with more emphasis on attracting foreign visitors. The TMG set 10 million foreign tourists a year as a target to attract with representative Japanese technologies, Japan's diverse culture, and its food.[144] *The Tokyo Tourism Industry Development Plan*[145] with a central concept of "Global Tokyo – Welcoming the World" was introduced in 2005, which was refined in 2007. In 2013, it was again refined with the new catchphrase "World tourism and Brand City Tokyo."[146] They all aimed to encourage tourism as an important economic booster and for making this new Global Tokyo. The actual policy included improving the cityscape, developing the waterfront area, creating a bustling atmosphere in communities,

[140] Hirayama, *Tokyo no Hateni* [Beyond the Edge of Tokyo], 30.
[141] Ibid,
[142] TMG, *Tokyo Kousou 2000: Senkyaku Banrai no Sekaitoshi wo Mezashite* [Tokyo Urban Development Plan: Toward a City Welcoming the World] (Tokyo: Tokyo-to Seisaku-Houdou Shitsu, 2000).
[143] This is also reflected in the fact that the office in charge of tourism was moved from the section of tourism and recreation at the Bureau of Citizen and Cultural Affairs to the Bureau of Industrial and Labor Affairs in 2001. See, Motoko Nose, "A Study on the Transition of Tourism Policies of Tokyo Metropolitan Government," *Bulletin of the Graduate School of Education, Toyo University* 47 (2010).
[144] TMG, *Tokyo Toshi Hakusho 2000: Kokusaitoshi Tokyo no Miryoku wo Takameru* [White Paper 2000: Increasing the Appeal of Global City Tokyo] (Tokyo: Tokyo-to Toshi Keikaku Kyoku, 2000).
[145] TMG, *Tokyo-to Kankō Sangyo Shinkō Plan* [The Development Plan of Tokyo's Tourist Industry] (Tokyo: Tokyo-to Sangyo-Rōdō Kyoku , 2005).
[146] TMG, *Tokyo-to Kankō Sangyō Shinkō Puran: Sekai no Kankō to Brand Toshi Tokyo wo mezashite* [Tokyo Tourism Industry Promotion Plan: World Tourist City and Brand City Tokyo] (Tokyo: Tokyo-to Sangyo-Rōdō Kyoku, 2013).

and encouraging creative industries.

The ETH openly conforms to this tourism policy. The director Takeuchi said in a discussion that:

> Recently, Japanese government set a national policy of developing Japan as a tourism-oriented country. The TMG also advocates "Global Tokyo – Welcoming the World," or touristic city Tokyo. We are now trying to put the museum in the frame of these policies.[147]

A curator of the ETH wrote "Japanese museums are now expected by the government to be a tool to reduce the deficit in trade balance in tourism."[148] Here is clear recognition of the expectations of the government. Takeuchi's reference to the new touristic zone comprising the Oshiage, Asakusa, Akihabara, and Ryōgoku areas with the Sumida river running through it (cf. Chapter 7.1.2) serves the aims of the TMG. In *Tokyo in 10 Years*, published by the TMG in 2006, the area surrounding the ETH, Ryōgoku Kokugikan (a Sumo stadium next to the ETH), Asakusa, and New Tokyo Tower (Tokyo Sky Tree) was envisioned as an area with both the latest technology and tradition.[149] The area along the Sumida River was a part of the plan to create "water city Tokyo."[150] These ideas were clearly reflected in the temporary exhibitions. Frequent use of the phrase "Senkyaku Banrai no Toshi" (a city welcoming the world) in annual reports and the effort to create the image of bustling Edo-Tokyo also perfectly fit the image that the TMG advocates.

At the same time, the cultural policy of the TMG became to be more self-conscious and strategically oriented in terms of marketing the city in order not only to support the tourism policy, but also to win in global competitions amongst cities. Following the national government's enactment of the Fundamental Law for Promotion of Culture and Arts (*Bunka Geijutsu Shinkou Kihon Hou*) in 2001, in 2006 the TMG published a guideline for the cultural development of Tokyo (*Tokyo-to Bunka Shikō Shishin*). As the guideline states:

> In the world, globalization is progressing, and competitions between cities intensify. If Tokyo lags behind other cities in the world, especially Asian metropolises, it leads to the decline of Tokyo, and consequently of Japan. In order to get over the accelerating rate of aging and the decrease of the population, by winning global city competitions and becoming a center of international exchanges, Tokyo must be recognized as a city with not only economic power but also of cultural creativity.[151]

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[147] "近年日本も観光立国ということを国策として打ち出しておりますし、東京都も「千客万来の世界都市東京」つまり観光都市東京を打ち出しております。その中に博物館も位置づけるような努力をしているところなんです。" Tokeuchi Makoto et al. "Shimin to tomoni tsukuru Hakubutsu-kan (2) [Museum Building with Citizens (2)]," in *Hakubutsu-kan Kenkyū* [Museum Research] 40(3) (2005): 21.

[148] "日本の都市の博物館は、国家の旅行収支の赤字を減額させるツールとしての役割を、行政から期待されるようになったというわけである。" Taro Nitta, "Kankō to Hakubutsu-kan: Tokyo no Jirei [Tourism and the Museum: A Case of Tokyo]," in *Dai rokkai Nikkanchū Hakubutsu-kan Kokusai Sinpojium: Kankō to Toshi Hakubutsu-kan* [Lecture Papers of the 6th International Symposium on the Museum in Japan, Korea, and China – Tourism and the City Museum], ed. ETM (Tokyo: ETM, 2007).

[149] TMG, *10-nengo no Tokyo - Tokyo ga Kawaru* [Tokyo in 10 years – Tokyo is Changing] (Tokyo: Tokyo-to Chiji Honkyoku Kikaku Chōsei-bu, 2006), 94.

[150] Ibid., 94.

[151] "また世界ではグローバル化が進み、都市間競争が激化しています。海外、特に成長著しいアジアの大都市との都市間競争に遅れをとることは、東京、ひいては日本の地盤沈下を招くこととなります。今後、急速に進行する高齢化と人口減少を乗り越え、東

The awareness of global competition, of Tokyo as leading Japan's recovery, and of the role of culture in it are clear. Re-imagining Edo as an international city could be interpreted as providing a historical discourse to support the image of Global City Tokyo. While fashion, photography, and film are very minor themes at the ETH, "manga" and mass media are strongly represented. This reflects the importance of cultural creativity, which was already debated in 2000 by the TMG.[152] A focus on innovation is also a reflection of TMG's emphasis on fostering technology.[153] Ishihara's strong belief in Tokyo's central role for the recovery of Japan also explains why themes of major exhibitions are less about the city. The ETH does not represent the local culture of the city, but Japanese culture more generally.

In addition, the mentality of the residents should also be taken care of by the TMG in order to create a stable supply of personnel for the development of Global Tokyo. The project "Kokoro no Tokyo Kakumei" (Tokyo Revolution in Heart and Spirit) was introduced in 2000 and it continues today. This is accompanied by practical action plans setting forth five basic morals: following rules of society and keeping promises with other people, thinking about others, controlling oneself, having a sense of responsibility and justice, and finding joy in contributing to others and society.[154] This looks just like harmless basic morals and common sense (for Japanese people). However:

> The Olympics and Paralympics will be held in Tokyo in 2020. We welcome athletes and visitors with "Omotenashi no kokoro" [hospitality] and "Omoiyari no kokoro" [compassion, thoughtfulness, kindness]," which are the "Kokoro" [heart or soul] Japanese has fostered in its long history and of which it is proud. All residents welcome athletes and visitors from all over the world. It is important to make them feel that Tokyo is comfortable and the world's best city with respect to different languages and culture.[155]

Even certain moral senses or behaviors are encouraged as important cultural resources in making the Tokyo brand.[156] In *Tokyo Kousou*, the characteristics of new Tokyoites were defined, with the statement made that a Tokyoite is a "person who understands and respects tradition and

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京が都市間競争に勝ち残り、世界の人々の交流拠点となるためには、経済だけでなく、新たなぶんかを創造する都市として、世界から注目され、評価されなければなりません。" TMG, *Tokyo-to Bunka Shikō Shishin* [Guidelines for the Cultural Development of Tokyo] (Tokyo: Tokyo-to Seikatsu-Bunka Kyoku, 2006), 5.

[152] TMG, *Toumen no Tokyo-to Bunka Seisaku Shuhō no Tenkan to Torikumi* [Tokyo Cultural Policies: Provisional Changes in Methods and Approaches] (Tokyo: Tokyo-to Seikatsu-Bunka Kyoku, 2000), 2.

[153] TMG, *10-nengo no Tokyo - Tokyo ga Kawaru* [Tokyo in 10 Years – Tokyo is Changing], 5.

[154] TMG, "Kokoro no Tokyo Kakumei Koudou pulan: Otona ga Kawareba Kodomo mo Kawaru [An Action Plan for Revolution in Tokyo's Heart: Children Change when Adults Change (rev. September 2014)]," Tokyo-to Seishōnen Chian Taisaku Honbu, accessed April 23, 2015, http://www.kokoro-tokyo.jp/pdf/h26_plan.pdf.

[155] "2020 年には、東京でオピンピック･パラリンピックが開催されます。日本人が長い歴史の中で培ってきた世界に誇るべき美しい「こころ」である「おもてなしのこころ」と「思いやりのこころ」。この「こころ」で世界中から訪れるアスリートや多くの旅行者を「都民全員」でお迎えし、異なる言葉や文化などを尊重しながら心地よい東京、世界一の都市東京を感じてもらうことが何よりも大切ですし、相互理解と多文化共生はオリンピック･パラリンピックの目的のひとつでもあります。" Ibid., 1.

[156] Hirayama, *Tokyo no Hateni* [Beyond the Edge of Tokyo], 71.

culture of both Japan and other countries, who has identity and pride as a Japanese, and who takes actions with global perspective."[157] New Tokyoites should also have clear career plans, visions for life, and understanding of individual responsibilities and obligation, along with an ability to contribute to society.[158] The TMG wants residents who love Tokyo (Japan), who appreciate its history and culture, and who are able to think and act globally in order to contribute the development of Tokyo. And the ETH could be understood as sending such messages with exhibitions emphasizing the Japanese heart (*kokoro*) and sense of morals.

The Role of the Museum

It could be said that the museum's role was as a symbol of the confidence and the status of Tokyo as leading world city in the 1990s. And as is seen above, these roles undoubtedly follow the TMG's development policies. However, although the ETH's exhibition reflected Suzuki's policy, its influence on the content of exhibitions was still not so strong. To wit:

> The museum should not only collect and exhibit historical objects, but it should be a place to show the human drama of the creation of local unique culture in the form of exhibitions or images. This is an epoch-making idea not seen in any previous museum. Aiming to materialize this idea at the Edo-Tokyo museum will ensure the position of Japan in the international community, and it will help the world in finding the reasons behind the astonishing development of Japan.[159]

At the beginning of the history of the museum, its new concept and new style of presentation were the proof of the leading position of Japan.[160] But interestingly, the content of the exhibition, and the image of Edo-Tokyo presented at the museum, were not itself regarded as cultural resources to be used to make Tokyo a world city. In this regard, the economic potential of culture for city development was not fully recognized in the 1990s. The museum, with its imposing building, presented the pride of Tokyo in showing its urban functions and systems, and the cultural uniqueness of Edo-Tokyo popular culture was meant to compensate for the amnesia residents felt amidst fast-changing surroundings.

However, since 2000, the role of the museum has become much enmeshed with the policies of

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[157] TMG, *Tokyo Kousou 2000: Senkyaku Banrai no Sekaitoshi wo Mezashite* [Tokyo Urban Development Plan: Toward a City Welcoming the World], 40.

[158] See Takashi Machimura, "Narrating a 'global city' for 'new Tokyoites': Economic Crisis and Urban 'Boosterism' in Tokyo," in *Japan and Britain in the Contemporary World: Responses to Common Issues*, ed. Hugo Dobson and Glenn D. Hook (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003).

[159] "博物館というものは、単なる過去の事物のコレクションと、その展示にとどまらず、こうした歴史的、地域的広がりの中で、それぞれの地域独自の文化の創造という視点の人類のドラマが、そこに展示として、あるいは映像で展開されるような場でなければならない。しかし、これは、これまでの博物館には見られない画期的な考え方であり、江戸東京博物館でこの実現を目指すことは、国際交流における日本の位置を定めることにもなるであろうし、また世界中が、驚異的な日本の発展の理由をここに発見することをたすけてくれるものになることだろう。" Kiyonori Kikutake et al, *Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan* [The Edo-Tokyo Museum], 193–194.

[160] The ETM is not subject to the museum law, which restricts museum activities to educational considerations. Putting the ETH under the Bureau of Citizens and Cultural Affairs has allowed the ETH to have more freedom in its activities. This includes expanding services to outside museums and encouraging the direct involvement of citizens in creative activities. ETH, *Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan Kensetsu no Ayumi: Kensetsu to Kaisetsu Junbi no Kiroku* [The Edo-Tokyo Museum's Founding History: Records of the Construction and Opening Preparations], 95.

the TMG, especially in respect to the content of exhibitions. It could be said that the museum was fulfilling the expectation of the TMG to provide visitors not only with a nostalgic sense of locality, but also "education" as to how to be a "proper" Tokyoites with traditional sense of morality, dreams, hopes, energies, human boundness (*Kizuna*), and heart (*kokoro*), on all of which the TMG believes the redevelopment of Tokyo (and consequently of Japan) in the globalizing world depends. Therefore, it could be concluded that the content of exhibitions at the ETH after 2000 was more strongly influenced by the TMG's policies.

The role of the museum also clearly shifted from being a "research center of the history and culture of Edo-Tokyo"[161] to being a "popular touristic spot in Tokyo."[162] The director's comment in his online greeting summarizes the self-awareness of the ETH. He writes, '"[v]isit the British Museum when you go to London, the Louvre when you are in Paris, and the Edo-Tokyo Museum when you are in Tokyo.' My dream is for this to become a mantra all over the world."[163] What he wishes is not only for a prominent status among the museums in Tokyo, but also in the larger global museum environment. In this regard, it should be concluded that economic development and improving the status of Tokyo in the global competition among cities were the main priorities in the city's strategies, to which the museum was subordinate. It is an amazingly rigid top-down structure, which probably is one of the reasons that the museum closes its eyes to social problems in the real world outside of the museum. The lack of the exhibitions in the category of social issue is a serious defect.

[161] ETH, *Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan Yōran 1996* [Yearly Report 1996] (Tokyo: Tokyo-to Rekishi Bunka Zaidan, 1997), 1.
[162] ETH, *Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan Yōran 2001* [Yearly Report 2001] (Tokyo: Tokyo-to Rekishi Bunka Zaidan, 2002), 1.
[163] Makoto Takeuchi, "Greeting from the Director: Spreading Our Wings to the Second Stage with a Revamped Permanent Exhibition," ETH, accessed July 5, 2015, http://www.edo-tokyo-museum.or.jp/en/about/. (Originally in English)

8 Conclusion: A Comparison of the Three Museums

The last three chapters elucidated the images of the city presented at the city museums of Vienna, London, and Tokyo. Although London is the most globalized city among the three cities dealt with in this paper, the MoL represented the fewest brand images of the city. While "creative city with arts and fashion" and "diversity" were images representing London's brand in the 2000s, diverse themes under the categories of social issues and popular culture also represented life space of residents at the same time. The center of the exhibitions' theme was clearly the people of London. On the other hand, the WM and the ETH did more to present and represent brand images of the city. The ETH took up more themes fostering the image of Tokyo as touristic, innovative, and cultural, especially after 2000. Because the museum was internationally active in the 1990s, exhibitions at the WM also tended to represent commodified images of the city. Although exhibition themes changed dramatically after 2003, images of the traditional and contemporary culture of the city, both of which have long been the basis of the brand image of the cultural metropolis Vienna, were constantly reinforced, especially toward 2013. However, a very important difference from the case of the ETH lies in how such brand images were shown with certain "updates" from socio-historical or interdisciplinary perspectives as well as with contemporary themes of marketing and lifestyle.

Bearing these results in mind, this last chapter examines, as a conclusion, the similarities and differences between the three museums, and how the two global characteristics discussed in the Chapter 1 have been reflected in each museum. In doing so, this chapter aims to show how the effects of globalization are localized and how they have influenced the images represented in each museum.

Similarities among All Three Museums

There are some common features shared by all three museums. Firstly, it is unmistakable that the images of the city represented at each city museum have changed over the last thirty years, and these changes were in close connection with the cities' respective policies for culture, tourism, and urban development. City museums are clearly influenced by their city's strategies. In addition, the museums are increasingly interested in marketing, public communications, and profit-making activities.

It is also interesting to see that issues such as consumption, fashion, tourism, marketing, mass communication and leisure appeared in all three museums as exhibition themes in the 2000s. In addition, considering how exhibitions under the categories of high culture and popular culture dominate the temporary exhibition list with decreasing numbers of exhibitions under the

category of collective memory, it could be said that culture has now become a more important feature, even in museums that present the history of the city in their permanent exhibition. It means that cultural economy has come to occupy a central position in society, which is the salient characteristic of the post-industrial age.

There are also similarities between two of the museums: the WM and the MoL. For example, since both are located in European cities working within the European discourses of Museology, social issues such as immigrants and poverty were common themes taken up at almost the same time at both the MoL and the WM. Although it was rather late at the WM, the increased use of popular visual arts (photographs, films, and posters) was also a common feature between the two museums. On the contrary, the ETH's total silence on social issues indicates its distance from the discourses of the New Museology. There was also little trace of self-reflection in regard to the epistemological criticism supporting particular systems of knowledge and social power on which exhibitions are based on at the ETH, while it can be said that the WM and the MoL underwent such self-reflections to a considerable extent. In comparison to the ETH, the MoL and the WM also share a relative weakness when it comes to international comparative perspectives.

Although the two are geographically far away, there are still some similarities between the WM and the ETH. The clearest similarity between these two museums is their tendency for nostalgia, in comparison to the MoL, which is strongly contemporary and future-oriented. However, while the WM has been trying to re-interpret nostalgic images of the past from contemporary viewpoints since 2003, nostalgia for the Edo Period and the Showa 30s at the ETH tend to be celebrated uncritically. The WMK is more careful to avoid creating celebratory images of the daily life of people by applying interdisciplinary analytical perspectives, while the ETH instead goes along with/makes use of nostalgic images produced by mass-media sources to produce blockbuster exhibitions. Another similarity is their strong interest in creating self-images/brands, while the MoL put relatively less emphasis on creating a self-image. Particular references concerning the MoL's own brand were only visible under Thurley's directorship .

On the contrary, there are few clear similarities between the MoL and the ETH. Both make use of catchphrases like "World City" or "Global City," however, they have rather different images. The World City at the MoL, at least up to 2012, had more of an inner cosmopolitanism rather than a sense of being strategic point of international connectivity or a player in global competition among cities. Interestingly, there was no specific effort recognizable in exhibitions at the MoL to situate London in a global context, while the ETH was keen on re-imaging Edo-Tokyo as a city with global connectivity and as a prominent global city. Although both are called global cities, exhibitions at both museums showed that they represent rather very different

societies. But in comparison to the WM, the MoL and the ETH often give less of an academic impression to visitors, therefore they more accessible to wider audiences than the WM, although the reasons for this differ. At the MoL, there is more of a focus on diversity or individuality in the life space of people, namely particularities, which reduced academic impressions, since "[a] science of the particular is alien to our academic habitus."[1] This is further supported by good incorporation of educational programs and technologies. On the contrary, although it is based on very detailed academic work, the culture of Edo-Tokyo presented the ETH is still a total image of harmonious society without any particularities disturbing the harmony. With little critical reflection, such an image could be more populist.

In what follows, I would like to focus more on differences between three museums in regard to the two characteristics of globalization: the cannibalization of the local and the global on the one hand and individualization and longing for a sense of place on the other. The results of the analysis show how the high visibility of the individuality of residents at the MoL differentiates it from other two museums. Therefore there will first be a brief summary as to what extent each museum reflects the individualization of society. Although the dynamics and diversity of the city are represented by all three museums, it is only the MoL that regards each individual as a player in the dynamics and diversity of the city by focusing more on the life space of residents.

Individualization

Among the three museums, the individualization of the society was most clearly reflected at the MoL. Individual residents were not only seen in photographs or interviews, but they also participated in creating the presentation and collections. With a wider range of education and outreach programs, the MoL's efforts to represent and connect to individual Londoners are unquestionably the best of all three museums. The motto "Inspire passion for London" also indicates that the museum's foremost aim is to encourage individual Londoners to have their own sense of place. The museum offers a variety of objects, ideas, images, and bits of knowledge for each individual from different social and ethnic backgrounds with which to the city. In particularly, the amazing variety and amount of objects and information available at the new Galleries of Modern London supports this claim.

In contrast to the MoL, the individuality of residents is not of particular interest to the WM and the ETH. The image of the city as a local life space is reflected only in a limited way, and consequently individual residents tend to be subsumed in the whole picture of the city. Hence, it could also be said that the museum's recognition toward possible differences between each

[1] John Fiske, *Understanding Popular Culture*, 159.

individual is very weak. The lack of representation of individuality does not mean that societies in Vienna and Tokyo are not individualized. As modern urban societies, communal bounds between people are becoming thin, although there would be differences in the degree to which the local government committees work to foster communities. Although some might have an image of Japanese society as being more collective, "hometown creating movements" (*Furusato zukuri*) and the recent social cry for "Kizuna" (human bonds) after the Great East Japan Earthquake[2] testify to a fear of losing such bonds.

There would be many reasons for this difference in intensity when it comes to representing individuality. However, from the results of the analysis and the comparison made between the museums, there are two noteworthy points that might explain the reasons for this. Firstly, thanks to personal initiative and foresight, the MoL was already aware of the importance of modern means of communication such as photographs and films in the 1980s, and it started collecting oral history much earlier than the other two museums. The MoL also started to be strongly interested in everyday life in the early 1980s, which prompted the use of photographs and films to record contemporary Londoners. Recording countless versions of history from individuals is only possible due to modern technologies. In the 2000s, those long years of efforts came to fruition in various exhibitions.

Although the WM started to use photographs in the 1990s, the list of photographic exhibitions at the WM does not compare to the one at the MoL. But the participation of ordinary people in collecting and presenting was seen more toward 2012. Along with the use of oral history, photographic exhibitions in the 2000s made individuality more visible at the WM than at the ETH.

At the ETH, there were only a few photographic exhibitions. The ETH also collects oral history, such as life stories of people who survived World War II, which are available at the museum library as audio materials. However they are hardly incorporated into exhibitions. The close relationship with mass media leads the museum to give more support to popular images of totalization rather than to representing the life space of residents, where individuals engage society tactically.

However, the early use of photographs and oral histories could have been the result of the MoL's interest in individualization in society instead of the incentive for it. The most outstanding differences between the MoL on the one hand and the WMK and the ETH on the other hand could be in the MoL's recognition and representation of the cannibalization of the global and the

[2] The Japan Kanji Aptitude Testing Foundation selects one Kanji character at the end of every year that represents the best from a passing year. "Kizuna" (絆) was selected as the letter of 2011. "Kizuna" was also nominated as the most popular word of the year in 2011. These things show that the term was frequently used in mass media and that it expressed some of the public's sentiment after the devastating event.

local, which would have led the MoL to be sensitive to individual differences in society. In an interview, the head of the Department of Programmes said that they have reached the point where differences are everywhere and cannot be represented perfectly.[3]

In the following, I would like to see the representation of the cannibalization of the global and the local at the three museums in relation to the concepts developed by Appadurai. While most globalization theories emphasize the city's function as a strategic point of controlling flows and networks, Appadurai's notion of five-scapes shows the dynamics of global flows within the city (cf. Chapter 1.2). As Appadurai's concepts are very fluid in its nature, it is not possible to present any concrete picture of five-scapes. However, ethnoscapes, idoescapes, and finanscesapes as collectively perceived by residents of each city could to some extent be substantiated by some data and policy analysis, and analysis of the three city museums in terms of five-scapes could shed light on differences in the interactions between these various -scapes in each city. And I argue that these differences have influenced the museums' sensitivity to individual difference and hence to the representation of life space of residents.

The Cannibalization of the Local and the Global

The Museum of London mirrored the most advanced stage of the cannibalization of the local and the global in society. Any concrete "local" aspects of London such as historical periods, landmarks, or artistic works are not specifically identified. Although some historical periods, kings and queens still play a role in presenting brand images to some extent, they never appeared as dominant themes in temporary exhibitions. This tendency was already visible at the MoL in the 1980s. Any static image of the city as a whole has been absent at the MoL for quite some time . This indicates that "local" characteristics are no longer easily recognizable outside of diversity, creativity, and urban dynamics.

In comparison to the MoL, the cannibalization of the local and the global was not as visible in the exhibitions at the WM. Certainly, the localization of the image of the city with certain historical periods is visible. Although typical images of Vienna as a music metropolis or as an imperial city were avoided in the 2000s, the city's international brand "Wien um 1900" still strongly represents the city. On the other hand, the city is also identified with contemporary culture, although they have changed from contemporary arts (before 2000) to everyday life (early 2000s) to popular culture/lifestyle/consumption. (later 2000s). As these brand images are partly formed in relation to the global, it is to some extent the result of the cannibalization. However, as a result this representation of the cannibalization at the macro level produces a unitary image of the city, and this does not necessarily represent the reality of the life space of

[3] Head of Programmes, interviewed by the author, July 24, 2013.

people As the exhibitions do not represent the life space of residents all that much, cannibalization within the city remains invisible except for a few exhibitions on social issues and exhibitions that fall under the category of landscape.

The cannibalization of the local and the global is also difficult to detect at the ETH. Certainly, in some exhibitions, Edo-Tokyo was presented by the museum as a "cosmopolitan city" or "international city," although the claim that Edo was cosmopolitan is not convincing, and the image of international Edo cannot be compared to Edo's popular culture in its representation of the traditional "Japanese" way of life and sense of value. Exhibitions toward 2012 also showed new images of Tokyo as innovative and with a welcoming heart. Such an image of locality is formed in response to global influences in order to make Tokyo globally competitive. However, without any exhibitions on diversity, cannibalization on the micro level is almost completely invisible. This rather remarkable lack of interest in diversity raises the question of whether cannibalization, which connotes some degree of direct and constant intersection of the local and the global within the city, is in fact happening in Tokyo to the extent found in other major cities.

These differences in the representation of cannibalization stem mainly from the ethnoscapes of each city, and how these ethnoscapes were perceived and presented at each museum. However, financescapes, ideoscapes, and mediascapes also influence each other, all of which produce different globalization effects in each city.

London's ethnoscapes are indisputably global. 50% percent of London's population are immigrants, and this encompasses over 270 nationalities and 300 different languages.[4] According to the 2011 Census, only 45% of London's population described themselves as white British, while 37% were born outside of the UK.[5] Because of its colonial past, immigration from present-day Commonwealth countries has a long history. However, the demography of London has dramatically changed, with the foreign-born population in London almost doubling since the middle of the 1980s.[6] The museum's sensitivity toward this change in diversity is clearly represented at the MoL. This shows that discrepancies between London's most globalized ethnoscapes and representations of the city at the museum are not so great.

In Vienna, ethnic diversity in the city goes back centuries because of its role as the capital city of the multi-ethnic Habsburg Empire. Although there was a period of reduction in immigration from outside of Austria between 1917 until the 1960s, the number of people of both Turkish and

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[4] "270 nationalities and 300 different languages: How a United Nations of Workers is Driving London Forward," *Evening Standard*, March 1, 2011, accessed April 22, 2015, http://www.standard.co.uk/news/270-nationalities-and-300-different-languages-how-a-united-nations-of-workers-is-driving-london-6572417.html.

[5] "2011 Census: 45% of Londoners white British," *BBC News*, December 11, 2012, accessed September 26, 2015, http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-london-20680565.

[6] London School of Economics and Political Science, *The Impact of Recent Immigration on the London Economy* (London: The City of London Corporation, 2007), 13.

ex-Yugoslavian origins increased as working immigrants have been arriving since the 1960s and since the opening of the eastern border. In 2014, 50% of the population has an immigrant background, with at least one parent born abroad, and the foreign-born population stands at 36% of the total population.[7] But Vienna's ethnoscapes are not as global as those of ex-colonial countries such as France or the UK. The European population stands at about 80% of the foreign-born population of Vienna as of 2014.[8] Although Vienna's cosmopolitanism is represented by the presence of the UN, Vienna is still a mid-size city in the age of globalization. Nevertheless, Vienna's ethnoscapes are very internationalized, with a high proportion of foreign-born people, which is almost equals to that of London. Considering the ethnoscapes of Vienna, there is clearly a disjunction between the images represented at the WM and reality.

Tokyo's ethnoscapes are the least prominent among the three cities. To some extent, this cannot be helped, since Japan was closed to the outside world for over 200 years during the Edo period. Despite the ETH's effort to show Edo as an international city, foreign influences during most of the Edo period did not compare to those of London and Vienna. However, Tokyo saw a rapid Westernization during the Meiji Era and Americanization after World War II and postwar occupation. Although the appropriation of western culture could be selective and it could be less conflictive than what might occur through direct contact, Tokyo experienced a considerable amount of cultural transformation over the last 150 years after the opening of the country.

However, even in the age of globalization, the presence of foreigners in Tokyo is very minor. In 2015, the population of registered foreigners in Tokyo made up only about 3% of the whole population,[9] although this has almost doubled since 1990.[10] Despite the presence of the second and the third generation with Korean and Chinese origin, the assumption and belief still persists that Japan is racially homogenous.[11] Therefore, the lack of the representation of diversity at the ETH is to some extent compatible with such ethnoscapes of Tokyo. Nevertheless, if Tokyo imagines itself as a world city, this discrepancy between the self-image and the reality should be of considerable concern.

The differences between the three cities that made the representation of the city at the MoL more

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[7] Magistrat der Stadt Wien, "Facts and Figures – Viennese Population according to Migration Background," accessed September 23, 2015, https://www.wien.gv.at/english/social/integration/basic-work/facts-figures.html.

[8] Magistrat der Stadt Wien, "Bevölkerung nach Geburtsland und Geschlecht 2013 und 2014," accessed September 23, 2015, https://www.wien.gv.at/statistik/bevoelkerung/tabellen/bevoelkerung-gebl-geschl-zr.html.

[9] TMG, "Jyūmin Kihon Daicyō niyoru, Tokyo-to no Setai to Jinkō [Population and Household in Tokyo according to the Basic Resident Regsiter], Jaunary 1, 2015, accessed September 25, 2015, http://www.metro.tokyo.jp/INET/CHOUSA/2015/03/60p3j200.htm. This does not include undocumented immigrants. In 1993, Machimura estimated undocumented immigrants in Japan to number around 84,000. Takashi Machimura, "Symbolic Use of Globalization in Urban Politics in Tokyo," *International Journal of Urban Regional Research* 22(2)(1998): 189, accessed, February 20, 2015, doi: 10.1111/1468-2427.00134.

[10] TMG, "Tokyo-to no Gaikoku-jin Jinkō [Foreign population in Tokyo] (Data File), retrieved September 11, 2015, http://www.toukei.metro.tokyo.jp/gaikoku/ga-index.htm.

[11] There are cases of public debates caused by some unthoughtful comments made by politicians calling Japan an ethnically homogeneous nation. See Masataka Okamoto, "Nihonjin naibu no Minzoku Ishiki to Gainen no Konran [Confusion of the Japanese Rational Consciousness and its Concept]," *Bulletin of the Department of Human Sociology, Fukuoka Pacific University* 19(2)(2011).

true to the ethnoscapes of the city could turn out to be complex. But comparing the three cities, the urgency behind the drive to tackle social issues in London stands out, which would partly explain things. As is sometimes seen in popular images that identify London with depictions of public confrontations,[12] London has witnessed a considerable number of riots and confrontation.[13] The background of each riot was very complex, each with its racial, historical, and social contexts. But the effects of recent changes in financescapes as well as in ethnoscapes in the age of globalization, with global capital and labor power flowing in, would be one of the reasons for recent riots.[14] The causes of recent riots are not only racial, but more against "injustices" in society.[15] Therefore, changes in financescapes should also be crucial elements in understanding contemporary London's issues.

The status of London as a global city is of no doubt when it comes to its global connectivity, the dynamics of the flow of foreign capital, and the concentration of the headquarters of major TNCs, all of which is shown in various world city rankings (cf. Chapter 1). The global flow of capital creates more jobs and attracts immigrants, but there are also externalities such as rising housing prices and widening income inequality. Income inequality in London is the worst in the UK.[16] While the richest 10% of the population have 60% of all assets, the poorest 80% of the population share 20% of all asset wealth.[17] This is especially true of foreign investment in London's housing market, which pushes housing prices higher, with housing becoming increasingly unaffordable for local residents.[18] And as is seen in Chapter 6.2, cultural policies are more in accord with the financescape. They were instrumentalized with the belief that encouraging the participation in cultural activities by parties affected by its inequalities might lessen its negative effects, and improve their competitiveness in the labor market.

In this regard, telling the story of "good Babylon" (cf. Chapter 6.1.8) in which diversity in culture, ethnicity, and gender is critically examined but nevertheless celebrated, there is the danger of optimism, if one focuses only on cultural and social aspects of globalization. Behind

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[12] For example, Julien Temple's documentary film "London – The Modern Babylon" features footages of riots and public confrontations as a distinguishing character of the history of London.

[13] Some major riots include riots against the Metropolitan Police (1977, 1981, 1985, 1995), against capitalism (1999, 2000, 2001), against the introduction of a poll tax (1990), and against increase in student fees and public sector cuts (2010, 2011), as well as the riots of 2011.

[14] "Reading the Riots: Investigating England's Summer of Disorder – Full Report. The Guardian and the London School of Economics' 40-page report into the Summer Riots," *The Guardian*, December 14, 2011, accessed September 25, 2015, http://www.theguardian.com/uk/interactive/2011/dec/14/reading-the-riots-investigating-england-s-summer-of-disorder-full-report.
However, the report prepared for the Cabinet Office sees the reason for the involvement of the young not only being because of poverty, but also residing in their materialistic culture. Gareth Morrell, Sara Scott, Di McNeish and Stephen Webster, *The August Riots in England: Understanding the Involvement of Young People* (London: NatCen, 2011), 7.

[15] Tim Newburn, Paul Lewis and Josephine Metcalf, "A New Kind of Riot? From Brixton 1981 to Tottenham 2011," *The Guardian*, December 9, 2011, accessed Nov. 13, 2013, http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2011/dec/09/riots-1981-2011-differences.

[16] London Voluntary Service Council and Trust for London, *Closing the Gap: Inequality in London* (London: London Voluntary Service Council and Trust for London, 2010), 8.

[17] Trust for London and New Polity Institute, "Income & Wealth Inequality," London's Poverty Profile, accessed September 27, 2015, http://www.londonspovertyprofile.org.uk/indicators/topics/inequality/.

[18] Andrew Heywood, *London for Sale?: An Assessment of the Private Housing Market in London and the Impact of Growing Overseas Investment* (London: Future of London, 2012), 4.

the celebrated diversity of the city, the now prominent topic of economic inequality goes unanalyzed much as one of the most problematic features of globalization. Although the Galleries of Modern London shows conflicts, and even though The Museum of London Dockland has a section "New Port New City: 1945" presents the recent development of the British trade and economy, the role that the latter plays in causing the former is difficult to discern at the MoL. When the "world city" is celebrated with its diversity in a way that treats the city as though it is not closely related to the role of the city as a global financial center and a leading city of the neo-liberal global economy, the MoL plays a role in diverting people's minds from the "untouchable" space of global market, the City, which nevertheless leads to major external costs throughout London.

In addition, the museum's connection to banks and global companies in the City is also weak at the moment.[19] Certainly, for the Capital City program, for which the museum successfully raised funds to cover the entire project of the Galleries of Modern London, there were individual donors, whose wealth was connected to global finance. However, their contribution was limited and the museum could not expect stable supports from them.[20] This distance between the museum and the surrounding area in the City might explain how these global capital sources are still foreign, even within Greater London.[21] As Richard Sennett puts it, "The new global elite, operating in cities like New York, London and Chicago, avoids the urban political realm. It wants to operate in the city but not rule it; it composes a regime of power without responsibility."[22] Such distance between the museum and the City both in representation and its real contacts is noticeable, as if financescapes invisibly command the ideoscapes of London, which celebrate the diversity of its ethnoscapes and attend to social problems caused by global flows of capital. In this regard, while the cannibalization of sameness and difference, the global and the local, is represented and the city is presented as a dynamic meeting place for differences and conflict, it works more to maintain the status-quo rather than to encourage visitors to understand how their lives are actually connected to and affected by the global economy.

On the other hand, despite Vienna's relatively prominent ethnic population and its long history of movement of people within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, there were few ethnic conflicts in Vienna comparable those in London. This could partly be because levels of cultural conflict were much lower than those London, whose diversity encompasses vast distances because of its

[19] At the time of the interview with the Director of Finance and Corporate Services at MoL on July 23, 2013.

[20] In that interview, the museum did not particularly feel as though it was benefiting from standing near the world financial center, despite being aware of the possibility of this in the future. This could also owe to the museum's own attitude, as there were no strong initiatives to look for private sponsors in the 2000s. However, due to severe budgetary cuts under the Conservative government, they are keener on finding private funding now. Director of Finance and Corporate Services, interviewed by the author.

[21] This is also because there is no American-style private sponsorship in the UK, because there is no sufficient tax concession to potential donors. Schubert, *The Curator's egg,* 68.

[22] Richard Sennett, "A Flexible City of Strangers," *Le Monde diplomatique English Edition*, February 2001, accessed November 14, 2013, http://mondediplo.com/2001/02/16cities.

former global empire. But this also could be explained by Viennese ideoscapes and financescapes.

Under the SPÖ's stable dominance, Vienna has been more inclined to keep a certain distance from the fast tempo of the development of neo-liberal capitalism and to minimize some of the external effects caused by globalization. For example, looking at the urban development plan of Vienna, the increasing need to react to the tendency toward globalization was certainly clear in 1995, in comparison to the Viennese City Development Plan from 1985, in which the influence of the global economy on urban planning is little recognizable.[23] However, after examining the capabilities of the city and possible negative effects on society, Vienna has strategically chosen not to be a world city as such, but to play the role of a regional center in Middle Europe through proactive economic policies.[24] In the 2000s, along with enhancing local attractiveness with business-friendly facilities and good infrastructure, the goal of the 2005 City Development Plan aimed "to safeguard, stabilize, and advance quality of life in Vienna" with the principles of sustainability, participation, gender mainstreaming, and diversity.[25] Considering Vienna's place in world rankings for quality of life (cf. Chapter 1), this statement cannot be regarded simply as lip-service. As Monika de Frantz writes, "[t]he resulting 'slow pace' constitutes one of Vienna's characteristic life qualities as well as posing problems for economic development, so that international trends have reached Vienna with considerable delay and moderation."[26]

One example of such policies is the "Soft Urban Renewal" (*Sanften Stadterneurung*), in which "urban renewal must be practiced as a conserving renewal."[27] Vienna has had a unique history of social housing ever since the period of the Red Vienna (*Das Rote Wien*). And partly because of public resistance shown in the Occupy movements (as shown in the exhibition *Besetzt!* [2012]), Viennese urban renewal has incorporated the principle of "moral economy."[28] Public housing has also been open to immigrants since 2006. To some extent these factors have led to Vienna's "quality of life" and the successful branding of the city around this; and continuing to work on these issues now continues its investment sustaining a globally recognizable image of

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[23] Magistrat der Stadt Wien, *Viennese City Development Plan: Abridgement*. See also Robert Musil, "The Evolution of a Global City: Vienna's Integration into the World City System," in *Globalization and the City: Two Connected Phenomena in Past and Present*, ed. Andreas Exenberger et al. (Innsbruck: Innsbruck University Press, 2013), 150.

[24] Magistrat der Stadt Wien, *STEP 94: Stadtentwicklungsplan für Wien* (Vienna: Magistrat der Stadt Wien, Magistratsabteilung 18, 1994), 24.

[25] Magistrat der Stadt Wien, *STEP 05: Urban Development Plan Vienna 2005* (Vienna: Magistrat der Stadt Wien, Magistratsabteilung 18, 2005), 13.

[26] Monika de Frantz, "From Cultural Regeneration to Discursive Governance: Constructing the Flagship of the 'MuseumsQuartier Vienna' as a Plural Symbol of Change," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 291 (2005): 52, accessed September 28, 2015, https://www.leuphana.de/fileadmin/user_upload/PERSONALPAGES/Fakultaet_1/Behnke_Christoph/files/literaturarchiv/Frantz-Monika.pdf.
The relatively reserved tendency of the Viennese toward the rapid development of the city would have also played a role. For example, among the three cities, Vienna has not had a either World Expo or a Olympic Games (or even a candidacy) in recent history. These were actually proposed by the city but rejected by referendum. The choice for the new museum building to remain at Karlsplatz rather as opposed to the acquisition of a new building that might become a new landmark for the city could also partly due to Viennese's rather cautious attitude toward the commodification of the city.

[27] Magistrat der Stadt Wien, *Viennese City Development Plan: Abridgement*, 29.

[28] Siegfried Mattl, "Der Mehrwert der Urbanen Revolte. Die Erneuerung Wiens aus dem Geist der Hausbesetzer," in *Besetzt! Kampf um Freiräume seit den 70ern*, ed. Martina Nußbaumer and Werner Michael Schwarz (Vienna, WM and Czernin Verlag, 2012), 27. Moral economy was a term used by E.P. Thompson. See Edward P. Thompson, *Customs in Common*. (New York: New Press, 1991).

Vienna. And hence as is claimed by Robert Musil, "[i]n contrast to Sassen's concept, not only global processes but, above all, the welfare state's distribution mechanisms as well as the quality of social security systems, determine the degree of social unevenness."[29] The ideoscapes of the Social Democratic and its coalition partners that have produced these policies must have played a certain role in reducing public conflicts, such as those witnessed often in London, although this might also be explained by Vienna's long history of multiculturalism.

Therefore, at the WM there would be less urgency felt to represent ethnoscapes. However, this does not mean that the cannibalization of the global and the local in the life space of residents does not occur and that they live in a superlatively harmonious society. People of different ethnicities live next to each other, and Vienna is also the location of non-Austrian residents. Although there has also been constant anti-racism movement in Vienna,[30] such Viennese ethnoscapes are not invisible, but pushed aside.[31] Diversity in the life space of Vienna is only represented at the WM in terms of landscape and spatial representation, but not in cultural representation. This lack of cultural representation of ethnoscapes, which is probably due to the lack of proactive cultural city policies to incorporate integration policies,[32] could be one of the reasons why the cannibalization of the global and the local in life space is not as visible at the WMK. While London shows its diversity in fashion, culinary, and daily objects, the WMK does not show cultural contributions from immigrants and other minorities in the city. Even with exhibitions on the theme "Wien um 1900," whose cultural attraction allows for examination relating to the multicultural quality of Vienna around 1900,[33] analysis shows that the inner dynamics of the city overshadow these dynamics within wider geographical cultural contexts. This could also further be explained by Vienna's rather strong top-down policies.[34]

> In Vienna, this corporatist cooperation between government, political parties and social interests was organized around the Social Democratic party. Its strong institutional links with municipal government, bureaucracy, civil society, and local business were enforced by a range of party-close associations and semi-public agencies. While providing for stability this machine-like system implied drawbacks such as low political accountability, little transparency, and a tendency to avoid public conflict. This limited the opportunities for citizens' activism mainly to some top-down experiments with grass-root participation, as well as the information rights of concerned citizens in administrative planning procedures.[35]

This tendency was much clearer in the 1980s and in the first half of the 1990s in cultural politics,

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[29] Musil, "The Evolution of a Global City: Vienna's integration into the World City System," 146.
[30] See Belinda Kazeem, "Keine Atempause," in *Kampfzonen in Kunst und Medien: Texte zur Zukunft der Kulturpolitik*, ed. Konrad Becker et al. (Vienna: Löcker, 2008).
[31] Curator of the WM, interviewed by the author December 12, 2011.
[32] Wimmer, *Kultur und Demokratie,* 29.
[33] See Steven Beller, "Fin de Fin-de-Siécle Vienna? A Letter of Remembrance," in *Global Austria: Austria's Place in Europe and the World*, ed. Günter Bischof et al. (Innsbruck: Innsbruck University Press).
[34] I owe the idea to the curator of the WMK, interviewed by the author.
[35] Monika De Frantz, *Capital City Cultures: Reconstructing Contemporary Europe in Vienna and Berlin* (Bruxells: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2011), 48.

where it was described "Gießkanne" pouring lavishly public money into cultural activities, against which Marboe advocated "Entpolitisierung." In addition, with relatively weak private investment in the arts[36] and with the weak tradition of civil society in Austria,[37] culture is regarded as being produced by the public. These could also explain why the cannibalization of the global and the local in the life space of residents is invisible at the WM. Hence, despite the composition of the population of the city being diversified, individual differences as well as ethnic, gender, and age differences are treated, at best, on a group level.

In Tokyo, since direct contact between the global and the local occurs only to a limited degree, global and local do not cannibalize one another to the same extent as they do in London and Vienna. For example, although the nostalgic image of Edo popular culture was based on ethnic elements, the formation of the image of Edo was not something that occurred particularly in relation to the global. As was shown in Chapter 7.2, there were certainly some trends toward localization in the images of Edo/Tokyo in the 1980s during the process of city development planning. Tokyoites started searching for "traditional," "local," and "simple" cityscapes which were manifested in the movement of creating communities (*Furusato zukuri*), street observations, and Edo-Tokyo Studies. These movements were also supported by the TMG, and those images materialized in the ETH as full-size models of buildings from the Edo and Meiji periods. However, this has been because of modernization and the deprivation of simplicity from daily life, of slowness, and of close human contact, rather than out of compensation for feeling of insecurity and or lack of belonging caused by globalization, since the local and the global are not so cannibalized in the less globalized ethnoscapes of Tokyo.

Its financescape is also not as global as those of London and New York, despite its image as a global city.[38] The actual amount of inward foreign investment, the foreign managerial population, and the number of offices of foreign global companies in Tokyo were far lower, even in the late 1980s when the Japanese economy was at its peak, while Japanese capital and companies have themselves gone global. For example, rapid urban development was undertaken to make office space in Tokyo in which the number of headquarters of transnational corporations (TNCs) more than tripled between 1975 and 1987,[39] while office floorspace also tripled between 1983 and 1989.[40] But those TNCs were mostly Japanese TNCs.[41] In terms of FDIs, foreign

[36] Ibid., 48.
[37] Wimmer, *Kultur und Demokratie*, 269.
[38] See Sassen, *The Global City*. Takashi Machimura, "The urban restructuring process in Tokyo in the 1980s: Transforming Tokyo into a World city," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* 16(1) (1992), accessed February 23, 2015, doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2427.1992.tb00468.x.
[39] Takashi Machimura, *Sekai Toshi Tokyo no Kouzou Tenkan* [Restructuring of Global City Tokyo] (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1994). Cited without page number in Asato Saito and Andy Thornley, "Shifts in Tokyo's World City Status and the Urban Planning Response," in *Urban Studies*, 40(4) (2003): 667, accessed January 12, 2015, doi: 10.1080/0042098032000065245.
[40] Saito and Thornley, "Shifts in Tokyo's World City Status and the Urban Planning Response," 672.
[41] Paul Waley, "Tokyo-as-World-City: Reassessing the Role of Capital and the State in Urban Restructuring," *Urban Studies* 44(8) (2007): 1466,

direct investment into Japan was only one-twentieth of Japan's own outward foreign investment in 1994.[42]

Therefore, it can be claimed "Tokyo at this time was a Japanese city with global reach, rather than a world city."[43] This means that the cosmopolitanism of Tokyo was more outward, hence there was less cosmopolitanism even in the financescapes within Tokyo. Globalization was instead a discourse used to justify the urban development to make Tokyo a "World City,"[44] although its ethnoscapes and financescapes were hardly global. And certainly, since mediascapes cannot be so limited in Tokyo even keeping some of the language barrier in minds, information and images have flowed in and out of Tokyo. As a metropolis marked by huge amounts of consumption, commodities also have flowed into the city from all over the world. However, in the global cultural economy, as Appadurai has said, ethnoscapes and mediascapes produce unprecedented complexity because of the involvement of imagination (cf. Chapter 1). Without a global ethnoscapes, it could be said that the cannibalization between the global and the local did not really occurred in the 1980s and 1990s in Tokyo. Localization was an afterthought arising from concern over the instability caused by modernization and the loss of the living space and traditional cityscapes through urban restructuring by Japanese investors making space for the offices of TNCs, which were mostly Japanese corporations.

However, in the 2000s, without radical changes in ethnoscapes and financescapes,[45] discourses concerning global city competition suddenly intensified, with new images of Tokyo as innovative, touristic, and "cool" being created. In order to realize these images and make Tokyo truly prominent in the way intended, "World City," Tokyo is increasingly in need of human resources. Led by strong initiatives from the city government, even images of "proper" Tokyoites were presented in terms of being innovative, kind-hearted, welcoming, and diverse in potential. However, the term "diverse" does not mean individual cultural differences or differing senses of value, but it could instead be regarded as a mass production of people with diverse potentials who contribute to the economy.

> Political papers on development of human resources use the phrases such as "individuals with diverse potentials" or "diverse abilities," putting value on "diverse." However, this "diverse" is regarded as national "human resources," which comply with new competitive society. Here

accessed March 22, 2015, doi: 10.1080/00420980701373511.

[42] Ibid., 681.

[43] Saito and Thornley. "Shifts in Tokyo's World City Status and the Urban Planning Response," 680.

[44] See André Sorensen, "Building World City Tokyo: Globalization and Conflict over Urban Space," *The Annals of Regional Science* 7(2003), accessed January 11, 2015, doi: 10.1007/s00168-003-0168-3. Machimura, "Symbolic Use of Globalization in Urban Politics in Tokyo." Paul Waley, "Tokyo: Patterns of Familiarity and Partitions of Difference," in *Globalizing Cities: A New Spatial Order?* ed. Peter Marcuse and Ronald van Kempen (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000).

[45] Between 2001 and 2014 inward investment into Japan was still less than one-tenth on average. JETRO, "Japan's Outward and Inward Foreign Direct Investment: FDI Flow," (Data File), accessed May 2, 2015, http://www.jetro.go.jp/en/reports/statistics/. The rate of foreign population (registered) in 1995 was about 2.3%. TMG, *Tokyo-to Jinkō Suikei*, accessed May 2, 2015, http://www.toukei.metro.tokyo.jp/jsuikei/js-index2.htm.

> "diversity" connotes paradoxically the mass production of people who accept competitions, and in its context an encouragement of the standardization of people.[46]

In such an ideoscape of producing human resources adaptable to the global economy, differences between people would not be welcomed, and they might be discouraged outright. In addition, as mentioned above, there was/is the widespread public assumption of Japan being a homogeneous society, which might still be part of the museum's thinking. The ETH has not shown any interest in presenting diversity in temporal exhibitions. The city is imagined as a life space of "ordinary" people in the permanent exhibition, whose lifestyle and sense of values are very uniform. Celebration of the culture of "ordinary" people and of the simple life became part of brand images of Tokyo, in which actual individuals are not visible, and certain standard images of "ordinary people" (Edokko or Tokyoite) are encouraged. While inequality has now become a widely debated issue,[47] lifestyles in Tokyo are westernized to a considerable extent, and the government's strong control over immigration is criticized by the global community, silence on issues of diversity is creating an image of an ideal city free from any real social concerns.

Even when the differences between various social groups are not recognized, it is almost impossible to expect that the museum would recognize the individuality of residents. With the municipal government exerting strong such control even on small matters of human nature in less globalized financescapes and ethnoscapes,[48] global flows of information would not suffice to initiate the process of self-identification in terms self-responsibility. In this regard, in Tokyo individualization has instead encouraged a stronger longing for a sense of place to be provided by public institutions (and mass media). This could explain the lack of representation of individuality and the emphasis on moral and ethical values in exhibitions. As the local communal locus of society can no longer present norms to follow, it is now the history of the city (as told by public institutions as well as by the mass media), which provides them. As the recent "the Showa 30s boom" indicated, people need this type of guidance.

The Right to the City, the Right to Difference

The above analyses show that the images of the city presented at each city museum mirror some of the five-scapes well, but that there are disjunctions with others. Global flows of people, capital,

[46] "人間像の形成のための政策文書は「多様多才な個人」「多様な能力」といったフレーズを使い、「多様」に価値を置く見方を示す。しかし、「多様」な人間の全体は新たな競争社会に適合する国家の「人材」と見なされている。ここでの「多様」化は、競争関係を受け入れる人たちの量産を企て、その文脈において、人間像の均一化を推進するという逆説を内包した。"Hirayama, *Tokyo no Hateni* [Beyond the Edge of Tokyo], 67.

[47] "Kakusa Syakai" (unequal society) was also in the top 10 in nominations for the most popular phrase of 2006, as it frequently appeared in mass media.

[48] Paul Waley, "Tokyo-as-World-City: Reassessing the Role of Capital and the State in Urban Restructuring." Kuniko Fujita, "Neo-industrial Tokyo: Urban Development and Globalization in Japan's State-centred Developmental Capitalism," *Urban Studies* 40(2) (2003), accessed March 4, 2015, doi: 10.1080/0042098032000040125.

information, and ideologies interact differently in each city, all of which influences the way in which the city is represented at each city museum, at least to some extent. Therefore, although globalization tends to yield an image of the world becoming similar and event though the cannibalization of the local and the global and individualization are occurring in these three cities, the extent to which this taking place and the extent to which they are represented in the images of the city presented in public institutions like the city museum varies.

To conclude this paper, I would like to draw attention to the common trend found in the three city museums toward the end of the research period in 2013: silence on economic issues but a tendency to yield to the global economy that encourages this global competition between cities. While it is impossible to represent all differences, some sincere efforts were recognizable, at least at two of the museums, the WMK and the MoL, in the early 2000s. It remains an open question why all three museum are now heading more in direction of commodifying the city, and this should be examined constantly in relation to ever-changing global configurations and the interaction between the five-scapes in each city.

This paper did not aim to suggest any particular role of the city museum in the age of globalization. However, after analyzing the three city museums and reading up on globalization, it seems that there is an urgent need to consider our right to the city.

> The right to the city is not merely a right of access to what already exists, but a right to change it after our heart's desire. We need to be sure we can live with our own creations (a problem for every planner, architect and utopian thinker). But the right to remake ourselves by creating a qualitatively different kind of urban sociality is one of the most precious of all human rights. The sheer pace and chaotic forms of urbanization throughout the world have made it hard to reflect on the nature of this task. We have been made and remade without knowing exactly why, how, wherefore and to what end. How then can we better exercise this right to the city?[49]

One of the possible roles of the city museum in our era could be to persist in asking such questions and making every single visitor recognize that they have a right to the city, a right to be different, and a right to make changes in the society in which they live.

[49] David Harvey, "The Right to the City," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 27(4) (2003): 939, accessed September 28, 2015, doi: 10.1111/j.0309-1317.2003.00492.x.

Appendix: Lists, Tables and Figures

Table 1.1 The Number of Temporary Exhibitions

	all	High culture	Landscape	Collective memory	Social Issue	Popular Culture	International	Others
1980	5	1	1	1	0	2	0	0
1981	5	2	1	2	0	0	0	0
1982	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
1983	3	2	0	1	0	0	0	0
1984	4	1	0	2	0	1	0	0
1985	5	2	0	2	0	0	0	1
1986	4	2	0	0	0	1	0	1
1987	5	2	0	1	0	0	0	2
1988	4	0	1	3	0	0	0	0
1989	5	3	0	1	1	0	0	0
1990	7	4	0	2	0	0	1	0
1991	7	6	0	0	0	1	0	0
1992	6	2	1	1	0	1	1	0
1993	8	4	0	1	0	1	2	0
1994	8	4	0	1	2	0	1	0
1995	6	4	1	0	1	0	0	0
1996	5	2	0	0	1	1	0	1
1997	7	5	1	0	0	0	1	0
1998	5	2	0	3	0	0	0	0
1999	6	1	1	0	0	1	3	0
2000	4	1	0	0	1	2	0	0
2001	6	3	1	0	0	2	0	0
2002	10	1	1	0	2	3	3	0
	128	54	9	22	8	17	12	6
2003	9	4	1	0	0	3	0	1
2004	10	2	0	0	2	2	2	1
2005	6	2	0	2	0	2	0	0
2006	7	2	3	1	0	1	0	0
2007	9	3	0	0	1	5	0	0
2008	10	3	2	0	0	3	2	0
2009	11	2	0	2	0	4	2	1
2010	7	2	1	0	0	4	0	0
2011	12	3	3	1	0	3	0	2
2012	9	3	1	1	0	3	0	1
2013	9	1	1	0	0	5	0	1
	99	27	12	7	3	35	6	9
(Total)	227	81	21	29	11	52	18	15

Chapter 5.1.1 High Culture

Table 1.2

	Paintings/Sketches	Around 1900	Contemporary	Biedermeier	Others
Until 2002	28	7 (all until 1991)	14 (13 after 1989)	1	Centered on world wars (3), the theme of death (1), other countries (1), the second half of the 19th century (1)
After 2003	9	4 (including Makart)	0	1	1 (Kineticism) 2 (around World War II) 1 (collection)

List 1.1 Photographs

	Title
1994	Erich Lessing. Die ersten fünfzig Jahre Fotografien 1943-1993
2003	Brutale Neugier – Walter Henisch. Kriegsfotograf und Bildreporter
2006	Photo: Barbara Pflaum. Bildchronistin der Zweiten Republik
2007	Kunstwege '70. Fotografien von Karin Mack
2008	Late Sixties – Fotografien von Christian Skrein
2011	Trude Fleischmann – Der selbstbewusste Blick
2012	Hans Scheugl – Die Fotografien des Filmemachers
2013	Edith Tudor-Hart in Schatten der Diktaturen

List 1.2 Others

	Title	
1981	Der Kreis – Dokumentation einer Wiener Künstlervereinigung 1946-1980	
1983	Josef Matthias Hauer – zum 100. Geburtstag am 19. März 1983	Wien um 1900
1985	Franz Cizek – Pionier der Kunsterziehung (1865-1946)	Wien um 1900
	Goldscheider Keramik – Historismus, Jugendstil, Art déco	Wien um 1900
1986	Otto Nirenstein-Kallir, Ein Wegbereiter österreichischer Kunst	Wien um 1900
	Kunst im Exil in Großbritannien 1938-1945	
1987	Der Architekt Joze Plecnik (1872-1957)	Wien um 1900
1989	Adolf Loos in Zusammenarbeit mit der Graphischen Sammlung Albertina	Wien um 1900
1990	Interieurs. Wiener Künstlerwohnungen zwischen 1830-1930	
	Zaubertöne. Mozart in Wien 1781-1791	
1991	Franz Grillparzer oder die Wirklichkeit der Wirklichkeit in Zusammenarbeit mit der Magistratsabteilung 9 – Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek	
	Eva Riedl. Zeitlos	
	Wien 1991. Begehbare Bild- und Klanginstallation von Sylvia Eckermann und Matthias Fuchs	
	Arnold Schönberg – Sein Leben, seine Musik	Wien um 1900
1993	Gustav Peichl. A Viennese Architect	Architecture
1994	Kunst im Kleinformat von Absolon bis Zülow	
1995	Hans Hollein	Architecture
	Wilhelm Holzbauer. Architekt	Architecture
1996	Skizzen Studien Meisterblätter. Wiener Graphik aus fünf Jahrhunderten	
1997	Friedrich Kiesler 1890-1965. Das Archiv des Visionärs	Architecture
	Schubert[97]. Aus Heliopolis – Nachtviolen – Wasserfluth	
1999	Boris Podrecca. Poetik der Unterschiede	Architecture
2000	Träume 1900-2000. Kunst, Wissenschaft und das Unbewusste	
2001	Franz Rosei. Skulpturen 1970-2000 Retrospektive	
	Die Kunst, als Mensch menschlich zu leben. Wien Beitrag zum Welterbe – 2000 und mehr	
2003	Kreative Dichte – Die Wiener Werkstätte 1903 bis 1932	Wien um 1900
	Wiener Stolz. Die Modelle zu den Skulpturen des Wiener Rathaus	
2004	Wiener Linien. Kunst und Stadtbeobachtung seit 1960	
2005	Moderat Modern. Erich Boltenstern und die Baukultur nach 1945	Architecture
	Andersen in Wien	
2007	Breiter Geschmack. Goldscheider. Eine Weltmarke aus Wien	Wien um 1900
2008	Loosgelöst – Eine Installation des Designers Robert Stadler im „Looszimmer“ im Wien Museum	Wien um 1900
	Glanzstücke – Emilie Flöge und der Schmuck der Wiener Werkstätte	Wien um 1900
2009	Fifty Fifty – Kunst im Dialog mit den 50er-Jahren	
2012	Werkbundsiedlung Wien 1932. Ein Manifest des neuen Wohnens	

Chapter 5.1.2 Landscape

List 1.3 Cityscape with Landmarks

	Title
1988	Otto Wagner und das Kaiser-Franz-Josef-Stadtmuseum. Das Scheitern der Moderne in Wien
1997	850 Jahre St. Stephan. Symbol und Mitte in Wien 1147-1997
1999	Das ungebaute Wien 1800-2000. Projekte für die Metropole
2003	Bunte graue Riesen – Flakturmprojekte 2003
2006	Wiens erstes Hochhaus – eine Stadterregung. Dokumentation in der Vitrine des Hochhauses
	Grosser Bahnhof. Wien und die weite Welt
2011	Der Dombau von St. Stephan – Die Originalpläne aus dem Mittelalter

List 1.4 Vienna as a Whole

	Title
1981	Der Verlag Artaria – Veduten und Wiener Alltagsszenen
1992	Wien – Metamorphosen einer Stadt- 150 Jahre Photographien. Eine Ausstellung von Franz Hubmann
1995	Das ist die Stadt Wien. Vom Albertinischen Plan bis zur Computerstadtkarte in Zusammenarbeit mit der Magistratsabteilung 8 – Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv
2001	Reinhard Mandl WIEN – Fotografien aus dem Jahr 2000
2006	Wien war anders. Der Stadtfotograf, August Stauda
2010	Im unsichtbaren Wien – Fotonotizen von Gerhard Roth
2012	Wien am Screen – Eine filmische Spurensuche von Schüler/innen

List 1.5 Focus on Specific Places

	Title
1981	Aspern von der Steinzeit zum Motorenwerk
2002	Michael Zwetkoff – Neue Donau - Neue Welt. Fotografien aus dem Jahr 2001
2008	Elfriede Mejchar – Fotografien von den Rändern Wiens
	Am Puls der Stadt – 2000 Jahre Karlsplatz

2011	Platz für die Stadt. Morzinplatz/Schwedenplatz – Projekte und Perspektiven
	Um die Schule herum ist Erdberg – Eine Ausstellung der 3A
2013	Wien Aussen – Ein Fotoprojekt von Didi Sattmann

Chapter 5.1.3 Collective Memory

List 1.6 Periods

	Title
1982	Wien zur Zeit Joseph Haydns
1984	Die Ära Metternich
1985	Traum und Wirklichkeit – Wien 1870-1930 (K)
1987	Bürgersinn und Aufbegehren. Biedermeier und Vormärz in Wien 1815-1848 (K)
1993	Das Rote Wien. 1918-1934
2009	Kampf um die Stadt. Politik, Kunst, Alltag um 1930 (K)

K: Künstlerhaus

List 1.7 Historical Events

	Title
1980	Wien 1529 – Die erste Türkenbelagerung
1983	Die Türken vor Wien – Europa und die Entscheidung an der Donau 1683 (K)
1988	Der Novemberpogrom 1938. Die Reichskristallnacht in Wien
	Kinderzeichnungen aus Theresienstadt
1989	Freiheit, Gleichheit, Brüderlichkeit auch in Österreich? Auswirkungen der Französischen Revolution auf Wien und Tirol in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum
1990	Warteraum des Todes. Das Ghetto in Lodz 1940-1944
	Jüdische Porträts – Herlinde Kölbl – Photographien und Interviews
1994	So ist der Mensch ... 80 Jahre Erster Weltkrieg. Die letzten Tage der Menschheit. Georg Eisler illustriert Karls Kraus
1998	1848 – „Das tolle Jahr". Chronologie einer Revolution
2005	Verkauft. Enteignet. Verbüchert. Wiener Liegenschaften 1938-1945. Eine Dokumentation des Vereins Forschungsbüro im Auftrag der Kulturabteilung der Stadt Wien
	John F. Kennedy – Special: Gipfel Wien 1961 – Chruschtschow und Kennedy
2006	Flucht nach Wien – Ungarn 1956
2012	Besetzt! Kampf um Freiräume seit den 70ern

Exhibitions on World Wars I & II in shadow.

List 1.8 History of Particular Communities and Historical Personalities

	Title
1984	Zirkel und Winkelmaß – 200 Jahre Große Landesloge der Freimaurer
1985	200 Jahre Rechtsleben in Wien. Advokaten, Richter, Rechtsgelehrte
1988	Baujahre – Bauten – Bauherren – Preise. Eine Dokumentation der Zentralvereinigung der Architekten Österreichs
1992	Freimaurer – Solange die Welt besteht
1998	Ein Stück Österreich – 150 Jahre "Die Presse"
	Bruno Kreisky. Seine Zeit und mehr 1911-1970-1983-1990
2009	Hieronymus Löschenkohl – Sensationen aus dem alten Wien
2011	Angelo Soliman – Ein Afrikaner in Wien

Chapter 5.1.4 Social Issues

List 1.9

	Title
1989	Aufbruch in das Jahrhundert der Frau? Rosa Mayreder und der Feminismus in Wien um 1900
1994	Die Anderen. Fotografien Harry Weber
	Journalisten. Jäger und Gejagte. Fotos von Didi Sattmann
1995	Frauenleben 1945 – Kriegsende in Wien
1996	Wir. Zur Geschichte und Gegenwart der Zuwanderung nach Wien
	Coole Kids – fotografiert in Wien von Didi Sattmann
2002	Armut
	Legenden aus dem Wiener Kunstbetrieb. Fotos von Didi Sattmann
2004	Gastarbajteri – 40 Jahre Arbeitsmigration. Eine Ausstellung der Initiative Minderheiten und des Wien Museums
	Lisl Ponger. Phantom fremdes Wien 1991/2003
2007	Ganz unten. Die Entdeckung des Elends – Wien, Berlin, London, Paris, New York

Chapter 5.1.5 Popular Culture

List 1.10 Popular Personalities and Music

	Title
1980	Therese Krones – Zum 150. Todestag
1984	FleZiWiCsà & Co. – Die Wiener Operette
1986	Musik im mittelalterlichen Wien
1991	Veit Relin, was er treibt, tut er aus Liebe
1992	Sag beim Abschied leise Servus. Wiener Publikumslieblinge in Bild und Tonin Zusammenarbeit mit dem Jüdischen Museum der Stadt Wien
1993	…Unsere Schwarze Rosa. Die Schauspielerin Elisabeth Bergner
1996	Es ist ewig schad' um mich. Ferdinand Raimund und Wien
1999	Johann Strauß. Unter Donner und Blitz
2001	Nestroy. Die Welt steht auf kein' Fall mehr lang
2003	Quasi ein Genie. Helmut Qualtinger (1928-1986)
2010	Die Ernst Jandl Show
2013	Blutrausch – Stefan Weber und Drahdiwaberl

List 1.11 Exhibitions Dealing with the Popular Visual Arts

2000	Blickfänge einer Reise nach Wien. Fotografien 1860-1910 aus den Sammlungen des Historischen Museums der Stadt Wien
2001	Alles Leinwand. Franz Antel und der österreichische Film
2002	DER DRITTE MANN – Wien auf den Spuren eines Filmklassikers
2003	Kraftflächen Wiener Plakatkunst um 1900
	Hutsalon Susi & Milchfrau Rosa – Wiener Verkaufskultur fotografiert von Petra Rainer
2006	Im Vorbeigehen. Ein Fotoprojekt der Gruppe "Blickfänger"
2007	Kein Abschied – Plakate des Wiener Mozartjahres 2006
	Aufgeputzt. Weihnachtsbeleuchtung in der Innenstadt. Fotografien von Didi Sattmann
2008	70er – Plakate aus der Sammlung der Wien Bibliothek
2009	50er- Plakate aus der Sammlung der Wienbibliothek
2010	Wien im Film – Stadtbilder aus 100 Jahren
	Window Shopping – Eine Fotogeschichte des Schaufensters
2011	60er- Plakate aus der Sammlung der Wienbibliothek
	Alles Gute – Rudi Klein – Eine kleine Reise um den Zeichentisch
2012	Klimtig! Jugendstil - Rezeption im Plakat -eine Präsentation der Wienbibliothek im Rathaus

List 1.12 Others

	Title
1980	Das Wiener Kaffeehaus. Von den Anfängen bis zur Zwischenkriegszeit
2000	Engelhauch und Sternenglanz Advent- und Weihnachtskalendarium aus Wien
2002	Vom Pfennig zum Euro Geld aus Wien
	Dem Glück auf der Spur – 250 Jahre Österreichisches Zahlenlotto
2004	Alt-Wien. Die Stadt, die niemals war
	Riviera an der Donau. Sommerfrische Kritzendorf
2005	Die Sinalco-Epoche. Essen, Trinken, Konsumieren nach 1945
	Um die Wurst. Vom Essen und Trinken im Mittelalter
2007	Im Wirtshaus. Eine Geschichte der Wiener Geselligkeit
	Baby an Bord. Mit dem Kinderwagen durch das 20. Jahrhundert
	Am Gänsehäufel – Ein Strandbad wird 100
2008	Wo die Wuchtel fliegt – Legendäre Orte des Wiener Fußballs
	Zauber der Ferne – Imaginäre Reisen im 19. Jahrhundert
2009	Großer Auftritt – Mode der Ringstraßenzeit
	Gemma schaun – 10 Jahre wean hean
	Stadtalphabet – Wien von A bis Z – Eine Präsentation von Martin Ulrich Kehrer im Rahmen der Vienna Design Week 2009
2010	2000-2010. Design in Wien
2011	Neusiedlersee – Das Meer der Wiener
2012	Mehr als Mode – Die Sammlung Katarina Noever
	Spiele der Stadt – Glück, Gewinn und Zeitvertreib
2013	Unter 10 – Wertvolles en miniature
	Wiener Typen – Klischees und Wirklichkeit
	Österreichische Riviera – Wien entdeckt das Meer
	Uptight – Die Sammlung Werner Geier

Chapter 5.1.6 International

List 1.13 Exhibitions at the WM on Foreign Cultures

	Title
1990	*Prag um 1400 – Der schöne Stil. Böhmische Malerei und Plastik in der Gotik*
1992	50 Jahre Stalingrad Not, Tod und Elend
1993	*Denn die Schatten sind farbig. (E.Manet) Französische Impressionisten aus dem Puschkin-Museum, Moskau*
	Lemberg/l'viv 1772-1918. Wiederbegegnung mit einer Landeshauptstadt der Donaumonarchie
1994	*Vukovar stellt sich Europa in Wien vor*
1997	Papierspiel & Bilderbogen aus Tokio und Wien 1780-1880
1999	*Samurai und Bushido – Der Spiegel Japans – Nagoya und die Einheit des Reiches 1550-1867*
	Chagall, Kandinsky und ... Das Russische Experiment - Zeichnungen und Aquarelle aus dem Puschkin-Museum
	Chinesische Malerei
2002	*Die Geburt der Moderne. Von der Schule von Barbizon bis zum Konstruktivismus – Meisterwerke aus dem Nationalmuseum Belgrad*
	Sowjetische Fotografie der 1920er-/1930er-Jahre. Von Piktorialismus und Modernismus zum Sozialistischen Realismus
	Zeitgenössische Kunst aus Aserbaidschan
2004	*Henri Cartier-Bresson. Die Essenz von Paris*
	Alltag und Epoche: Berlin 1918-1948. Der Pressefotograf Willy Römer
2008	*Nagoya. Das Werden der japanischen Großstadt*
	Türkei Modern – Fotografien von Othmar Pferschy
2009	Big City – New York Street Photography
	Hongkong / Lee Tung Street – Eine Straße als Museum

Titles labelled in *italics*: probably held as a part of cultural exchange schemes.

List 1.14 Exhibitions outside Austria

	Title	place
1981	Wiener Biedermeier	Not mentioned
1985	Traum und Wirklichkeit	Paris, New York
1989	Wien um 1900 - Klimt, Schiele und ihre Zeit	Tokyo
	Arnulf Rainer	New York
1990	Das Glück in der Stille? Biedermeier in Wien 1815 – 1848	Ingelheim am Rhein,
	Wien in der Morgenröte des 20. Jahrhundert	Moscow
1991	Wiener Gotik – Plastik, Skulptur und Glasfenster vom Wiener Stephansdom	Prague
1994	Gustav Klimt. Zeichnungen in Zusammenarbeit mit der Nationalgalerie Preßburg	Bratislava
	SIME Paris	Paris
1995	Otto Wagner, Friedrich Schmidt, Architektim Kroatischen Architekturmuseum, Zagreb	Zagreb
	Rudolf Koppitz.	Frankfurt am Main
1996	Wien – Entwicklung einer Metropole in Zusammenarbeit mit der Österreichischen Botschaft in Damaskus	Damascus
	SIME 1996.	Venice
	Otto Wagner. Projekte und ausgeführte Bauwerke für die Haupt- und Residenzstadt Wien	Milan
	Rudolf Koppitz	Iowa
	Illusionen - Das Spiel mit dem Schein	Rosenheim
1997	Die Geschichte und die schönen Künste der Stadt Wien. Die Haupt- und Residenzstadt der Habsburger	Nagoya
	Egon Schiele	Robereto
	Egon Schiele	Milan
	Karikatur ohne Zensur 1848 aus Wien in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Österreichischen Kulturinstitut in Paris	Rouen
1998	Bruno Kreisky. Seine Zeit und mehr 1911-1970-1983-1990	New York, Berlin, London
	Boris Podrecca. Poetik der Unterschiede	Prague, Bratislava
	100 Zeichnungen Österreichischer Künstler vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert aus dem Historischen Museum der Stadt Wien	Moscow
	Egon Schiele. 25 Arbeiten auf Papier aus dem Historischen Museums der Stadt Wien	Washington
	Die Wiener Ringstraße. Ein Collier für die Kaiserstadt	Milan
1999	Johann Strauß. Unter Donner und Blitz	Beijing, Hong Kong
2000	Otto Wagner. Wien. Architektur 1900	Cracow
2001	Skizzen - Studien - Meisterblätter. Wiener Graphik aus fünf Jahrhunderten.	Belgrade
	Blickfänge einer Reise nach Wien. Fotografien 1860-1910 aus den Sammlungen des Historischen Museums der Stadt Wien	Moscow
	Wien. Leben und Kunst: 1873 - 1938	Fuchu City, Japan
	Gustav Klimt. 1862 – 1910.	Ottawa
	Blickfänge einer Reise nach Wien. Fotografien 1860-1910 aus den Sammlungen des Historischen Museums der Stadt Wien	Sofia
2003	Eine Reise nach Wien im 19. Jahrhundert – Die schöne Biedermeierzeit	Nagoya
2009	Kunst in Wien um 1900	Sapporo, Tokyo, Osaka, Fukuoka
2010	Madness & Modernity – Kunst und Wahn in Wien um 1900	London
2011	Gastspiel in Melbourne	Melbourne

Chapter 6

Table 2 The Number of Temporary Exhibitions

	All	High Culture	Manufacturing	Landscape	Collective Memory	Social Issue	Popular Culture	Others
1980	9	1	1	1	2 (A:1)	1	2	
1981	6	2	1	0	0	0	3	0
1982	9	0	2	2	1	0	3	1
1983	4	1	0	2	0	0	1	0
1984	3	0	0	1	1	0	1	0
1985	5	1	0	0	2	0	2	0
1986	4	1	0	0	2 (A:1)	0	1	0
1987	7	2	1	1	0	0	3	0
1988	4	0	0	1	0	0	3	0
1989	7	0	1	0	2	0	4	0
1990	6	1	0	1	3	0	1	0
1991	6	1	1	0	3 (A:1)	0	1	0
1992	5	2	0	2	0	1	0	0
1993	5	0	0	2	0	1	2	0
1994	6	1	0	0	0	1	2	2
1995	8	2	0	1	2	1	1	1
1996	6	2	0	0	1 (A:1)	1	2	0
1997	6	1	0	0	0	1	4	0
	106	18	7	14	19	7	36	5
1998	17	1	0	3	4 (A:2)	3	6	0
1999	15	5	0	2	3 (A:1)	4	1	0
2000	12	2	0	1	2 (A:1)	5	2	0
2001	8	1	0	0	2	3	1	1
2002	5	0	0	0	2	3	0	0
	57	9	0	6	13	18	10	1
2003	6	2	0	0	2	2	0	0
2004	9	2	0	0	1 (A:1)	2	3	1
2005	3	0	0	0	1	2	0	0
2006	5	2	0	0	0	2	1	0
2007	6	1	0	0	3 (A:2)	2	0	0
2008	7	0	0	1	1	3	1	1
2009	3	1	0	0	1	1	0	0
2010	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
2011	9	3	0	1	1	3	1	0
2012	6	2	0	0	1 (A:1)	1	2	0
	56	12	0	2	12	18	9	3
(Total)	219	39	7	22	44	43	55	9

(A: Archaeology)

Chapter 6.1.1

List 2.1 Paintings/Drawings/Watercolours

	Title
1980	Looking at London
1981	London Delineated 1750 - 1900
1983	London Ephemera 1945 – 1982
1986	Impressions of Edwardian London
1987	Londoners: The Way We Were
1990	The Tale of London Past (by *Beatrix Potter*)
1992	The Streets of London 1895 – 1928 (*by H.E. Tidmarsh*)
	Artists' London
1994	Witnesses and Dreamers: painters of the inner city
1995	Images of London
1996	Streets in the Sky: the paintings of *David Hepher*
1997	Walking About Old Moscow: prints and watercolours from the Moscow City History Museum.
1998	Cathedrals of industry
	Tower blocks: the artist's view
1999	The art of Jubilee Line
2000	Portrait of a city: the London paintings of *Arturo di Stefano*
	Building the Millennium: paintings by *Glynn Boyd Harte*
2001	Floating London (*by John Lewis*)
2004	Uzo Egonu's London – An exhibition of paintings and prints
	The London Jungle Book (*by Bhajju Shyam*)

2007	Feliks Topolski
2012	Streets of Gold

Chapter 6.1.2 Manufacturing

List 2.2 Industrial Manufacturing

	Title
1980	Goodbye London Docks
1981	London's Flying Start
1982	200 years of shipping along the Thames (Shipbuilding on the Thames in the annual report)
1991	The Simms Car: motoring beginnings

List 2.3 Handcrafts

	Title
1982	London Silver
1987	Whitefriars: The Unique Glasshouse
1989	Pewter 1200 - 1700: A Celebration of the Craft

Chapter 6.1.3 Landscape

List 2.4 Disappearing/Changing Landscapes, Local Areas, and Transport

	Title
1980	Covent Garden Market Old and New
1982	Before Suburbia
	King's Cross & St Pancras: A Tale of Two Stations
1983	Spitalfields Market
	Portrait of Highgate Cemetery
1984	Billingsgate: London's fish market
1987	The East End Observed
1988	A Farewell to Fleet Street
1992	St. Pancras Hotel and the history of the Midland Railway
1990	Transport in London
1992	London: the Under Ground City
1993	Deptford Creek: Photographs by Jum Rice
	The Square Mile: Photographs y Tom Evans
1995	From Ridley Road to Radlett

List 2.5 The river and new landmarks

1998	London's Found Riverscape
	Found! London's lost map (C.C.)
	London's river: Turning the Tide (C.C.)
1999	Tower blocks: love them or loathe them (C.C.)
	The Millennium Dome: photographs by Mark Power
2000	Bridging history (C.C.)

C.C. Capital Concerns

The list below shows the exhibitions from the category of high culture

1998	Cathedrals of industry
1999	The art of Jubilee Line
	Tower blocks: the artist's view
2000	Building the Millennium: paintings by Glynn Boyd Harte
	Floating London

Chapter 6.1.4 Collective memory

List 2.6

	Title
1980	The Blitz: Life in the Shelters
1984	Paintings, Politics and Porter
1985	The Quiet Conquest: The Huguenots 1685 –1985
	Now the War is Over
1986	Let's Face It
1989	The Lord Mayor, The City and The River

1989	London County Council: Responsible to the People
1990	London's Ace of Spades!
	London's Pride
	Images of the London Blitz
1991	The Bombing of the House of Commons
1995	The Prophetic Eye: the life and work of George Peabody (1795 - 1869)
	London Looks Forward: from 1945 to the future
1998	The Life and Times of N M Rothschild 1777 – 1836
1998	Walls of fame: reuniting the Pagani panels (C.C.)
	London Bodies: changing shapes from prehistoric times to the present day (*Archaeology*)
1999	Cromwell: Wars and all (C.C.)
	Alfred the Great 849 - 899 London's forgotten king (*Archaeology*)
	London eats out
2000	High Street Londinium (*Archaeology*)
	Chaucer's Londoners: A compaignye of sondry folk
2001	London town gardens (C.C.)
	Creative Quarters
2002	After September 11: Images from Ground Zero
2	The Queen and Us
2003	Pepys' London
	1920s: the decade that changed London
2005	Stop Press! War Ends! London's News May - August 1945
2007	Campaigning against Slavery, from the 18th to 21st Century
2008	Mandela in London, 1962
2009	Forward to Freedom: The Anti-Apartheid Movement and the Liberation of Southern Africa
2010	London Sleeps: An Art Student in the Blitz
2011	Dickens and London

C.C. Capital Concerns

Chapter 6.1.5 Social issue

List 2.7 Diversity

1992	The Purple, White & Green: suffragettes in London 1906 – 14
1993	The peopling of London: : 15,000 years of settlement from overseas
1994	A Woman's Place
1996	Half the Sky: Chinese women in London
1997	Bedlam: custody, care and cure, 1274 - 1997
1998	The Whirlwind Continues: users' views on Britain's mental healthcare system
	Windrush: Sea Change (C.C.)
	Pride photographs
1999	Pride and prejudice: lesbian and gay London (C.C.)
2001	London's Voices
2002	Holidays of a lifetime
	Lewisham Voices
	Questioning London
	Linked
2004	Women's talk
2005	Roots to Reckoning
2006	Queer is Here
	Belonging: voices of London's refugees
2007	Out of India
	Snap! Retrospective by Mencap
2008	Outside Edge

C.C. Capital Concerns

List 2.8 Others

1995	Reporting Parliament
1999	Conflicts of interest
1999	Drugs: what should London do? (C.C.)
	Power dressing: the fashion of politics (C.C.)
2000	Message to the mayor: don't sterilise our city!
	Memento mori: Photographs by Agustin Amate Bonachera
	Grave concerns: the disposal of London's dead (C.C.)
2000	Stolen skins? Fur in fashion (C.C.)
2001	Future Dimensions
2003	Urban Grime (C.C.)
2004	Whatever happened to Council Housing? (C.C.)
2005	Mind's Eye: Bringing offenders' work into the Museum of London

2008	The Big Smoke
	Homeless in the Capital
2011	Street Cries: depictions of London's poor
	The Dispossessed
	Freedom from: Modern slavery in the capital
2012	Doctors, Dissection and the Resurrection Men

C.C. Capital Concerns

Chapter 6.1.6 Popular Culture

List 2.9 Photography

	Title	Category
1980	Covent Garden Market Old and New	Landscape
	The Blitz: Life in the Shelters	Collective Memory
	Arapoff's London in the Thirties	Social Issues
1982	Before Suburbia	Landscape
1983	Spitalfields Market	Landscape
	London Ephemera 1945 - 1982	High Culture
1	Portrait of Highgate Cemetery	High Culture
1984	Billingsgate: London's fish market	Landscape
1985	Felix H Man	High Culture
1987	Snapshot Britain	Popular Culture
	Making Time	Popular Culture
	The East End Observed	Landscape
1989	A Better World Tomorrow?	Popular Culture
1990	Images of the London Blitz	Collective Memory
	Transport in London	Landscape
1993	The Square Mile: Photographs by Tom Evans	Landscape
	Deptford Creek: Photographs by Jim Rice	Landscape
	London at Home: Photographs by Magda Segal	Popular Culture
1995	From Ridley Road to Radlett	Landscape
	Eels, Pie and Mash	Popular Culture
	Photographers' London 1839 - 1994	High Culture
	United Synagogue Exhibition	Others
1996	Soccer City: the photographs of David Trainer	Popular Culture
1997	Sixties London: photographs by Dorothy Bohm	Popular Culture
	Finding London: student photography exhibition	Popular Culture
	Turned On: campaign for better Christmas lights (C.C.)	Popular Culture
1998	London's Found Riverscape	Landscape
	The Laundry Project	Popular Culture
	Pride photographs	Social Issues
	Objects of Beauty (C.C.)	Popular Culture
1999	Conflicts of interest	Social Issues
	Rockin' at the Ace Café	Popular Culture
	The eyes that never sleeps: Terence Donovan London Photographs	High Culture
	Tower blocks: the artist's view	High Culture
	The millennium Dome: photographs by Mark Power	Landscape
2000	Elephant & Castle families 1994/2000: photographs by Leigh Hirst	Popular Culture
	Shopping centres: retail revolution or death of the high street? (C.C.)	Social Issues
	Memento mori: photographs by Agustin Amate Bonachera	Social Issues
2001	A Public Portfolio: Photographs of London by Henry Grant	Popular Culture
2002	After September 11: Images from Ground Zero	Collective Memory
2003	Through London's Eyes	High Culture
2004	Whatever happened to Council Housing?	Social Issues
2005	Roots to Reckoning	Social Issues
2007	Snap! Retrospective by Mencap	Social Issues
2008	Mandela in London, 1962	Collective Memory
	Shutting up Shop	Landscape
2009	Flashback: A New commission by Tom Hunter	High Culture
	London Creatives: Polish Roots	Social Issues
2011	London Street Photography 1860 - 2010	High Culture
	The 2011 UK Picture Editors' Guild Awards	High Culture
2012	From Moscow with Love	High Culture
	The 2012 UK Picture Editors' Guild Awards	High Culture

C.C. Capital Concerns

List 2.10 Fashion

	Title
1980	A Head of Fashion

	A London Design Studio 1880 - 1963
1981	A Handful of History
	Royal Wedding Dresses
1983	Masquerade
1985	Ivory, Feathers and Lace
1987	Little Dorrit
1988	This Gorgeous Mouchoir
1989	Eighteenth-Century White Satin Quilted Dress
	Charles I's Knitted Silk Waistcoat
	Hardy Amies
1997	In Royal Fashion: the clothes and accessories of Princess Charlotte of Wales and Queen Victoria, 1796 - 1901
1998	Sole City: London shoes from the 1st to the 21st century (C.C.)
	Carnival costumes '98
2000	Vivienne Westwood: The collection of Romilly McAlpine
2004	The London Look: fashion from street to catwalk

C.C. Capital Concerns

List 2.11 Others

	Title
1981	Such stuff as dreams are made on (Remembering Denham Studios in annual review)
1982	A Royal Balletomane Peepshow
	Department Stores
	Curtains!!!
1984	Toys and Games
1985	The Making of Modern London 1914 - 1939
1986	Hello Dolly
1988	Cartoon Aid
	London Ilustrated
1990	The Fool - Furnishing the Film
1991	Watch With Mother
1993	Taxi!
1994	26 miles 385 yard: running the London Marathon
	Carry on Collecting: The People's Show
1996	London on Film: 100 years of filmmaking in London
1998	Playthings from the Past
	Toy stories (C.C.)
2004	Connected London: 125 years of the telephone
	Swedish design
2006	Satirical London: 300 years of irreverent images
2008	Time Out Times: 40 Years of *Time Out*
2011	London Wall by Thomson & Craighead
2012	At Home with the Queen
	Simon Costin Dickensian Christmas Window

C.C. Capital Concerns

Chapter 7

Table 3 The number of temporary exhibitions:

	all	High Culture	Landscape	Collective memory	Popular culture	International	Others
1993	3	0	0	2	0	1	0
1994	4	1	0	1	1	1	0
1995	4	3	0	0	1	0	0
1996	4	1	0	2	1	0	0
1997	4	2	0	1	1	0	0
1998	4	1	0	1	1	1	0
1999	6	1	0	2	1	1	1
	29	9	0	9	6	4	1
2000	11	4	0	0	5	1	1
2001	14	3	3	1	4	1	2
2002	16	4	1	3	4	1	3
2003	12	2	0	2	5	0	3
2004	14	2	0	4	3	3	2
2005	26	8	4	5	5	1	3
2006	23	2	2	4	7	4	4
2007	17	6	0	5	3	1	2
2008	14	2	2	1	2	4	3
2009	15	4	1	2	2	2	4
2010	14	0	2	2	8	0	2
2011	14	3	1	2	3	3	2
2012	16	4	2	3	5	0	2
2013	12	2	2	2	2	1	3
	218	46	20	36	58	22	36
Total	247	55	19	45	64	27	37

Chapter 7.1.1 High Culture

List 3.1 Woodblock Prints (*Ukiyo-e /Nishiki-e/Shin-hanga*)

1995	Katushika Hokusai: Media of Edo – Picture Books, Woodprints and Paintings
	The Birth of Nishiki-e: Full-color Woodblock Prints and Edo Popular Culture
1996	The Changing City as Depicted in Modern Woodblock Prints – Tokyo in Transition
2000	The Collection of Modern Woodblock Prints of Edo-Tokyo Museum
2001	Woodblock Prints in Meiji Era
2002	Woodblock Prints in Taisho Era
2005	Katsushika Hokusai – Thirty-six Views of Mt. Fuji
	Utagawa Hiroshige – 100 Famous Landscapes of Edo
	Tsutaya Jūzaburou
2006	Hokusai – The World of Landscape
2007	Siebold & Hokusai and His Tradition
	Hokusai Manga
	Kawase Hasui: Tokyo's Landscapes
2008	Chūshingura in Nishiki-e
2009	Beautiful Shin-Hanga: Revitalization of Ukiyo-e
2009	The Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō
2011	Chūshingura in Paintings
2012	The Thirty-six Views of Mt. Fuji: All Is Here
	Hiroshige: Fifty-three Stations of Tōkaidō
	Chūshingura in Ukiyo-e – Heroes Adored by Edokko
2013	Ukiyo-e: A Journey through the Floating World
	Fifty Three Stations of Tōkaidō

List 3.2 Other Paintings

1994	Kawanabe Kyōsai and Edo-Tokyo
1997	Painters of Edo Settan and Settei: Their Unknown World
1998	Three Hundred Years of the Kano School
2000	Buson – His Two Journeys
2003	Maruyama Ōkyo Shasei-ga: His Challenge for Creation
	Animals in Paintings
2005	Kawabata Ryūshi: The 120th Anniversary of His Birth
2008	Four Seasons in Paintings: A Year in Edo-Tokyo
2011	The Five Hundred Arhats by Kano Kazunobu (1816-63), An Exhibition of the Zojoji Icons in Commemoration of the 800th Memorial of St. Honen
2012	Kawamura Kiyoo: Western Painting in the Age of Meiji Restoration

List 3.3 Others

1995	Edo Kabuki: History and Its Charm
1997	Play and Search for Truth – Four Hundred Years of Edo-Tokyo Tea Ceremony
1999	Nagai Kafu and Tokyo
2000	Calligrapher Nakamura Sudō's Heritage
	Ceramics of Edo-Tokyo – Imato-yaki
	Armor from Edo Period
	Akabane Swords
2002	The Kitagawa Collection: the World of Books
	Bushū Shitahara Swords
2004	Writers of Tokyo – The Collection of the Museum of Tokyo modern Literature
	Ichikawa Danjūrō and Ebisō
2005	Showa Modernism and Bauhaus: Architect Tsuchiura Kameki
	Mishima Yukio and "Hashizukushi" – The 80th Anniversary of His Birth
2006	Araki Nobuyoshi: Tokyo Life
	The Nishiyama Uzuki Collection: Oshie Hagoita
2007	Natsume Sōseki: His Spirit and Views
	Tohoku University Treasures: The Legacy of a Century – The 100th anniversary of the Foundation of the Tohoku University
	Kawakami Fuhaku and Edo Senke – Blooming Tea Ceremony
2009	Ikebana: Japanese Beauty Coloring the History
	Kafu and Edo, Kafu and Tokyo
2011	Tower of the Sun, the Golden Mask

Chapter 7.1.2 Landscape

List 3.4 Local Areas and Tourism

2005	Ryōgoku and Sumo Wrestling
	Ryōgoku and Fireworks
	Urban Ecology: Tokyo Water City
2006	Ryōgoku's Portable Shrines
2008	Asakusa: the Past and Present
	Asakusa Six Districts
2009	Bridge and Fireworks at Ryōgoku
2010	Sumidagawa: The Beloved River of Edo
2011	The Tower: Stories of City and Tower
2013	Entertainment District, Ryōgoku: Edo Popular Culture

List 3.5 Lost Landmarks

2001	Nihonbashi – The History of the Bridge in Paintings
	Lost Edo Castle
	Tokyo Architecture - Locus of Living/Locus of the City
2002	Mt. Fuji
2005	Nihonbashi, Ginza, Yudome: The History of Main Streets
2006	Edo Castle
2010	Matsusaburo Yokoyama: The Man who Captured the Turbulence – Matsusaburo Yokoyama and the Meiji Era
2012	The 400 Years of Nihonbashi: The Foremost Landmark of Edo-Tokyo Seen in Art
	Edo Castle on Glass plates

Chapter 7.1.3 Collective Memory

List 3.6 The Tokugawa Family

1993	The Legacy of Tokugawa Ieyasu: Celebrating the 450th Anniversary of the First Shogun
1997	Princess Kazunomiya – The Imperial Court and the Shogunate
1999	Sacred Place – Treasures of Nikko
2003	The Tokugawa Shogun Family
2004	The Tokugawa Family and Falconry
	The Mito Tokugawa and their Treasure – Wedding furniture-
2005	Learning of the Tokugawa Family – Momijiyama Bunko and Shōheizaka Gakumonjo
	The Mito Tokugawa and their Treasure – Mito Mitsukuni
2006	Tokugawa Iemochi and His Time
2007	Unification, Reform and Westernization: Transitional moments in Japanese history and the Tokugawa Shogunal Household
2008	Consorts, Mothers and Princesses of the Tokugawa Shoguns
2009	Syogun Tsunayoshi and the Genroku Period – Changes in the Peaceful Time
2010	Tokugawa Gosankyō
2011	Nikko Tōshōgu Shrine and Shoguns' Visits
	Shiba Jōzō-ji – The Temple of Hidetada and Oeyo
2012	The Tokugawa Art Museum Collection: Treasures from Owari Tokugawa Family

	Nijō Castle
	Images of Tokugawa Ieyasu in Edo period
2013	Ōoku, the Inner Quarters of the Edo Castle, in the Late Tokugawa Period

List 3.7 Others

1993	Exhibition City: Edo-Tokyo
	Bombing of Tokyo - Life in Wartime
1996	Unearthed Cities: Edo, Nagasaki Amsterdam, London, New York
	Sankin Koutai – Metropolis Edo and Its System
1998	Inō Tadataka: Untiring Effort and Innate Talent
1999	Katu Kaishū – The 100th Anniversary of His Death
2001	Disasters in Edo-Tokyo
2002	Honda Sōichirō and Ibuka Masaru: Dreams and Inventions
	Saigō Takamori who became a Star in the Sky
	The Olympic Flame arrived in the City – Tokyo Olympics
2003	Hiraga Gennai
2004	The City and its Memory of Riots: Hibiya Incendiary Incident
	The 60th Anniversary of Bombing of Tokyo– The Trails of the Victims
2005	Shogunate Vassals' Late Edo and Meiji Period – Inoue Ren and Kawamura Kigen
	The 150th Anniversary of the Great Ansei Earthquake
	60 Years after WWII
2006	The Tokyo Olympics and Its Time
	The Tokyo Olympics
	Poor Elephants – Animals Killed in Wartime
2007	Ōta Doukan and His Time
	Gotō Shinpei - Designer of Modern Japan: Catalogue of the Exhibition commemorating the 150th anniversary of His Birth
	Balloon Bombs and Labor Service in Wartime
2009	Chūshingura from a Perspective of Vassals of the Asano Family
2010	Tokyo Recovery: The Showa 20s in Color Photos
2011	Metropolitan Transport – One Hundred Years of History
2013	Tokyo Olympics 1964 & 2020

List 3.8 Depoliticized History

1999	Katu Kaishū – The 100th Anniversary of His Death
2002	Saigō Takamori who became a Star in the Sky
2007	Gotō Shinpei - Designer of Modern Japan: Catalogue of the Exhibition commemorating the 150th anniversary of His Birth
2004	The City and its Memory of Riots: Hibiya Incendiary Incident
2005	Shogunate Vassals' Late Edo and Meiji Period – Inoue Ren and Kawamura Kigen
2009	Chūshingura from a Perspective of Vassals of the Asano Family

Chapter 7.1.4 Popular Culture

List 3.9 Major Exhibitions

1994	Summer in Edo: Cool Air and Beauty
1995	Lights: The Past and the Present – The History of Lights and People of Edo-Tokyo
1997	E-Sugoroku
1999	Children in the Showa Period
2000	Close but Distant Showa
2001	Children's World – Dolls, Kimono and Toys
2002	Ō-Edo One Hundred and Eight Townsman's Wards
	Edo-Tokyo 'Mono' gatari – Special Collection of the Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan
2003	Tokyo Trendy Life
2004	Mizuki Shigeru
2005	Learning in Edo
	Beautiful Japan: Tourism in the 1910s–1930s
2007	Trains: Travels on Train in the Showa Period
2009	The 80th Anniversary of Tezuka Osamu: Message to the Future
	Kizuna (The Bound): Families in the Showa Era and Their Hearts to Be Passed Down
2013	Floors in Bloom: The Culture of Gardening in Edo
	Soul of Meiji: Edward Sylvester Morse, His Everyday Life with Kind-hearted People

List 3.10 Daily Life

1994	Summer in Edo: Cool Air and Beauty
1995	Lights: The Past and the Present – The History of Lights and People of Edo-Tokyo
1997	E-Sugoroku
1999	Children in the Showa Period
2000	Close but Distant Showa

	Meals of Edo-Tokyo
	The History of Currency
2001	Children's World – Dolls, Kimono and Toys
	Kimono in the Meiji, Taisho and Showa Periods
2002	Edo-Tokyo 'Mono' gatari – Special Collection of the ETH
	Ō-Edo One Hundred and Eight Townsman's Wards
	The History of Currency
2003	Tokyo Trendy Life
	Illustrated Books –Children's Stories
2005	Learning in Edo
	Children's Clothes: Parents' Wishes and Creative Child-Rearing Devices
2006	Memories of a Yellow Box – The Collection of Morinaga Milk Caramel
	Summer in Edo
2007	Measuring Instruments – Weights and Measures
	Flowers of Edo: Firefighting and Festivals
2010	Kizuna (The Bound): Families in the Showa Era and Their Hearts to Be Passed Down
	Machi Nanushi (Chief of Wards) in Edo
2012	Shibukawa Shunkai and Calendars in the Edo Period
2013	Flowers in Bloom: The Culture of Gardening in Edo
	Soul of Meiji: Edward Sylvester Morse, His Everyday Life with Kind-hearted People

List 3.11 Mass Communication/Publication

2001	Tokyo Town Magazines
2003	A Magazine has a Life
	Enoken and the Time of Review
2004	Mizuki Shigeru
	The World of Kappa – Shimizu Kon's Manga
2006	Misora Hibari and the Showa Period
	The world of the film 'Akane Sora' – Edo Cuisine and Fukagawa
2009	The 80th Anniversary of Tezuka Osamu: Message to the Future
2010	The Playwrights – 80 years history
	Hayashi Fumiko and Tokyo Hōrou
2011	Here Comes Tofu Boy!
2012	20th Century Tokyo in Magazines
	Youthful Years of the Japanese Film – 100 Years of Nikkatsu Film

List 3.12 Exhibitions Related to the Television Program "Taiga Drama"

1998	Genroku Ryoran: Dazzling Genroku Culture and Chushin-gura
2000	Aoi - Tokugawa Three Generations
2001	Hōjō Tokimasa and His Time
2002	Toshiie and Matsu – The Maeda Family and Kaga Culture
2003	Musashi – The World of Painter and Great Swordsman
2004	The Shinsengumi Exhibitinon
2005	Yamanouchi Toyokazu and His Wife
2007	Tenshōin Atsuhime
2008	Shugyoku no Koshi: Edo Pallaquin/Sedan Chairs
	Satsuma-yaki – The Traditional Beauty That Fascinated Paris and Atsuhime
	Consorts, Mothers and Princesses of the Tokugawa Shoguns
2010	Ryōma-den
	Gō – Princesses and the Sengoku Period
	Shiba Jōzō-ji – The Temple of Hidetada and Oeyo
2011	Tairano Kiyomori
2012	Yae's Cherry Blossom

List 3.13 Others

2000	Ō-Edo Rakugo
2005	A New Year Bringing Good Luck
2006	Girls' Festival in the Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan
	Sanyūtei Kinba – The 77th Anniversary of His Birth
2007	Trains: Travels on Train in the Showa Period
2008	Fire in My Heart – Yamamoto Kansai "Genki"ism
2009	Edo-Tokyo – Everything with Cats
2010	Insect Exhibition
	Meiji Trend – Everything with Rabbits
2011	Dragons in the History
2012	Fortune Comes in at the Merry Gate

Chapter 7.1.5. International

List 3.14 Tokyo and Japan in an International Context

1994	Edo and Japan in the World: The Collection of Toyo Bunko
1996	Japan Siebold Father and Son Encountered: The 200th Anniversary of the Birth of Siebold
	Unearthed Cities: Edo, Nagasaki Amsterdam, London, New York
1999	Worlds Revealed: The dawn of Japanese and American Exchange
2000	A Very Unique Collection of Historical Significance: The Kapitan (the Dutch Chief) Collection from the Edo Period –The Dutch Fascination with Japan
2004	Edo Shogunate and Russia
2006	The Allure of Edo
2007	The 150th Anniversary of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Japan and Russia – The House of Romanov and Modern Japan in Woodblock Prints and Photographs
2008	The Perry & Harris Exhibition - The Dawn of U.S. Japan Relations
	Printed Treasures: Highlights from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
	Satsuma-yaki – The Traditional Beauty That Fascinated Paris and Atsuhime
2009	Sharaku and Other Hidden Japanese Masterworks from the Land of Nausicaa
2011	Edo before the Meiji Restoration as Encountered by Graf zu Eulenburg
2013	The Flowering of Edo Period Painting: Japanese Masterworks from the Feinberg Collection
	Soul of Meiji: Edward Sylvester Morse, His Everyday Life with Kind-hearted People

List 3.15 Exhibitions Presenting Foreign Cultures

1993	Egyptian Museum: Civilization of Ancient Egypt and Queens – from Goddess Isis to Cleopatra
1998	Great Yellow River Civilization
2001	World Heritage Pompeii – Glory of Ancient Roma
2002	The Collection of Hildesheim, Germany: Ancient Egypt – Eternal Beauty
2004	In Commemoration of the Tri-Centennial of St. Petersburg "Hermitage Museum Exhibition" – The Glory and Legacy of Catherine the Great
	The 100th Anniversary of the Death of Emile Galle: The Treasure of France
2005	Treasures of the Silk Road: Recent Discovery from Xinjiang and Shaanxi
2006	Napoléon et Versailles
	Shi Huangdi and Terracotta Army – The World of Records of the Grand Historian Sima Qianin
	Treasures of Russian Emperors – Miracle of the World Heritage Kremlin
2008	Beijing: Forbidden Palace
2009	The Legacy of Genghis Khan and the Magnificent Mongol Empire
2011	Glamour of Art : The City of 1000 Years History – The World Heritage of Venice

List 4 All Temporary Exhibitions at the Wien Museum since 1980

	Title	Category
1980	Wien 1529 – Die erste Türkenbelagerung	Collective Memory
	Hans Escher – Lebensbilder der Stadt	High Culture
	Der Wienfluss	Landscape
	Das Wiener Kaffeehaus. Von den Anfängen bis zur Zwischenkriegszeit	Popular Culture
	Therese Krones – Zum 150. Todestag	Popular Culture
1981	Der Kreis – Dokumentation einer Wiener Künstlervereinigung 1946-1980	Collective Memory
	Aspern von der Steinzeit zum Motorenwerk	Collective Memory
	Der Verlag Artaria – Veduten und Wiener Alltagsszenen	Landscape
	Egon Schiele - Zeichnungen und Aquarelle aus den Beständen des Historischen Museums der Stadt Wien und aus amerikanischem Privatbesitz ausgewählt von Serge Sabarsky	High Culture
	Franz von Matsch – Ein Wiener Maler der Jahrhundertwende	High Culture
1982	Evangelisch in Wien - 200 Jahre evangelische Gemeinden	Others
	Wien zur Zeit Joseph Haydns	Collective Memory
	Oskar Kokoschka – Die frühen Jahre	High Culture
1983	Josef Matthias Hauer – zum 100. Geburtstag am 19. März 1983	High Culture
	Die Türken vor Wien – Europa und die Entscheidung an der Donau 1683 (K)	Collective Memory
	Richard Gerstl (1883-1908)	High Culture
1984	Zirkel und Winkelmaß – 200 Jahre Große Landesloge der Freimaurer	Collective Memory
	Gustav Klimt – Zeichnungen aus amerikanischen Privatbesitz ausgewählt von Serge Sabarsky und aus Beständen des Historischen Museums der Stadt Wien	High Culture
	Die Ära Metternich	Collective Memory
	FleZiWiCsà & Co. – Die Wiener Operette	Popular Culture
1985	Josephinische Pfarrgründungen in Wien	Others
	Traum und Wirklichkeit – Wien 1870-1930 (K)	Collective Memory
	Franz Cizek – Pionier der Kunsterziehung (1865-1946)	High Culture
	200 Jahre Rechtsleben in Wien. Advokaten, Richter, Rechtsgelehrte	Collective Memory
	Goldscheider Keramik – Historismus, Jugendstil, Art déco	High Culture
1986	Otto Nirenstein-Kallir, Ein Wegbereiter österreichischer Kunst	High Culture
	Wehrhafte Stadt – Das Wiener Bürgerliche Zeughaus im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert	Others
	Kunst im Exil in Großbritannien 1938-1945	High Culture
	Musik im mittelalterlichen Wien	Popular Culture
1987	Der Maler Gerhart Frankl	High Culture
	100 Jahre Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien	Others
	Der Architekt Joze Plecnik (1872-1957)	High Culture
	Heilige Gemeinde Wien – Judentum in Wien. Die Sammlung Max Berger	Others
	Bürgersinn und Aufbegehren. Biedermeier und Vormärz in Wien 1815-1848 (K)	Collective Memory
1988	Otto Wagner und das Kaiser-Franz-Josef-Stadtmuseum. Das Scheitern der Moderne in Wien	Landscape
	Baujahre – Bauten – Bauherren – Preise. Eine Dokumentation der Zentralvereinigung der Architekten Österreichs	Collective Memory
	Kinderzeichnungen aus Theresienstadt	Collective Memory
	Der Novemberpogrom 1938. Die Reichskristallnacht in Wien	Collective Memory
1989	Rudolf Jettmar (1868-1938). Bilder von hellen und dunklen Mythen	High Culture
	Freiheit, Gleichheit, Brüderlichkeit auch in Österreich? Auswirkungen der Französischen Revolution auf Wien und Tirol in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum	Collective Memory
	Aufbruch in das Jahrhundert der Frau? Rosa Mayreder und der Feminismus in Wien um 1900	Social Issues
	Arnulf Rainer	High Culture
	Adolf Loos in Zusammenarbeit mit der Graphischen Sammlung Albertina	High Culture
1990	Kurt Absolon. Der Zeichner mit der Grasharfe	High Culture
	Prag um 1400 – Der schöne Stil. Böhmische Malerei und Plastik in der Gotik	International
	Egon Schiele. Frühe Reife - Ewige Kindheit	High Culture
	Warteraum des Todes. Das Ghetto in Lodz 1940-1944	Collective Memory
	Jüdische Porträts – Herlinde Kölbl – Photographien und Interviews	Collective Memory
	Interieurs. Wiener Künstlerwohnungen zwischen 1830-1930	High Culture
	Zaubertöne. Mozart in Wien 1781-1791 (K)	High Culture
1991	Franz Grillparzer oder die Wirklichkeit der Wirklichkeit in Zusammenarbeit mit der Magistratsabteilung 9 – Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek	High Culture
	Wien 1991. Begehbare Bild- und Klanginstallation von Sylvia Eckermann und Matthias Fuchs	High Culture
	Oswald Oberhuber. Die Irritation in der Kunst	High Culture
	Arnold Schönberg – Sein Leben, seine Musik	High Culture
	Eva Riedl. Zeitlos	High Culture
	Kandinsky Aquarelle	High Culture
	Veit Relin, was er treibt, tut er aus Liebe	Popular Culture
1992	Sag beim Abschied leise Servus. Wiener Publikumslieblinge in Bild und Tonin Zusammenarbeit mit dem Jüdischen Museum der Stadt Wien	Popular Culture
	Paul Flora. Zeichnungen 1939-1992	High Culture
	Wien – Metamorphosen einer Stadt- 150 Jahre Photographien. Eine Ausstellung von Franz Hubmann	Landscape
	Freimaurer – Solange die Welt besteht	Collective Memory
	Bilder vom Tod	High Culture
	50 Jahre Stalingrad Not, Tod und Elend	International

1993	…Unsere Schwarze Rosa. Die Schauspielerin Elisabeth Bergner	Popular Culture
	Denn die Schatten sind farbig. (E.Manet) Französische Impressionisten aus dem Puschkin-Museum, Moskau	International
	Eduard Angeli	High Culture
	Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller zum 200. Geburtstag. Werke im Besitz des Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien	High Culture
	Das Rote Wien. 1918-1934	Collective Memory
	Lemberg/l'viv 1772-1918. Wiederbegegnung mit einer Landeshauptstadt der Donaumonarchie	International
	Franz Zadrazil – Wien-Bilder 1968-1993	High Culture
	Gustav Peichl. A Viennese Architect	High Culture
1994	Kurt Welther – Frauen	High Culture
	Erich Lessing. Die ersten fünfzig Jahre Fotografien 1943-1993	High Culture
	Die Anderen. Fotografien Harry Weber	Social Issues
	Vukovar stellt sich Europa in Wien vor	International
	Kunst im Kleinformat von Absolon bis Zülow	High Culture
	Journalisten. Jäger und Gejagte. Fotos von Didi Sattmann	Social Issues-
	So ist der Mensch ... 80 Jahre Erster Weltkrieg. Die letzten Tage der Menschheit. Georg Eisler illustriert Karls Kraus	Collective Memory
	Adam und Anima. Rudolf Hausner – 80 Jahre	High Culture
1995	Hans Hollein	High Culture
	Florentina Pakosta	High Culture
	Rudolf Koppitz	High Culture
	Das ist die Stadt Wien. Vom Albertinischen Plan bis zur Computerstadtkarte in Zusammenarbeit mit der Magistratsabteilung 8 – Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv	Landscape
	Frauenleben 1945 – Kriegsende in Wien	Social Issues
	Wilhelm Holzbauer. Architekt	High Culture
1996	Ein weites Feld, Günter Grass – der Zeichner	High Culture
	Es ist ewig schad' um mich. Ferdinand Raimund und Wien	Popular Culture
	Skizzen Studien Meisterblätter. Wiener Graphik aus fünf Jahrhunderten	High Culture
	Wir. Zur Geschichte und Gegenwart der Zuwanderung nach Wien	Social Issues
	Das Globale Museum. Museen im Internet	Others
1997	Walter Schmögner Retrospektive 1963-1996	High Culture
	850 Jahre St. Stephan. Symbol und Mitte in Wien 1147-1997	Landscape
	Schubert[97]. Aus Heliopolis – Nachtviolen – Wasserfluth	High Culture
	Carl Auböck 1900-1957. Maler und Designer	High Culture
	Eduard von Engerth 1818-1897	High Culture
	Papierspiel & Bilderbogen aus Tokio und Wien 1780-1880	International
	Friedrich Kiesler 1890-1965. Das Archiv des Visionärs	High Culture
1998	Peter Pongratz – Soulpainting 1962-1997	High Culture
	Ein Stück Österreich – 150 Jahre "Die Presse"	Collective Memory
	Bruno Kreisky. Seine Zeit und mehr 1911-1970-1983-1990	Collective Memory
	1848 – „Das tolle Jahr“. Chronologie einer Revolution	Collective Memory
	Arik Brauer 70	High Culture
1999	Samurai und Bushido – Der Spiegel Japans – Nagoya und die Einheit des Reiches 1550-1867	International
	Johann Strauß. Unter Donner und Blitz	Popular Culture
	Chagall, Kandinsky und ... Das Russische Experiment - Zeichnungen und Aquarelle aus dem Puschkin-Museum	International
	Boris Podrecca. Poetik der Unterschiede	High Culture
	Das ungebaute Wien 1800-2000. Projekte für die Metropole	Landscape
	Chinesische Malerei	international
2000	Träume 1900-2000. Kunst, Wissenschaft und das Unbewusste	High Culture
	Blickfänge einer Reise nach Wien. Fotografien 1860-1910 aus den Sammlungen des Historischen Museums der Stadt Wien	Popular Culture
	Engelhauch und Sternenglanz Advent- und Weihnachtskalendarium aus Wien	Popular Culture
	Coole Kids – fotografiert in Wien von Didi Sattmann	Social Issues
2001	Franz Rosei. Skulpturen 1970-2000 Retrospektive	High Culture
	Alles Leinwand. Franz Antel und der österreichische Film	Popular Culture
	Reinhard Mandl WIEN – Fotografien aus dem Jahr 2000	Landscape
	Peter Sengl Schrecklich – Schön Arbeiten 1970-2001	High Culture
	Nestroy. Die Welt steht auf kein' Fall mehr lang	Popular Culture
	Die Kunst, als Mensch menschlich zu leben. Wien Beitrag zum Welterbe – 2000 und mehr	High Culture
2002	Vom Pfennig zum Euro Geld aus Wien	Popular Culture
	Friedrich Schiff in Shanghai berühmt, in Wien vergessen	High Culture
	Dem Glück auf der Spur – 250 Jahre Österreichisches Zahlenlotto	Popular Culture
	Zeitgenössische Kunst aus Aserbaidschan	International
	Legenden aus dem Wiener Kunstbetrieb. Fotos von Didi Sattmann	Social Issues
	Die Geburt der Moderne. Von der Schule von Barbizon bis zum Konstruktivismus – Meisterwerke aus dem Nationalmuseum Belgrad	International
	Sowjetische Fotografie der 1920er-/1930er-Jahre. Von Piktorialismus und Modernismus zum Sozialistischen Realismus	International
	Michael Zwetkoff – Neue Donau - Neue Welt. Fotografien aus dem Jahr 2001	Landscape
	DER DRITTE MANN – Wien auf den Spuren eines Filmklassikers	Popular Culture
	Armut	Social Issues

2003	Johann II. von und zu Liechtenstein. Ein Fürst beschenkt Wien 1894-1916	High Culture
	Spiel & Denkmaterial für eine Museumssammlung	Others
	Bunte graue Riesen – Flakturmprojekte 2003	Landscape
	Kraftflächen Wiener Plakatkunst um 1900	Popular Culture
	Hutsalon Susi & Milchfrau Rosa – Wiener Verkaufskultur fotografiert von Petra Rainer	Popular Culture
	Kreative Dichte – Die Wiener Werkstätte 1903 bis 1932	High Culture
	Quasi ein Genie. Helmut Qualtinger (1928-1986)	Popular Culture
	Brutale Neugier – Walter Henisch. Kriegsfotograf und Bildreporter	High Culture
	Wiener Stolz. Die Modelle zu den Skulpturen des Wiener Rathaus	High Culture
2004	Gastarbajteri – 40 Jahre Arbeitsmigration. Eine Ausstellung der Initiative Minderheiten und des Wien Museums	Social Issues
	Lisl Ponger. Phantom fremdes Wien 1991/2003	Social Issues
	Wiener Linien. Kunst und Stadtbeobachtung seit 1960	High Culture
	Erstmalige Präsentation der Schenkungen an die Modesammlung des Wien Museums	Others
	Schiele & Roessler. Der Künstler und sein Förderer – Kunst und Networking im frühen 20. Jhdt.	High Culture
	Riviera an der Donau. Sommerfrische Kritzendorf	Popular Culture
	Der Michaelerplatz. Von den canabae legionis zu einem biedermeierzeitlichen Malerwerkplatz	Others
	Henri Cartier-Bresson. Die Essenz von Paris	International
	Alltag und Epoche: Berlin 1918-1948. Der Pressefotograf Willy Römer	International
	Alt-Wien. Die Stadt, die niemals war (K)	Popular Culture
2005	John F. Kennedy – Special: Gipfel Wien 1961 – Chruschtschow und Kennedy	Collective Memory
	Andersen in Wien	High Culture
	Die Sinalco-Epoche. Essen, Trinken, Konsumieren nach 1945	Popular Culture
	Um die Wurst. Vom Essen und Trinken im Mittelalter	Popular Culture
	Moderat Modern. Erich Boltenstern und die Baukultur nach 1945	High Culture
	Verkauft. Enteignet. Verbüchert. Wiener Liegenschaften 1938-1945. Eine Dokumentation des Vereins Forschungsbüro im Auftrag der Kulturabteilung der Stadt Wien	Collective Memory
2006	Wien war anders. Der Stadtfotograf, August Stauda	Landscape
	Kinetismus. Wien entdeckt die Avantgarde	High Culture
	Im Vorbeigehen. Ein Fotoprojekt der Gruppe "Blickfänger"	Popular Culture
	Wiens erstes Hochhaus – eine Stadterregung. Dokumentation in der Vitrine des Hochhauses	Landscape
	Photo: Barbara Pflaum. Bildchronistin der Zweiten Republik	High Culture
	Flucht nach Wien – Ungarn 1956	Collective Memory
	Grosser Bahnhof. Wien und die weite Welt	Landscape
2007	Who is Marie-Louise von Motesiczky? Malerin zwischen Wien und London	High Culture
	Kein Abschied – Plakate des Wiener Mozartjahres 2006	Popular Culture
	Im Wirtshaus. Eine Geschichte der Wiener Geselligkeit	Popular Culture
	Ganz unten. Die Entdeckung des Elends – Wien, Berlin, London, Paris, New York	Social Issues
	Am Gänsehäufel – Ein Strandbad wird 100	Popular Culture
	Kunstwege '70. Fotografien von Karin Mack	High Culture
	Baby an Bord. Mit dem Kinderwagen durch das 20. Jahrhundert	Popular Culture
	Aufgeputzt. Weihnachtsbeleuchtung in der Innenstadt. Fotografien von Didi Sattmann	Popular Culture
	Breiter Geschmack. Goldscheider. Eine Weltmarke aus Wien	High Culture
2008	Nagoya. Das Werden der japanischen Großstadt	International
	Late Sixties – Fotografien von Christian Skrein	High Culture
	Wo die Wuchtel fliegt – Legendäre Orte des Wiener Fußballs	Popular Culture
	Am Puls der Stadt – 2000 Jahre Karlsplatz	Landscape
	Türkei Modern – Fotografien von Othmar Pferschy	International
	Loosgelöst – Eine Installation des Designers Robert Stadler im „Looszimmer“ im Wien Museum	High Culture
	Elfriede Mejchar – Fotografien von den Rändern Wiens	Landscape
	Glanzstücke – Emilie Flöge und der Schmuck der Wiener Werkstätte	High Culture
	Zauber der Ferne – Imaginäre Reisen im 19. Jahrhundert	Popular Culture
	70er – Plakate aus der Sammlung der Wien Bibliothek	Popular Culture
2009	Handschriften aus fünf Jahrhunderten – Autographen aus der Sammlung Otto Kallir	Others
	Big City – New York Street Photography	International
	Hongkong / Lee Tung Street – Eine Straße als Museum	International
	Hieronymus Löschenkohl – Sensationen aus dem alten Wien	Collective Memory
	Fifty Fifty – Kunst im Dialog mit den 50er-Jahren	High Culture
	Großer Auftritt – Mode der Ringstraßenzeit	Popular Culture
	Malerei des Biedermeier	High Culture
	Gemma schaun – 10 Jahre wean hean	Popular Culture
	Stadtalphabet – Wien von A bis Z – Eine Präsentation von Martin Ulrich Kehrer im Rahmen der Vienna Design Week 2009	Popular Culture
	50er- Plakate aus der Sammlung der Wienbibliothek	Popular Culture
	Kampf um die Stadt. Politik, Kunst, Alltag um 1930 (K)	Collective Memory
2010	Madness & Modernity – Kunst und Wahn in Wien um 1900	High Culture
	Im unsichtbaren Wien – Fotonotizen von Gerhard Roth	Landscape
	Wien im Film – Stadtbilder aus 100 Jahren	Popular Culture
	In Memoriam – Ein Zyklus zum Holocaust von Gerhart Frankl	High Culture
	2000-2010. Design in Wien	Popular Culture
	Die Ernst Jandl Show	Popular Culture
	Window Shopping – Eine Fotogeschichte des Schaufensters	Popular Culture
2011	Trude Fleischmann – Der selbstbewusste Blick	High Culture

	Der Dombau von St. Stephan – Die Originalpläne aus dem Mittelalter	Landscape
	Um die Schule herum ist Erdberg – Eine Ausstellung der 3A	Landscape
	Verschollen im Museum – Der Künstler Karl Wiener	High Culture
	60er- Plakate aus der Sammlung der Wienbibliothek	Popular Culture
	Neusiedlersee – Das Meer der Wiener	Popular Culture
	Alles Gute – Rudi Klein – Eine kleine Reise um den Zeichentisch	Popular Culture
	Angelo Soliman – Ein Afrikaner in Wien	Collective Memory
	Platz für die Stadt. Morzinplatz/Schwedenplatz – Projekte und Perspektiven	Landscape
	Absolut Wien – Ankäufe und Schenkungen seit 2000	Others
	Makart – Ein Künstler regiert die Stadt	High Culture
	Stadt lernen – SchülerInnen und Studierende arbeiten mit dem Wien Museum	Others
2012	Mehr als Mode – Die Sammlung Katarina Noever	Popular Culture
	Wien am Screen – Eine filmische Spurensuche von Schüler/innen	Landscape
	Besetzt! Kampf um Freiräume seit den 70ern	Collective Memory
	Klimtig! Jugendstil – Rezeption im Plakat – eine Präsentation der Wienbibliothek im Rathaus	Popular Culture
	Klimt. Die Sammlung des Wien Museums	High Culture
	Neu im Museum Schenkung. Dieter und Gertraud Bogner	Others-
	Werkbundsiedlung Wien 1932. Ein Manifest des neuen Wohnens	High Culture
	Spiele der Stadt – Glück, Gewinn und Zeitvertreib	Popular Culture
	Hans Scheugl – Die Fotografien des Filmemachers	High Culture
2013	Unter 10 – Wertvolles en miniature	Popular Culture
	Wiener Typen – Klischees und Wirklichkeit	Popular Culture
	Blutrausch – Stefan Weber und Drahdiwaberl	Popular Culture
	Wien Aussen – Ein Fotoprojekt von Didi Sattmann	Landscape
	Edith Tudor-Hart in Schatten der Diktaturen	High Culture
	Schnelle Jahre: Wien Museum: Ausstelluungsdesign 2003 - 2013	Others
	Amman - Re: Organize. Projekt von Studierenden der TU Wien, Fakultät Für Architektur und Raumplanung	Others
	Österreichische Riviera – Wien entdeckt das Meer	Popular Culture
	Uptight – Die Sammlung Werner Geier	Popular Culture

K: Künsterhaus

List 5 All Temporary Exhibitions at the Museum of London since 1980

	Title	Category
1980	Goodbye London Docks	Manufacturing
	The Butchers of London	Others
	A Head of Fashion	Popular Culture
	The Roman Defenses of London: photographic exhibition	*Archaeology*
	Covent Garden Market Old and New	Landscape
	Looking at London	High Culture
	The Blitz: Life in the Shelters	Collective Memory
	Arapoff's London in the Thirties	Social Issues
	A London Design Studio 1880 - 1963	Popular Culture
1981	Tribute to Anna Pavlova	High Culture
	A Handful of History	Popular Culture
	Such stuff as dreams are made on	Popular Culture
	London Delineated 1750 - 1900	High Culture
	Royal Wedding Dresses	Popular Culture
	London's Flying Start	Manufacturing
1982	Department Stores	Popular Culture
	Curtains!!!	Popular Culture
	London Silver 1680 to 1780	Manufacturing
	200 Years of Shipping along the Thames	Manufacturing
	A Royal Balletomane Peepshow	Popular Culture
	Recent Acquisitions	Others
	Before Suburbia	Landscape
	Medieval Glass form Foster Lane	*Archaeology*
	King's Cross & St Pancras: A Tale of Two Stations	Landscape
1983	Spitalfields Market	Landscape
	London Ephemera 1945 - 1982	High Culture
	Masquerade	Popular Culture
	Portrait of Highgate Cemetery	Landscape
1984	Billingsgate: London's fish market	Landscape
	Paintings, Politics and Porter	Collective Memory
	Toys and Games	Popular Culture
1985	The Quiet Conquest: The Huguenots 1685 - 1985	Collective Memory
	Felix H Man	High Culture
	The Making of Modern London 1914 - 1939	Popular Culture

	Now the War is Over	Collective Memory
	Ivory, Feathers and Lace	Popular Culture
1986	Let's Face It	Collective Memory
	Capital Gains!	*Archaeology*
	Impressions of Edwardian London	High Culture
	Hello Dolly	Popular Culture
1987	Snapshot Britain	Popular Culture
	Londoners: The Way We Were	High Culture
	Making Time	Popular Culture
foyer	Ceramics	High Culture
	The East End Observed	Landscape
	Little Dorrit	Popular culture
	Whitefriars: The Unique Glasshouse	Manufacturing
1988	A Farewell to Fleet Street	Landscape
	This Gorgeous Mouchoir	Popular Culture
	Cartoon Aid	Popular Culture
	London Illustrated	Popular Culture
1989	Eighteenth-Century White Satin Quilted Dress	Popular Culture
	Charles I's Knitted Silk Waistcoat	Popular Culture
	The Lord Mayor, The City and The River	Collective Memory
	London County Council: Responsible to the People	Collective Memory
	Pewter 1200 - 1700: A Celebration of the Craft	Manufacturing
	Hardy Amies	Popular Culture
	A Better World Tomorrow?	Popular Culture
1990	London's Ace of Spades!	Collective memory
	Transport in London	Landmark
	London's Pride	Collective memory
	Images of the London Blitz	Collective memory
	The Tale of London Past	High Culture
	The Fool - Furnishing the film	Popular Culture
1991	Treasures and Trinkets	High Culture
	The Rose Theatre	*Archaeology*
	The Simms Car: motoring beginnings	Manufacturing
	The Bombing of the House of Commons	Collective Memory
	What is It? Identifying the past	*Archaeology*
	Watch With Mother	Popular Culture
1992	The Streets of London 1895 - 1928	High Culture
	St. Pancras Hotel and the history of the Midland Railway	Landscape
	The Purple, White & Green: suffragettes in London 1906 - 14	Social Issues
	London: the Under Ground City	Landscape
	Artists' London	High Culture
1993	The Square Mile: Photographs by Tom Evans	Landscape
	Taxi!	Popular Culture
	Deptford Creek: Photographs by Jim Rice	Landscape
	The peopling of London: 15,000 years of settlement from overseas	Social Issues
	London at Home: Photographs by Magda Segal	Popular Culture
1994	26 miles 385 yard: Running the London Marathon	Popular Culture
	A.C.E (Artists and Craftspeople in Education)	Others
	A Woman's Place	Social Issues
	Carry on Collecting: The People's Show	Popular Culture
	Witnesses and Dreamers: painters of the inner city	High Culture
	London Survey'd: The Work of the Survey of London 1894 - 1994	Others
1995	From Ridley Road to Radlett	Landscape
	The Prophetic Eye: the life and work of George Peabody (1795 - 1869)	Collective Memory
	Eels, Pie and Mash	Popular Culture
	Reporting Parliament	Social issue
	London Looks Forward: from 1945 to the future	Collective memory
	Photographers' London 1839 - 1994	High Culture
	United Synagogue Exhibition	Others
	Images of London	High Culture
1996	Half the Sky: Chinese women in London	Social Issues
	London on Film: 100 years of filmmaking in London	Popular Culture
	Soccer City: the photographs of David Trainer	Popular Culture
	Whitefriars Glass: the art of James Powell & Sons of London	High Culture
	Pieces from the Past: finds from the excavations for the Jubilee Line extension project	*Archaeology*
	Streets in the Sky: the paintings of David Hepher	High Culture
1997	Sixties London: photographs by Dorothy Bohm	Popular Culture
	Walking About Old Moscow: prints and watercolours from the Moscow City History Museum	High Culture

	Finding London: student photography exhibition	Popular Culture
	In Royal Fashion: the clothes and accessories of Princess Charlotte of Wales and Queen Victoria, 1796 - 1901	Popular Culture
	Bedlam: Custody, care and cure, 1274 - 1997	Social Issues
	Turned On: campaign for better Christmas lights	Popular Culture
1998	Saxons at the Opera: archaeological excavations at the Royal Opera House	*Archaeology*
	The Life and Times of N M Rothschild 1777 - 1836	Collective Memory
	The Whirlwind Continues: users' views on Britain's mental healthcare system	Social Issues
	Sole City: London shoes from the 1st to the 21st century	Popular Culture
	London's Found Riverscape	Landscape
	Playthings from the Past	Popular Culture
	Found! London's lost map	Landscape
	The Laundry Project	Popular Culture
	Windrush: Sea Change	Social Issues
	Pride photographs	Social Issues
	London's river: Turning the Tide	Landscape
	Walls of fame: reuniting the Pagani panels	Collective Memory
	Carnival costumes '98	Popular Culture
	Cathedrals of industry	High Culture
	Objects of Beauty	Popular Culture
	London Bodies: changing shapes from prehistoric times to the present day	Collective Memory
	Toy stories	Popular Culture
1999	Cromwell: wars and all	Collective Memory
	Conflicts of interest	Social Issues
	Drugs: what should London do?	Social Issues
	Rockin' at the Ace Café	Popular Culture
	The eye that never sleeps: Terence Donovan London Photographs	High Culture
	Tower blocks: love them or loathe them	Landscape
	Tower blocks: the artist's view	High Culture
	Pride and prejudice: lesbian and gay London	Social Issues
	The Art Bronze Foundry	High Culture
	Power dressing: the fashion of politics	Social Issues
	The art of Jubilee Line	High Culture
	Alfred the Great 849 – 899: London's forgotten king	Collective Memory
	London eats out	Collective Memory
	Highlight of the London sale	High Culture
	The Millennium Dome: photographs by Mark Power	Landscape
2000	Message to the mayor: don't sterilise our city!	Social Issues
	Portrait of a city: the London painting of Arturo di Stefano	High Culture
	Bridging history	Landscape
2000	Vivienne Westwood: The collection of Romilly McAlpine	Popular Culture
	Elephant & Castle families 1994/2000: photographs by Leigh Hirst	Popular Culture
	Shopping centres: retail revolution or death of the high street?	Social Issues
	Building the Millennium: paintings by Glynn Boyd Harte	High Culture
	High Street Londinium	Collective Memory
	Memento mori: photographs by Agustin Amate Bonachera	Social Issues
	Grave concerns: the disposal of London's dead	Social Issues
	Chaucer's Londoners: A compaignye of sondry folk	Collective Memory
	Stolen skins? Fur in fashion	Social Issues
2001	Collecting 2000	Others
	A Public Portfolio: Photographs of London by Henry Grant	Popular Culture
	London town gardens	Collective Memory
	Creative Quarters	Collective Memory
	Brazil in Mind	Social issue
	Floating London	High Culture
	London's Voices	Social issue
	Future Dimensions	Social issue
2002	Holidays of a lifetime	Social issue
	After September 11: Images from Ground Zero	Collective Memory
	The Queen and Us	Collective Memory
	Lewisham Voices	Social issue
	Questioning London	Social issue
2003	Pepys' London	Collective Memory
	Linked	Social issue
	Urban Grime	Social issue
	Through London's Eyes	High Culture
	1920s: the decade that changed London	Collective Memory
	Waiting for Fire	High Culture

2004	Treasures of a Saxon King	*Archaeology*
	Connected London: 125 years of the telephone	Popular Culture
	Women's talk	Social Issues
	Whatever happened to Council Housing?	Social Issues
	Metropolitan Police: 175the anniversary	Others
	Swedish design	Popular Culture
	Uzo Egonu's London – An exhibition of paintings and prints	High Culture
	The London Look: fashion from street to catwalk	Popular Culture
	The London Jungle Book	High Culture
2005	Mind's Eye: Bringing offenders' work intoo the Museum of London	Social Issues
	Stop Press! War Ends! London's News May - August 1945	Collective Memory
	Roots to Reckoning	Social Issues
2006	Queer is Here	Social Issues
	Satirical London: 300 years of irreverent images	Popular Culture
	Cassel silver collection	High Culture
	Marcus Cornish: sculptor at work	High Culture
	Belonging: voices of London's refugees	Social Issues
	Campaigning against Slavery, from the 18th to 21st Century	Collective Memory
	The Missing Link?	*Archaeology*
2007	Out of India	Social Issues
	Snap! Retrospective by Mencap	Social Issues
	Feliks Topolski	High Culture
	Archaeology at Drapers Gardens: in its depth, what treasures!	*Archaeology*
2008	Outside Edge	Social Issues
	Weather permitting: London's changing climate	Others
	Mandela in London, 1962	Collective Memory
	The Big Smoke	Social Issues
	Time Out Times: 40 Years of *Time Out*	Popular Culture
	Shutting up Shop	Landscape
	Homeless in the Capital	Social Issues
2009	Flashback: A New commission by artist Tom Hunter	High Culture
	Forward to Freedom: the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the Liberation of Southern Africa	Collective Memory
	London Creatives: Polish Roots	Social Issues
2010	London Futures	Others
2010	London Sleeps: An Art Student in the Blitz	Collective Memory
2011	Dickens and London	Collective Memory
2011	London Street Photography 1860 - 2010	High Culture
	Street Cries: depictions of London's poor	Social Issues
	London Wall by Thomson & Craighead	Popular Culture
	Hand-drawn London	landscape
	The Dispossessed	Social Issues
	Freedom from: Modern slavery in the capital	Social Issues
	From Moscow with Love	High Culture
	The 2011UK Picture Editors' Guild Awards	High Culture
2012	Archaeology in Action	*Archaeology*
	At Home with the Queen	Popular Culture
	Doctors, Dissection and the Resurrection Men	Social Issues
	Simon Costin Dickensian Christmas Window	Popular Culture
	Streets of Gold	High Culture
	The 2012UK Picture Editors' Guild Awards	High Culture

The list was generated based on "The list of exhibitions to 2013 - the London Museum, Museum of London & Museum in Docklands" made available by the museum on their homepage. http://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/explore-online/past/.

List 6 All Temporary Exhibitions at the Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan since 1993

Year	Exhibition Title	Category
1993	The Legacy of Tokugawa Ieyasu: Celebrating the 450th Anniversary of the First Shogun	Collective Memory
	Exhibition City: Edo-Tokyo	Collective Memory
	Egyptian Museum: Civilization of Ancient Egypt and Queens – from Goddess Isis to Cleopatra	International
1994	*Kawanabe Kyōsai and Edo-Tokyo*	High Culture
	Summer in Edo: Cool Air and Beauty	Popular Culture
	Edo and Japan in the World: The Collection of Toyo Bunko	International
	Bombing of Tokyo - Life in Wartime	Collective Memory
1995	*Edo Kabuki: History and Its Charm*	High Culture
	Lights: The Past and the Present – The History of Lights and People of Edo-Tokyo	Popular Culture
	Katushika Hokusai: Media of Edo – Picture Books, Woodprints and Paintings	High Culture
	The Birth of Nishiki-e: Full-color Woodblock Prints and Edo Popular Culture	High Culture
1996	Japan Siebold Father and Son Encountered: The 200th Anniversary of the Birth of Siebold	International

	The Changing City as Depicted in Modern Woodblock Prints – Tokyo in Transition	High Culture
	Unearthed Cities: Edo, Nagasaki Amsterdam, London, New York	Collective Memory
	Sankin Koutai – Metropolis Edo and Its System	Collective Memory
1997	Painters of Edo Settan and Settei: Their Unknown World	High Culture
	Play and Search for Truth – Four Hundred Years of Edo-Tokyo Tea Ceremony	High Culture
	Princess Kazunomiya – The Imperial Court and the Shogunate	Collective Memory
	E-Sugoroku	Popular Culture
1998	*Inō Tadataka: Untiring Effort and Innate Talent*	Collective Memory
	Three Hundred Years of the Kano School	High Culture
	Great Yellow River Civilization	International
	Genroku Ryoran: Dazzling Genroku Culture and Chushin-gura	Popular Culture
1999	*Katu Kaishū – The 100th Anniversary of His Death*	Collective Memory
	Japan Unearthed: 1999	Others (Archaeology)
	Nagai Kafu and Tokyo	High Culture
	Worlds Revealed: The dawn of Japanese and American Exchange	International
	Children in the Showa Period	Popular Culture
	Sacred Place – Treasures of Nikko	Collective Memory
2000	*Aoi - Tokugawa Three Generations*	Popular Culture
	Japan Unearthed: 2000	Others (Archaeology)
	Close but Distant Showa	Popular Culture
	A Very Unique Collection of Historical Significance: The Kapitan (the Dutch Chief) Collection from the Edo Period –The Dutch Fascination with Japan	International
	Ô-Edo Rakugo	Popular Culture
	Buson – His Two Journeys	High Culture
	The History of Currency	Popular Culture
	The Collection of Modern Woodblock Prints of Edo-Tokyo Museum	High Culture
	Calligrapher Nakamura Sudō's Heritage	High Culture
	Meals of Edo-Tokyo	Popular Culture
	Ceramics of Edo-Tokyo – Imato-yaki	High Culture
2001	*Hōjō Tokimasa and His Time*	Popular Culture
	Japan Unearthed: 2001	Others (Archaeology)
	World Heritage Pompeii – Glory of Ancient Roma	International
	Tokyo Architecture - Locus of Living/Locus of the City	Landscape
	Children's World – Dolls, Kimono and Toys	Popular Culture
	Tokyo Town Magazines	Popular Culture
	Disasters in Edo-Tokyo	Collective Memory
	Kimono in the Meiji, Taisho and Showa Periods	Popular Culture
	Nihonbashi – The History of the Bridge in Paintings	Landscape
	Armor from Edo Period	High Culture
	Woodblock Prints in Meiji Era	High Culture
	Akabane Swords	High Culture
	Lost Edo Castle	Landscape
	New Collection: 2001	Others (Collection)
2002	*Toshiie and Matsu – The Maeda Family and Kaga Culture*	Popular Culture
	Japan Unearthed: 2002	Others(Archaeology)
	The Collection of Hildesheim, Germany: Ancient Egypt – Eternal Beauty	International
	Honda Sōichirō and Ibuka Masaru: Dreams and Inventions	Collective Memory
	Ō-Edo One Hundred and Eight Townsman's Wards	Popular Culture
	Edo-Tokyo 'Mono'gatari – Special Collection of the Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan	Popular Culture
	The History of Currency	Popular Culture
	Saigō Takamori who became a Star in the Sky	Collective Memory
	The Kitagawa Collection: the World of Books	High Culture
	Mt. Fuji	Landscape
	Imado Yaki	High Culture
	Bushū Shitahara Swords	High Culture
	Woodblock Prints in Taisho Era	High Culture
	Restoration of the Collection at the Museum	Others (Collection)
	The Olympic Flame arrived in the City – Tokyo Olympics	Collective Memory
	New Collection: 2002	Others (Collection)
2003	Musashi – The World of Painter and Great Swordman	Popular Culture
	Japan Unearthed: 2003	Others (Archaeology)
	The Tokugawa Shogun Family	Collective Memory
	Tokyo Trendy Life	Popular Culture
	Hiraga Gennai	Collective Memory
	Maruyama Ōkyo Shasei-ga: His Challenge for Creation	High Culture
	Illustrated Books –Children's Stories	Popular Culture
	A Magazine has a Life	Popular Culture
	Enoken and the Time of Review	Popular Culture
	New Collection: 2003	Others (Collection)

	Craftsmanship and Manufacturing in Edo-Tokyo: the World of the Akagi Collection	Others (Collection)
	Animals in Paintings	High Culture
2004	The Shinsengumi Exhibitinon	Popular Culture
	Japan Unearthed: 2004	Others(Archaeology)
	In Commemoration of the Tri-Centennial of St. Petersburg "Hermitage Museum Exhibition" － The Glory and Legacy of Catherine the Great	International
	Mizuki Shigeru	Popular Culture
	The 100th Anniversary of the Death of Emile Galle: The Treasure of France	International
	Writers of Tokyo – The Collection of the Museum of Tokyo modern Literature	High Culture
	The Mito Tokugawa and their Treasure – Wedding furniture-	Collective Memory
	The Tokugawa Family and Falconry	Collective Memory
	Ichikawa Danjūrō and Ebisō	High Culture
	New Collection: 2004	Others (Collection)
	Edo Shogunate and Russia	International
	The World of Kappa – Shimizu Kon's Manga	Popular Culture
	The City and its Memory of Riots: Hibiya Incendiary Incident	Collective Memory
	The 60th Anniversary of Bombing of Tokyo– The Trails of the Victims	Collective Memory
2005	Treasures of the Silk Road: Recent Discovery from Xinjiang and Shaanxi	International
	Japan Unearthed: 2005	Others(Archaeology)
	Beautiful Japan: Tourism in the 1910s–1930s	Popular Culture
	Kawabata Ryūshi: The 120th Anniversary of His Birth	High Culture
	Yamanouchi Toyokazu and His Wife	Popular Culture
	Learning in Edo	Popular Culture
	Learning of the Tokugawa Family – Momijiyama Bunko and Shōheizaka Gakumonjo	Collective Memory
	Utagawa Hiroshige – 100 Famous Landscape of Edo	High Culture
	Wind-up Dolls	Others
	The Mito Tokugawa and their Treasure – Mito Mitsukuni	Collective Memory
	Tsutaya Jūzaburou	High Culture
	Mishima Yukio and "Hashizukushi" – The 80th Anniversary of His Birth	High Culture
	60 Years after WWII	Collective Memory
	Children's Clothes: Parents' Wishes and Creative Child-Rearing Devices	Popular Culture
	Ryōgoku and Fireworks	Landscape
	Shogunate Vassals' Late Edo and Meiji Period – Inoue Ren and Kawamura Kigen	Collective Memory
	Donation from the Citizens: 2005	Others (Collection)
	The 150th Anniversary of the Great Ansei Earthquake	Collective Memory
	Nihonbashi, Ginza, Yudome: The History of Main Streets	Landscape
	Ryōgoku and Sumo Wrestling	Landscape
	Katsushika Hokusai – Thirty-six Views of Mt. Fuji	High Culture
	Utagawa Hiroshige – 100 Famous Landscape of Edo	High Culture
	A New Year Bringing Good Luck	Popular Culture
	Urban Ecology: Tokyo Water City	Landscape
	Showa Modernism and Bauhaus: Architect Tsuchiura Kameki	High Culture
2006	Napoléon et Versailles	International
	Shi Huangdi and Terracotta Army – The World of Records of the Grand Historian Sima Qianin	International
	The Allure of Edo	International
	Edo Castle	Landscape
	Treasures of Russian Emperors – Miracle of the World Heritage Kremlin	International
	The Tokyo Olympics and Its Time	Collective Memory
	The world of the film 'Akane Sora' – Edo Cuisine and Fukagawa	Popular Culture
	Tokugawa Iemochi and His Time	Collective Memory
	The Nishiyama Uzuki Collection: Oshie Hagoita	High Culture
	Wind-up Dolls	Others
	Summer in Edo	Popular Culture
	Poor Elephants – Animals Killed in Wartime	Collective Memory
	Archaeological Breaking News – Pre-Historical Tokyo	Others(Archaeology)
	Memories of a Yellow Box – The Collection of Morinaga Milk Caramel	Popular Culture
	Ryōgoku's Portable Shrines	Landscape
	The Tokyo Olympics	Collective Memory
	Sanyūtei Kinba – The 77th Anniversary of His Birth	Popular Culture
	Donation from the Citizens: 2006	Others (Collection)
	Japan Unearthed: 2006	Others(Archaeology)
	Misora Hibari and the Showa Period	Popular Culture
	Araki Nobuyoshi: Tokyo Life	Popular Culture
	Hokusai – the World of Landscape	High Culture
	Girls's Festival in the Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan	Popular Culture
2007	*Trains: Travels on Train in the Showa Period*	Popular Culture
	Natsume Sōseki: His Spirit and Views	High Culture
	Siebold & Hokusai and His Tradition	High Culture
	Tenshōin Atsuhime	Collective Memory
	Flowers of Edo: Firefighting and Festivals	Popular Culture
	Unification, Reform and Westernization: Transitional moments in Japanese history and the Tokugawa Shogunal Household	Collective Memory
	Ōta Doukan and His Time	Collective Memory

	Gotō Shinpei - Designer of Modern Japan: Catalogue of the Exhibition commemorating the 150th anniversary of His Birth	Collective Memory
	Measuring Instruments – Weights and Measures	Popular Culture
	Balloon Bombs and Labor Service in Wartime	Collective Memory
	The 150th Anniversary of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Japan and Russia – The House of Romanov and Modern Japan in Woodblock Prints and Photographs	International
	Japan Unearthed: 2007	Others(Archaeology)
	Donation from the Citizens: 2007	Others (Collection)
	Tohoku University Treasures: The Legacy of a Century – The 100th anniversary of the Foundation of the Tohoku University	High Culture
	Kawakami Fuhaku and Edo Senke – Blooming Tea Ceremony	High Culture
	Hokusai Manga	High Culture
	Kawase Hasui: Tokyo's Landscapes	High Culture
2008	The Perry & Harris Exhibition - The Dawn of U.S. Japan Relations	International
	Beijing: Forbidden Palace	International
	Printed Treasures: Highlights from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	International
	Shugyoku no Koshi: Edo Pallaquin/Sedan Chairs	Popular Culture
	Satsuma-yaki – The Traditional Beauty That Fascinated Paris and Atsuhime	International
	Chūshingura in Nishiki-e	High Culture
	Asakusa Six Districts	Landscape
	Fire in My Heart – Yamamoto Kansai "Genki"ism	Popular Culture
	Japan Unearthed: 2008	Others(Archaeology)
	Asakusa: the Past and Present	Landscape
	Donation from the Citizens: 2008	Others (Collection)
	Consorts, Mothers and Princesses of the Tokugawa Shoguns	Collective Memory
	Four Seasons in Paintings. A Year in Edo-Tokyo	High Culture
	Learn at the Museum: The Edo Period - People and Paintings in Textbooks	Others (Education)
2009	The 80th Anniversary of Tezuka Osamu: Message to the Future	Popular Culture
	Sharaku and Other Hidden Japanese Masterworks from the Land of Nausicaa	International
	Beautiful Shin-Hanga: Revitalization of Ukiyo-e	High Culture
	Ikebana: Japanese Beauty Coloring the History	High Culture
	The Legacy of Genghis Khan and the Magnificent Mongol Empire	International
	Bridge and Fireworks at Ryōgoku	Landscape
	Kafu and Edo, Kafu and Tokyo	High Culture
	The Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō	High Culture
	Donation from the Citizens: 2009	Others (Collection)
	Japan Unearthed: 2009	Others(Archaeology)
	Edo-Tokyo – Everything with Cats	Popular Culture
	Learn at the Museum: The Edo Period - People and Paintings in Textbooks	Others (Education)
	Chūshingura from a Perspective of Vassals of the Asano Family	Collective Memory
	Syogun Tsunayoshi and the Genroku Period – Changes in the Peaceful Time	Collective Memory
	Learn at the Museum: The Meiji and Taisho Period – People and Paintings in Textbooks	Others (Education)
2010	*Ryōma-den*	Popular Culture
	Insect Exhibition	Popular Culture
	Sumidagawa: The Beloved River of Edo	Landscape
	Kizuna (The Bound): Families in the Showa Era and Their Hearts to Be Passed Down	Popular Culture
	Gō – Princesses and the Sengoku Period	Popular Culture
	Machi Nanushi (chief of wards) in Edo	Popular Culture
	Meiji Trend – Everything with Rabbits	Popular Culture
	The Playwrights – 80 years history	Popular Culture
	Donation from the Citizens: 2010	Others (Collection)
	Japan Unearthed: 2010	Others(Archaeology)
	Tokyo Recovery: The Showa 20s in Color Photos	Collective Memory
	Tokugawa Gosankyō	Collective Memory
	Hayashi Fumiko and Tokyo Hōrou	Popular Culture
	Matsusaburo Yokoyama: The Man who Captured the Turbulence – Matsusaburo Yokoyama and the Meiji Era	Landscape
2011	The Five Hundred Arhats by Kano Kazunobu (1816-63), An Exhibition of the Zojoji Icons in Commemoration of the 800th Memorial of St. Honen	High Culture
	Metropolitan Transport – One Hundred Years of History	Collective Memory
	Glamour of Art : The City *of 1000 Years History – The World Heritage of Venice*	International
	Tairano Kiyomori	Popular Culture
	The Tower: Stories of City and Tower	Landscape
	Tower of the Sun, the Golden Mask	High Culture
	Edo before the Meiji Restoration as Encountered by Graf zu Eulenburg	International
	Here Comes Tofu Boy!	Popular Culture
	Japan Unearthed: 2011	Others(Archaeology)
	Donation from the Citizens: 2011	Others (Collection)
	Nikko Tōshōgu Shrine and Shoguns' Visits	Collective Memory
	Dragons in the History	Popular Culture
	Chūshingura in Paintings	High Culture
	Shiba Jōzō-ji – The Temple of Hidetada and Oeyo	Collective Memory
2012	The 400 Years of Nihonbashi: The Foremost Landmark of Edo-Tokyo Seen in Art	Landscape

	Nijō Castle	Collective Memory
	Kawamura Kiyoo: Western Painting in the Age of Meiji Restoration	High Culture
	The Tokugawa Art Museum Collection: Treasures from Owari Tokugawa Family	Collective Memory
	Yae's Cherry Blossom	Popular Culture
	Edo Castle on Glass plates	Landscape
	The Thirty-six Views of Mt. Fuji: All Is Here	High Culture
	Hiroshige: Fifty three Stations of Tōkaidō	High Culture
	Shibukawa Shunkai and Calendars in the Edo Period	Popular Culture
	Youthful Years of the Japanese Film – 100 Years of Nikkatsu Film	Popular Culture
	Japan Unearthed: 2012	Others(Archaeology)
	Donation from the Citizens: 2012	Others (Collection)
	Images of Tokugawa Ieyasu in Edo period	Collective Memory
	Fortune Comes in at the Merry Gate	Popular Culture
	Chūshingura in Ukiyo-e – Heroes Adored by Edokko	High Culture
	20th-Century Tokyo in Magazines	Popular Culture
2013	The Flowering of Edo Period Painting: Japanese Masterworks from the Feinberg Collection	International
	Flowers in Bloom: The Culture of Gardening in Edo	Popular Culture
	Soul of Meiji: Edward Sylvester Morse, His Everyday Life with Kind-hearted People	Popular Culture
	Ukiyo-e: A Journey through the Floating World	High Culture
	Edo and Kyoto: Cityscapes in Asia	Landscape
	Tokyo Olympics 1964 & 2020	Collective Memory
	Fifty three stations of Tōkaidō	High Culture
	2013.3.11 Tsunami Disaster and Damage to the Museum – Restoration of the Damaged Materials	Others (Collection)
	Entertainment District, Ryōgoku: Edo Popular Culture	Landscape
	Japan Unearthed: 2013	Others(Archaeology)
	Donation from the Citizens: 2013	Others (Collection)
	Ōoku, the Inner Quarters of the Edo Castle, in the Late Tokugawa Period	Collective Memory

Titles labelled in *italics*: translated by the author.

Figures

Figure 1.1

A view of a section in the exhibition *Traum und Wirklichkeit* © Wien Museum

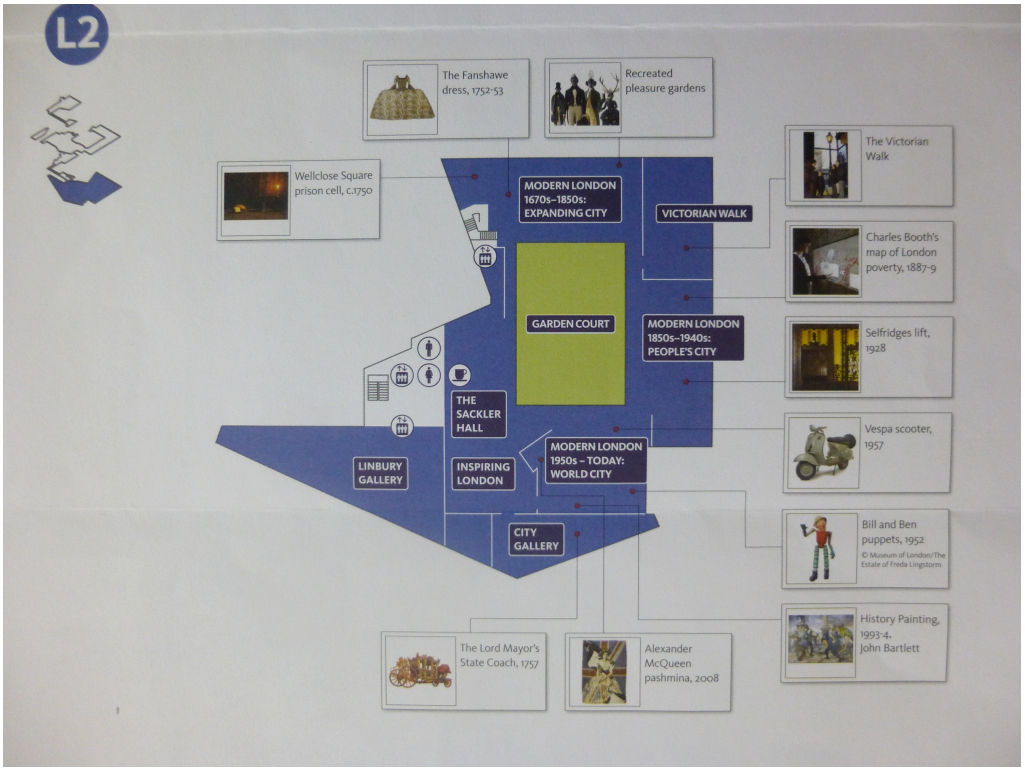
Figure 1.2

A view of a section in the exhibition *Kampf um die Stadt. Politik, Kunst, Alltag um 1930*
© Wien Museum

Figure 1.3

A view of a section in the exhibition *Alt-Wien. Die Stadt, die niemals war* © Wien Museum

Figure 2.1



The floor plan of the Galleries of Modern London

Figure 2.2.

A view from the entrance to the People's City gallery © Museum of London

Figure 2-3.

A glass-case in the Expanding City gallery exhibiting objects related to the life of the poor, taken by the author and presented here with permission from the Museum of London

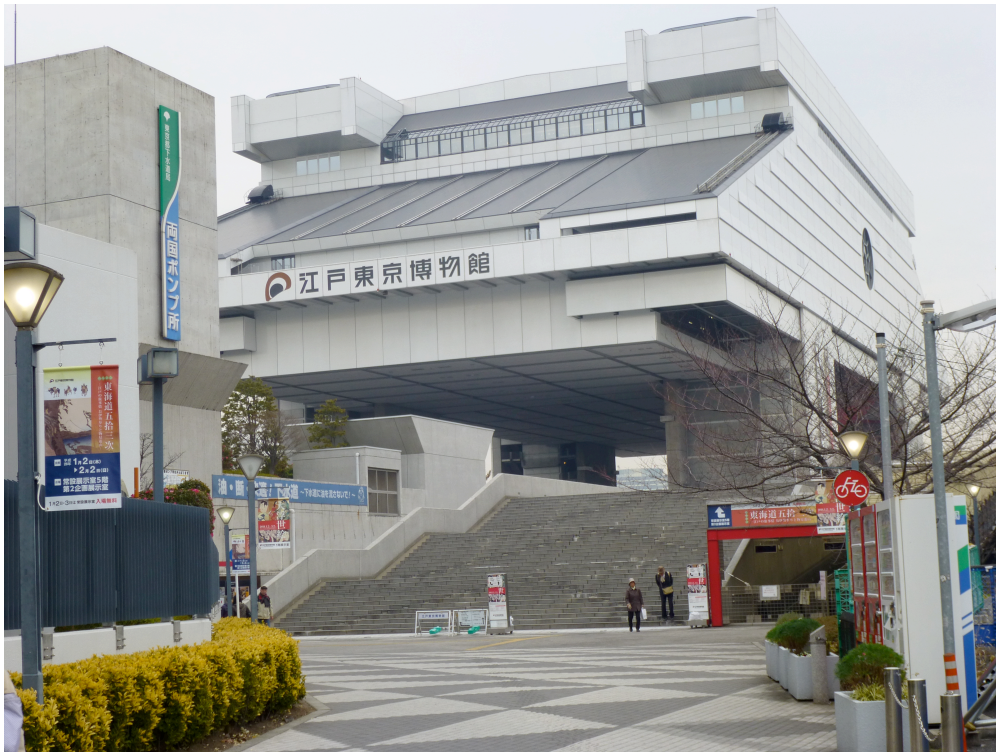
Figure 2.4

A view from the entrance to the World City gallery © Museum of London

Figure 2.5

The section on the Brixton riot in the World City gallery,
taken by the author and presented here with permission from the Museum of London

Figure 3.1



A view of the building of the Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan ©Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan

Figure 3-2

A view from the underneath of the Nihonbashi Bridge on the fifth floor
The theatre behind the bridge is a full-size model of the Kabuki Theater, *Nakamura-za*.
©Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan

Figure 3.3

A view of the section “The Four Seasons and Popular Spots in the City” ©Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan

Figure 3.4

A view of the section “Edo Aesthetics” ©Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan

Figure 3.5

A view of the two full-size model of houses from Showa Period
The one on the right presents a typical style of housing for ordinary people, and the one on the left is more for affluent people. ©Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsu-kan

I contacted the Wien Museum, MoL and the ETH, who kindly gave me permission to use the pictures in question, both those taken by myself and those taken by the museums, in this paper. However, should there any question regarding copyright, please contact the author.

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