

Social Inclusion and Access to Heritage: A Study of Museums and Galleries in the UK

Caledonian Business School
Glasgow Caledonian University, U.K.

David Silbergh
Caledonian Business School
Glasgow Caledonian University, U.K.

Peter K. Falconer

Abstract: This article arises from ongoing research into public policy and museums and galleries in the UK. It considers the specific question of how museum and galleries, in approaching the challenge of widening access to their collections and exhibits, have responded to the public policy imperatives contained within contemporary social inclusion agendas. In 1997, the British Government under the leadership of Prime Minister Tony Blair embarked on a major review of public policy, an important element of which focused on the issue of public access to cultural services. As an element of the Government's desire to address challenges of inequality and social exclusion, access became a cornerstone of cultural and heritage policy in the UK and significant attention was given to the role of admission charges as a commonly perceived barrier to access. While museums and galleries have moved toward a policy of free admission to their general collections and publicly embraced social inclusion as an important area of responsibility, views expressed privately suggest that the pressures surrounding the pursuit of social inclusion objectives distort the principal mission of museums which, it is argued, is not to serve social and political ends. The article examines these arguments and offers an evaluation of the present British Government's social inclusion agenda within the context of a particular element of cultural policy, namely the attempt to widen access to museums and galleries.

Keywords: Access, Charges, Heritage, Museums & Galleries, Public Policy, Social Inclusion.

Social Inclusion Policy: The Role of Museums and Galleries

Essentially, social exclusion is a 'condition' that revolves around the existence of poor awareness of, and access to, the economic, social and cultural networks of society. According to the present UK Government, social inclusion is best described as:

A shorthand term for what can happen when people or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crimes environments, bad health, poverty and family breakdown. Social exclusion can take many forms. It can be direct or indirect, and can affect both groups and individuals. Exclusion also has a geographical dimension embracing rural, urban and suburban areas alike (Department of Culture, Media and Sport, 2000: 7).

Tackling the challenges of social exclusion has emerged as one of the present UK Government's highest policy priorities (see Percy-Smith, 2000). Moreover, as stated by Sandell (1998: 403):

Issues of inequality and poverty (now couched in terms of social inclusion) have returned to the political agenda and have assumed a prominent place within political rhetoric. Cultural, as well as social and economic welfare agencies, are increasingly exhorted to tackle these issues. So, alongside its value as an educational institution, the museum must now present its justification in terms which demonstrate its ability to promote social inclusion, tackle issues of deprivation and disadvantage, and reach the widest possible audience.

With specific regard to the sphere of cultural policy, the UK Government's Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) has identified museums and galleries as having an important role to play in the furtherance of social inclusion objectives. These institutions, according to the DCMS:

are often the focal point for cultural activity in the community, interpreting its history and heritage. This gives people a sense of their own identity, and that of the community. But the evidence is that museums and galleries can do more than this, and act as agents of social change in the community, improving the quality of people's lives through their outreach activities (Department of Culture, Media and Sport, 2000: 3).

As such, museums and galleries have been encouraged to adopt a strategic approach to the pursuit of the Government's wider social inclusion objectives in this particular policy area, namely an increase in participation in cultural activities on the part of those identified as belonging to socially excluded groups by virtue of the area in which they live, their economic status, disability, age or racial or ethnic origin.

In terms of their role in addressing the issue of social exclusion and access, museums and galleries are faced with a series of important and interesting questions:

- · Why do some people not make use of their services?
- How can museums reach out more inclusively to potential audiences?
- · What place should museums occupy in the context of social inclusion policy?

In addressing these questions, museums and galleries have been required to confront a series of factors which are conventionally viewed as constituting barriers to access:

- Institutional barriers: those factors which museums and galleries themselves
 may create and which may discourage or restrict access.
- *Personal and social barriers*: those factors pertaining to members of the public that arise from their personal, cultural or societal circumstances.
- *Environmental barriers*: factors pertaining to the physical environment and location of the museum.

An overview of these institutional, personal, social and environmental factors is provided in Table 1 below.

Table 1
Barriers to Access to Museums and Galleries

Institutional barriers	Personal and social barriers	Environmental barriers
 Restrictive opening hours Staff attitudes and behaviour Direct and indirect discrimination Inappropriate rules and regulations Acquisition policies that do not reflect the needs or interests of potential audiences Lack of adequate provision of services or facilities for people with disabilities Admission charges 	 Educational disadvantage Low income and poverty Social Isolation from the wider society Low self-esteem Lack of a permanent fixed address Lack of knowledge of the services provided by museums and galeries The belief that museums and galleries are irrelevant ('not for us') 	 Difficult physical access to, and within, buildings Poor transport links Isolation of people living in rural communities

Source: Department of Culture, Media and Sport, 2000: 10-11.

In approaching the task of addressing the difficulties presented by the range of 'problems' listed in Table 1, museums and galleries are faced with a complex process of development that will move them towards a more socially inclusive posture. Essentially, this process comprises three main strategic stages:

Across the UK, there is clear evidence to demonstrate that museums and galleries have embarked on this 'journey' toward social inclusion. Significant financial resources have been devoted to various 'social inclusion' initiatives, such as outreach programmes and, as a consequence of financial subsidies provided in 2001 by Government, general admission charges have been removed at 28 of the UK's 36 National Museums and Galleries – all 25 in England and Wales, two in Scotland and one in Northern Ireland. Beyond the national level, local museums and galleries have also introduced a range of strategic developments in the pursuit of social inclusion policy objectives (see, for example, Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2000; Re-source, 2001; Parker et al, 2002).

Stage 1: Access: the museum works to become a more inclusive and accessible institution. Stage 2: Audience development: the museum reaches out to new audiences, cresting events or exhibitions that are relevant to them.

Stage 3:

Museums as agents of social inclusion: the museum emerges as an agent of social change.

Museums, Galleries and the Pursuit of Social Inclusion: Evidence

The current research, through a detailed analysis of key museum and gallery documentation – web sites, corporate plans, strategic plans, mission statements and annual reports – supported by a series of elite interviews with senior museum and gallery managers, has gathered a strong body of evidence which provides details of the significant levels of attention devoted by museums and galleries acrosos the UK to the social inclusion agenda. The parameters of this article do not allow for a full and comprehensive exposition of these findings. However, the following brief case-study examples of social inclusion strategies implemented at a select sample of national museums and galleries serve to illustrate the commitment to combatting social exclusion within this important area of cultural policy.

The National Maritime Museum:

The National Maritime Museum has an explicit Social Inclusion Policy, published in May 2002. Its key stated objectives are as follows:

- To be proactive in ensuring equal access to the Museum's collections and in using them to enhance the lives of the widest possible audience.
- To share knowledge and expertise with all members of the community.
- To strive to be a place of learning for all members of the community.
- To develop and promote a sustainable programme for social inclusion.
- To work in partnership with other agencies on projects and programmes to promote social inclusion (National Maritime Museum, 2002).

In the pursuit of these objectives, the museum is actively engaged in a wide range of outreach activities designed to encourage 'all members of the community' to use the collections and expertise held by the museum, and is committed to the removal of barriers to access to the museum, including 'physical, sensory, intellectual, cultural, financial and attitudinal barriers' (National Maritime Museum, 2002). According to the museum, the responsibility for the implementation of its Social Inclusion Policy lies with <u>all</u> its stakeholders.

The Victoria and Albert Museum:

In 2001, the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) commenced work on a museum-wide strategy for 'Access, Inclusion and Diversity'. This policy, implemented during 2002/03, provides the museum an explicit framework for the development of a range of outreach activities aimed at attracting audiences that had been 'excluded for a whole variety of reasons' (Victoria and Albert Museum, 2002). As part of its outreach effort, the V&A has embarked on a number of programmes, including:

- Developing its long-standing links with ethnic communities and promoting its relationship with 'older learners'.
- Developing its Language and Literacy programme, targeted at students on English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL), including refugees and asylum seekers.
- Increasing the number of museum publications designed to increase interest in, access to, and understanding of its collections and exhibits.

In addition, at its satellite sites, the V&A is pursuing a range of interesting social inclusion-related activities. Examples of these include:

- The Museum of Childhood launched its Community Development Strategy in October 2001. This was designed to develop the relationship between the museums and the local community in order to address the needs of the community and alert the community to the learning potential of the museum.
- The Wellington Museum, in partnership with the Royal National Institute for the Deaf (RNID), provided in-house training to a deaf guide in order to offer tours for deaf visitors using British Sign Language. Furthermore, the museum has a work experience programme for high school students as part of its Social Inclusion strategy.

The Imperial War Museum:

The Imperial War Museum (IWM) offers an interesting example in regard to the promotion of social inclusion, given the very nature of its subject and the difficulties associated with promoting 'imperialism' and 'war' as objects of attraction. In terms of its commitment to combatting exclusion, the IWM's strategic objectives include:

- Access: to address a larger and broader audience through visits, access to collections, resources and services, physically and intellectually.
- · Education:
 - to develop formal and informal educational provision for the widest possible constituency and through remote learning and outreach services;
 - to interpret the collections imaginatively, to address all levels of interest, provide the fullest range of learning opportunities and maximise lifelong learning opportunities (Imperial War Museum, 2002).

In working toward these objectives, the IWM views the widening of access a a 'crucial goal' and is committed to increasing the range and variety of its services in order to serve educational and non-educational audiences and to reach out further to local communities and people with disabilities, in conjunction with 'access initiatives' (Imperial War Museum, 2002).

The Science Museum:

The Science Museum also has an explicit policy on 'Access and Outreach':

Outreach work is primarily targeted at audiences defined as socially excluded (those with disabilities/special educational needs, minority ethnic groups and financially disadvantaged). The Museum encourages physical access to the whole of the collections and continues to optimise physical and electronic access within the constraints imposed by financial and human resource availability (Science Museum, 2002).

As part of its outreach commitment, the museum has created the post of Community Liaison Officer, responsible for improving links with the local community and local community groups. Among the museum's social inclusion-related activities are the following:

 Partnerships with local initiatives, such as Adult Leaners' and Family Learning programmes.

- A project which involves the museum in working with 'gifted and talented' children in schools in socially excluded areas.
- A 'Notinschool.Net' Internet project, which looks at ways in which young
 people who have been out of school for lengthy periods can be
 reintegrated into the learning process.
- Annually, the museum organises and runs events for families with fostered or adopted children.
- Outreach activities which enable families from ethnic communities to experience the services that the museum offers.
- · A series of 'special needs' events for schools.

These short illustrations offer a small, but generally representative snapshot of the way in which the museums sector in the UK is publicly embracing the Government's social inclusion policy agenda, devoting financial and other resources to the furtherance of social inclusion and access objectives. The paper now turns to two important questions which have informed the debate on these matters in the UK's national museum sector: first, has the removal of admission charges, as conventionally argued, facilitated a widening of access to museums and galleries; and second, to what extent can museums and galleries serve as agents of social inclusion?

Museums, Galleries and Admission Charges: Removing a Barrier to Access?

Undoubtedly, notwithstanding the efforts made by individual museums to develop outreach and other activities designed to attract a wider social audience, the most comprehensive policy aimed at removing barriers to access to museums and galleries has been the perceptible shift toward free general ssion. To date, research on this subject has focused mainly on the national museums and galleries - NMGs (see Bailey and Falconer et al, 1998; Bailey and Falconer, 1998; Falconer and Blair, 2003). In encouraging the NMGs to remove general admission charges, The British Government acted on the basis of the strong belief that free admission would remove a significant barrier to access and so would be consistent with the Government's 'access and social inclusion' objectives. Following the withdrawal of charges in December 2001, the DCMS was quick to point to the immediate impact that free admission had in respect of visitor numbers. For example, in a 30th April 2002 Press Release, the DCMS pointed to attendance figures at a selection of London NMGs which showed the way in which visitor numbers were expanding in the wake of the removal of charges (see Table 2 below).

Table 2
Admissions at Select London NMGs, December 2000-March 2001 and December 2001-March 2002 Compared

	Dec. 2000-	Dec. 2001-	%
	March 2001	March 2002	Increase
Victoria & Albert Museum	245,131	727,535	197
Natural History Museum	521,727	987,916	89
Science Museum	414,160	754,948	82
Museum of London	123,442	131,264	6
Total	1,736,099	3,137,453	81

Source: DCMS Press Release 87/02, 30th April 2002

Responding to initial increases in attendance figures, the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, Tessa Jowell, had stated as early as 7th January 2002 that:

Figures show what a spectacular success the scraping of admission charges at our great national collections has been. Clearly, charges were acting as a restraint to many people, particularly families. Now everyone has the change to visit as an when they choose be it for the perfect of a day, a lunchtime or just to pop in and see a favourite object of painting. Visiting a national museum, like going to a park or taking a stroll, can once again be one of life's free pleasures....Free admission has democratised the nation's treasures, making them accessible to all (Department of Culture, Media and Sport, 2002).

Table 3 below provide a further comparison between NMG attendance figures for the years 2001 and 2002, providing further evidence of the increased attendance enjoyed by museums and galleries in the wake of the removal of general admission charges from December 2001.

Table 3
Admissions at Select NMGs, December 2000-November 2001 and December 26
November 2002 Compared

	Dec. 2000-	Dec. 2001-	%
	November 2001	November 2002	Increase
Imperial War Museum	633,498	702,385	11
Victoria & Albert Museum	1,117,336	2,363,010	111
Natural History Museum	1,657,124	2,993,581	81
Science Museum	1,308,763	2,630,079	103
Nat. Maritime Museum	907,337	1,215,277	34
Museum of London	303,305	389,277	28
NMGs on Merseyside	694,197	1,239,392	79
Total	8,357,659	11,533,001	38

Source: DCMS Press Release 1st January 2003

However, while it is undeniable on the basis of attendance figures that visitor numbers have increased substantially since the withdrawal of general admission charges, it is less clear that this increase in visitor numbers can be explained simply in terms of the removal of charges. Interviews conducted with senior NMG managers as part of the current research found that, for museums and gallery managers, the link between the removal of charges and increased visitor numbers is more complex. One NMG director stated that 'the Government were right in saying that visitor numbers had increased, but they were wrong in saying that free admission was the only influence'. Museums pointed to a number of factors which, they maintained, help explain the increase in attendance:

- · The opening of new exhibitions
- · Improvements to museum buildings and exhibits
- Improvements in public transportation links, making the museum more accessible
- A series of attractive events held within museums during the time period covered by the DCMS comparisons.

Moreover, as argued by Falconer and Blair (2003: 85), there is a clear body of evidence that casts some doubt on the assertion that the decision whether or not to visit a museum is based upon the existence or non-existence of an admission charge. Public opinion surveys, for example, suggest that, of those people who had not visited a museum or gallery in the previous 12 months, only between four and ten per cent cite the existence of an admission charge as a deterrent (see Bailey, Falconer *et al.* 1998; MORI, 2001). More important reasons for not visiting were that 'there was nothing I wanted to see (41 per cent – MORI, 2001) or that 'museums are boring places' (12 per cent – MORI, 2001). It is possible, therefore, that decisions not to visit museums are, in fact, that tions of lifestyle choice and not driven by the presence of a charge. In this regard, it is important to distinguish between relative and absolute barriers to access, with absolute barriers, such as a lack of interest, impacting much more strongly on attendance than relative factors, such as the existence of an admission charge. As stated by one senior museum official:

I never thought, and don't think, that charges were an obstruction to access or in any way an obstruction to the development of the relationship with the audience. I wouldn't have included charges in my list of what influences people to go to a museum. I think it would be about if the displays are relevant, the quality in terms of architecture, design, the staff, and communicating what we do.

Perhaps more important from a social inclusion perspective is the view emerging from the current research that the NMGs themselves are unconvinced by the argument that the removal of admission charges will, in itself, result in an increase in the number of previously socially-excluded people visiting museums and galleries:

While the Government is understandably keen to assert that museums are now being visited by those in society who were previously barred from doing so because of their inability to afford to pay an admission charge, it is perhaps more likely that increases in visitor numbers can be explained more in terms of the incidence of repeat visits that are made easier through free admission (Falconer and Blair, 2003: 86).

An acknowledgement of the distinction between the number of visitors and the number of visits is an essential prerequisite to any meaningful understanding of museum attendance and its social composition. Unfortunately, at this time, there is a lack of strong empirical evidence on the impact of changes in charging policy on the social composition of museum visitors. In the absence of such quantitative evidence, we can not be suce that increases in the number of museum visitors correlate positively with the access objectives of the social inclusion agenda. If, as public opinion surveys suggest, a 'failure' to visit museums and galleries can be explained in terms of the fact that museums are 'not for us', then it is clear that a crucially important element of NMG access policy must be the educational aspects of outreach programmes, designed to encourage those who currently demonstrate no interest in museums that they are, in fact, relevant to their lives. More fundamentally, perhaps, is the fact that museums and galleries, in offering free general admission, 'lose' the income which would accrues from admission charges and which could be used to further their social inclusion strategies. Indeed, in utilising income from admission charges to further social inclusion ends, museums would also be serving redistributive goals. As present public policy stands, in providing financial incentives to museums and galleries to offer free admission, the Government is in fact subsidising the great majority of visitors (many of whom are tourists) who are both able and willing to pay a general admission charge.

Museums and Galleries: Agents of Social Inclusion?

As public institutions which rely heavily on state funding, it is not surprising that museums and galleries should increasingly be expected to focus more on their educational mission and assume a more social inclusion-oriented posture:

At the present time, in many areas where decisions are made about the funding and maintenance of museums, hard questions are now being asked

about the justification of museums, about their role in the community, and their functions and potentials. Where the answers are not forthcoming, or where perceptions of the value of museums are low in relation to other priorities, collections are sold, staff dismissed, and buildings closed. In most cases, the answers that are given are that museums are educational institutions (Hooper-Greenhill, 1997: 1).

Within a climate of accountability and competition for scarce public resources, museums have faced (increasing) pressure to present a convincing case for their role and value to society....Within this context, many museums have found that their preservation and conservation roles curry little political and public favour but that their potential as a vehicle for learning is more likely to win support (Sandell, 1998: 403).

Interestingly, the current research found evidence among museums and galleries of strong opposition to the view that museums have an important role to play in the public policy war against social exclusion. As stated in the introduction to the paper, a number of museums and galleries expressed the view that the pressures being placed on museums to embrace the social inclusion agenda carry with them the danger of distorting the principal purpose of museums. David Barrie, a board member of *Re-source* (the institution that has replaced the Museums and Galleries Commission in the UK) has argued strongly that the proper priorities of museums ae being lost in the face of social and political priorities:

By concentrating all their resources on trying to become successful visitor attractions, some museums have betrayed the collections that alone justify their existence....Politicians, having failed to grasp that museums are valuable in themselves, have insisted that in return for state funding they must help deliver political goals like social inclusion....Divided and uncertain, and so lacking the unity and strength to stand up to this threat, many museums have rushed to embrace the government's agenda (Barrie, 2001: 51).

One senior museum official involved in the current research stated strongly that 'I don't think it (social inclusion) is relevant. I think we are just cowtowing to the latest political trend'. Another referred to the fact that museums are required to publish access targets and demonstrate through explicit performance measures that they are widening access, and commented that this is not and should not be the primary role of museums. Among other respondents, there was a clear level of concern regarding what was perceived as increasing Government intervention in the day-to-day delivery of museum

services. For example, one Scottish respondent complained that 'the Scottish Executive is becoming much more hands-on and we've even got one Minister saying we expect you to do what we want'.

Appleton (2001) provides a strong attack on the notion of museums and galleries as agents of social inclusion, and challenges the view that museums should be drive by social and political objectives. For Appleton, the focus on tackling social exclusion distracts the museum from other centrally important activities and responsibilities:

Once a museum puts the perceived needs of the people at the heart of its work, the collection will quite naturally lose its importance and value. A collection is no longer seen as valuable in itself....Instead, its value is embodied in something external to itself: the immediate relationship it is able to establish to the public, how it will help the museum and its officials connect with the public, or how it will lead to observable changes in the lives of visitors.

In the people-centred museum....secial ends tend to take over. Much of the activity of museum staff is now indistanguishable from that of a host of social, health or educational services. The collection and the specialist knowledge required to understand it are pushed to the margins. In its effort to provide every sort of service...the people-centred museum tends to undermine the distinctive character and eventually the very rationale of the museum as such. This is compounded by efforts to dissolve the museum into its community, to break down any barriers with the world around. Outreach programmes, attempts to involve local communities in the museum's activities, and the outright dispersal of the collection into community centres; all these blur the museum out of existence (Appleton, 2001: 18, 22).

Moreover, given that the development of access and outreach programmes requires significant financial resources, there is a danger that museum and gallery funds are being diverted away from other important areas of expenditure, particularly the conservation of collections and the purchasing of new exhibits. At present, museums and galleries are being pulled in a number of different directions in response to a wide array of social, political and financial pressures. They are increasingly required to expand their services, bringing into the museum more visitors or all ages, and all socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds. There is a growing body of evidence to suggest that the pursuit of social inclusion objectives has a direct impact on purchasing power. For example, the National Galleries of Scotland in mid-2003 reported a cash crisis

which has forced the abandonment, for the foreseeable future, of plans to buy new works of art. A sum of £1.25 million, that had been set aside for this purpose, was reallocated to cover the costs involved in meeting the Scottish Executive's demands that the galleries take their collections 'on tour' and other access-related policies. The loss of this capacity to buy has significant implications. Sir Timothy Clifford, Director General of Scotland's National Galleries, states that:

The purchase grant (the £1.25 million) gives us leverage. It means that other sources of funding will commit themselves to giving us money, so the £1 million we have gets turned into £15 million. By us sacrificing our purchase grant, we are making a huge sacrifice for the national galleries. I've got a stack of different things right now that I'd like to buy, but I can't at the moment because there's no money. I feel acutely embarrassed that there are things of great historical importance for Scotland out there but I can't do anything about them (quoted in *The Herald on Sunday*, 3rd August 2003: 3).

This illustration of conflict in financial priorities takes us right to the heart of a crucial question in this debate: for what should public money pay? Should public money be spent on acquiring art works, and preserving and expanding the great national collections for the benefit of the few, or should it be utilised in the furtherance of widening access to museums and galleries for the many? It is clear that museums and galleries are investing considerable time and resources to an increasing number of access and social inclusion-related programmes such as those described earlier in this paper. However, if they are to continue to be pressured by the government of the day to support its social and political priorities, politicians should be aware that 'there are limits to what collections of objects and museum techniques can accomplish for social uplift' (Alexander, 1979: 229). Moreover, as Sandell (1998: 416) concludes:

Museums have other purposes which might conflict with their social purpose. It would be prudent to recognise the many limitations of the museum and accept that their role in directly tackling the social problems associated with exclusion is likely to be marginal.

Conclusion

When we consider the implementation of cultural policy and access to heritage in the UK, with particular reference to the role played by museums and galleries, we might reasonably argue that these institutions are unsuitable vehicles for the promotion of social inclusion. Yet, conversely, museums and galleries across the UK have increasingly recognised that they have a role to

play in this respect in return for continued state funding and have consistently advanced the notion of the museum as an agent for positive social change. Today, museums and galleries are viewed, in public policy terms, as important instruments in the delivery of social inclusion objectives, particularly in relation to the widening of access to their exhibits and collections. Within the UK, as argued in this article, a number of interesting developments have occurred in this regard, alongside the continuation of intense debates over, on the one hand, the role of admission charges as a potential barrier to access and, on the other, the central normative question of whether or not tackling problems of social exclusion should be a principal concern of museums and galleries. There is a clear need for further empirical research into the complex causal relationships between attempts made by either Governments or museums and galleries themselves to widen access to exhibits and general collections and changes in the social composition of visitors resulting result from such actions.

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About the Author

Dr. Peter Falconer is a Senior Lecturer in Public Management and a Director of the Centre for Public Policy and Management at Glasgow Caledonian University, United Kingdom.

Dr. David Silbergh is a Lecturer in the Division of Management at Glasgow Caledonian University and a Director of the Sustainability Centre in Glasgow.