

Museum Education and  
International Understanding:  
Representations of Japan at the British Museum

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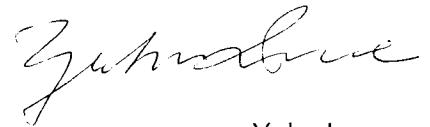
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Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

2005



I here by declare that, except where explicit attribution is made, the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Yuka Inoue', written in a cursive style.

Yuka Inoue

Word count (exclusive of appendices, list of reference and bibliography): 77359 words.

# Abstract

This study examines how 'Japan' has been represented at the British Museum, and how the Japanese collection and exhibitions have contributed to the promotion of international understanding as defined by UNESCO in 1974.

I address the research questions:

- *How has Japan been represented at the British Museum, and how does the 'Discovering Japan' exhibition fit within this context? (Part 2)*
- *What perceptions did British pupils have of Japanese culture and people, and how did these change after the visit? (Part 3)*
- *What understanding (that is appreciation and interest) did these pupils have of Japanese culture and people, and how did this change after the visit? (Part 3)*
- *What lessons might be learned for future exhibitions about Japan? (Part 4)*

This study consists of four parts. Part 1 explains the research background and its methodologies. Part 2 is a documentary analysis of the history of the representation of Japan in the British Museum. It addresses the development of the Japanese collection, its educational use, and how a hands-on exhibition - *Discovering Japan* - fits within this context.

Part 3 analyses how a travelling exhibition - *Discovering Japan* - promotes British pupils' understanding of Japanese culture and people. I examine pupils' verbal and visual perceptions, and understanding before and after exhibition exposure. Most pupils expanded their perception of Japan and sustained a high appreciation of the people. However, pupils who already held negative perceptions rarely changed their views.

Part 4 provides recommendations for the further promotion of international understanding in museums. I suggest a *Gōi* model in planning this type of exhibition and recommend: 1) an awareness that children understand displays differently from adults; 2) consultation with native professionals at the exhibition planning stage; 3) surveying pupils' perception of the culture in focus; and 4) developing links between museums and schools.

# Table of Contents

<b>Abstract</b>	3
<b>Brief guide to each chapter</b>	12
<b>PART 1</b>	
<b>Chapter 1 Introduction</b>	14
1.1 The development of research questions	14
1.1.1 My interest in the perception of Japan of young people living in the UK	14
1.1.2 Learning about different places	18
1.1.3 Museums as places to understand different cultures	19
1.1.4 Focusing on Japan	21
1.1.5 Purpose of the research	21
1.2 Rationale for research	23
1.2.1 Lack of research on pupils' perceptions of cultures in relation to museum displays	23
1.2.2 Why Japan?	24
1.3 The originality of the research	26
1.4 Definition of terms and concepts	27
1.4.1 Operational definitions	27
1.4.2 The concepts	30
<b>Chapter 2 Literature and theoretical review</b>	33
2.1 Introduction	33
2.2 What is international understanding?	33
2.2.1 History of education for international understanding	34
2.2.2 Exhibitions for international understanding	38
2.3 The western display of 'others' in museums	39
2.3.1 Exhibiting 'other' cultures in museums	39
2.3.2 Museums for reforming modern society	40
2.3.3 The power of nations and museums	42
2.3.4 Exhibiting objects from different cultures	44
2.4 British children's perceptions of Japan	48
2.4.1 Children's racial perceptions of 'others'	48
2.4.2 Perceptions of 'Japan' by Westerners	50
2.4.3 Western perception of Japanese people	52
2.4.4 British pupils' perception of Japan	58
2.4.5 Sources of the perceptions	60
2.4.6 Children's drawings and perceptions	63

2.5	Theory of museum education and learning from experiential exhibitions	63
2.5.1	Education in museums	63
2.5.2	Learning from experience	67
2.6	Summary	69
<b>Chapter 3</b>	<b>Methodology</b>	71
3.1	Introduction	71
3.2	Review of research methodology	71
3.2.1	Research in the museum context	71
3.2.2	Research questions	73
3.2.3	Rejection of other methodologies	73
3.3	Research methods employed	75
3.3.1	Case study	77
3.3.2	Historical documentary analysis	78
3.3.3	Discourse analysis of the documents	80
3.3.4	Postal questionnaire	81
3.3.5	Analysing children's drawings	82
3.3.6	Background of drawing analysis	83
3.3.7	Methodology adopted in analysing the drawings	87
3.4	Data collection and analysis	88
3.4.1	Research participants	88
3.4.2	Ethical considerations	88
3.4.3	Questionnaire development procedure	90
3.4.4	Methods of data analysis	92

## PART 2

<b>Chapter 4</b>	<b>The tradition of representing Japan at the British Museum and <i>Discovering Japan</i> exhibition</b>	95
4.1	Introduction	95
4.2	Historical representation of Japan at the British Museum	95
4.2.1	Expansions of the Japanese collections	96
4.2.2	Japanese exhibitions at the British Museum	104
4.2.3	The establishment of the Japanese Galleries	109
4.3	The Japanese Galleries and their educational use	111
4.3.1	Documentary review of the educational use of Japanese collections at the BM	111
4.4	<i>Discovering Japan</i> at the British Museum	114

4.4.1	Background history and the aim of <i>Discovering Japan</i>	114
4.4.2	The history of the exhibition	116
4.4.3	Individuals involved	117
4.4.4	<i>Discovering Japan</i> at the BM	118
4.4.5	The content of <i>Discovering Japan</i> and its association with the collections	120
4.5	Conclusion: How was Japan represented at the British Museum and how did <i>Discovering Japan</i> fit within this representation?	121

### PART 3

#### **Chapter 5 What did children discover about Japan?: Presentation of findings and commentary on the data from both pre-visit and post-visit questionnaires**

5.1	About the data	124
5.2	Pupils' perceptions of Japan before the visit	125
5.2.1	Visiting Japan	125
5.2.2	Pupils' indirect experiences of Japan	126
5.2.3	Learning about Japan in schools	127
5.3	Pupils' perceptions after the visit: a comparison	128
5.3.1	Pupils' impression of <i>Discovering Japan</i>	128
5.3.2	Pupils' perceptions of Japan and Japanese people	129
5.3.3	Pupils' perceptions of Japanese people	135
5.4	Pupils' understanding of Japan	142
5.4.1	Pupils' interest in Japan	142
5.4.2	Pupils' appreciation of Japanese people	147
5.4.3	The association with other questions and appreciation scores	149
5.4.4	The satisfaction of the exhibition and pupils' perception of Japan	151

#### **Chapter 6 Findings and analysis of pupils' drawings of a Japanese boy or girl**

6.1	Introduction	154
6.2	About the data	154
6.3	Drawings before the visit	155
6.3.1	Location of the differences	156
6.3.2	Presentation of findings	161
6.4	Comparison between pre-visit and post-visit drawings of human figures	177
6.5	Findings and discussion	193
6.5.1	What are the significant patterns in the way pupils depict Japanese people in their drawings before the visit?	193
6.5.2	Did any stereotyped perceptions appear?	196

6.5.3	Did their visual image in drawings change as a result of the museum experience?	197
6.6	Summary	199

## PART 4

<b>Chapter 7</b>	<b>Further analysis and discussion</b>	<b>200</b>
7.1	What perceptions did British pupils have of Japanese culture and people, and in what ways did these perceptions change after the visit?	200
7.1.1	Did British pupils hold perceptions of Japanese culture and people before they visited the <i>Discovering Japan</i> exhibition?	200
7.1.2	Appropriateness of teaching materials	202
7.1.3	What perceptions did British pupils hold of Japanese culture and people?	209
7.2	In what ways were these perceptions influenced by the visit?	211
7.2.1	Perception of 'Japan'	211
7.2.2	Perceptions of Japanese people	213
7.2.3	Follow-up session for Japanese figure drawings	214
7.2.4	Negative perceptions	220
7.3	What kind of understanding (that is interest and appreciation) do pupils have of Japanese culture and people?	221
7.3.1	In what ways were their understanding influenced after the visit?	222
7.4	Discussion: What lessons might be learned for future exhibitions about Japan?	224
7.4.1	Representation of 'others' and international understanding	224
7.4.2	Representation of 'others' in museum exhibitions	225
7.4.3	Critique of <i>Discovering Japan</i>	227
7.4.4	<i>Discovering Japan</i> : A representation of whose Japan?	229
7.4.5	<i>Discovering Japan</i> and international understanding	240
7.4.6	Museum exhibitions and international understanding	241
	7.4.6.1 Understanding and appreciating others	241
	7.4.6.2 Museum experience and international understanding	242
7.5	Summary	244
<b>Chapter 8</b>	<b>Conclusion: Representation by <i>Gōi</i></b>	<b>245</b>
8.1	A review of this study	245
8.2	Representation by <i>Gōi</i>	248
8.2.1	<i>Gōi</i> between (1a) Adult's perspective ← → (1b) Children's perspective	250
8.2.2	<i>Gōi</i> between (2a) Museum staff ← → (2b) Source community	252
8.2.3	<i>Gōi</i> between (3a) Male curation ← → (3b) Female curation	254
8.2.4	<i>Gōi</i> between (4a) Past culture ← → (4b) Present culture	255

8.2.5	<i>Gōi</i> between (5a) Emphases on differences ← → (5b) Emphasis on similarities	256
8.2.6	Links and <i>Gōi</i> between (6a) Museums ← → (6b) Schools	257
8.3	Proposal for further research	259
<b>References</b>		263
<b>Appendix 1</b>	<b>Japanese Gallery – Exhibition Programme</b>	285
<b>Appendix 2.1</b>	<b>Pre-visit questionnaire</b>	288
<b>Appendix 2.2</b>	<b>Post-visit questionnaire</b>	294
<b>Appendix 3</b>	<b>Research Ethics with Children</b>	300



# List of figures and tables

## Chapter 1

Figure 1.1 <i>Under the Wave off Kanagawa</i> by Katsushika Hokusai	15
1.2 Photographs of <i>Discovering Japan</i>	17
1.3 The relations between key concepts	29
1.4 Change in visitors' perception	31

## Chapter 2

Figure 2.1 Cover illustrations of geisha on recently published books	51
Table 2.1 The twelve traits most frequently assigned to various racial and national groups	53
2.2 Three categories of images of Japan and of the Japanese possessed by primary school children (Thurley 1978: 23)	59
2.3 Working hours and holidays	61

## Chapter 3

Figure 3.1 Research methods employed in this study	76
3.2 Example of categories and sub categories	88
Table 3.1 The 30 Developmental Items in analysing children's HFD's (Koppitz 1968)	85
3.2 Categories used for analysing children's drawings of people from a different ethnic group	87
3.3 Participant schools	88
3.4 Summary of data analysis	92
3.5 Adjective scores	94

## Chapter 4

Figure 4.1 Hello Kitty towel from the <i>Souvenir</i> exhibition at the British Museum	102
Table 4.1 Japanese exhibitions at the British Museum from 1920 to 1989	107
4.2 Major exhibitions in the Japanese Galleries at the British Museum	111
4.3 Comparison of <i>Discovering Japan</i> in Scotland (1991) and in London (2001)	116
4.4 Japanese children's selection of Japanese culture for British children	122

## Chapter 5

Figure 5.1 Populations of Japanese Nationals in the UK	126
5.2 How did you like these exhibits? (PST-Q3) (n=111)	128
5.3 What do you think Japanese people are like? (n=111)	135
5.4 Newly circled and disregarded terms after the visit (n=101)	137
5.5 Would you like to know more about Japan? (n=111)	142
5.6 Would you like to know more about Japan? (school) (n=111)	144
5.7 Would you like to visit Japan? (n=111)	146
5.8 What do you think Japanese people are like? [PRE] (n=106)	148
5.9 What do you think Japanese people are like? [POST] (n=106)	148

Table 5.1 What do you think when you hear the word 'Japan'? (n=111)	128
5.2 Learning in schools and its effect on appreciation (n=111)	150
<b>Chapter 6</b>	
Figure 6.1 The gender of the drawing figure of a Japanese counterpart (n=85)	156
6.2 Primary school boy's drawing before the visit (HH26)	157
6.3 Secondary school boy's drawing before the visit (NM07)	157
6.4 Secondary school girl's drawing before the visit (HL14)	157
6.5 Most frequent differences between self and Japanese figures (n=80)	158
6.6 Secondary school girl's drawings before the visit (HL33)	160
6.7 Primary school girl and boy's drawings before the visit (BG05,07)	160
6.8 Drawings by primary school boy and a secondary school girl before visit (BG02, HL02)	162
6.9 Primary school girl's drawings before the visit (HH27)	162
6.10 Sub-category (2) 'Hair accessories' (n=85)	162
6.11 Frequency of differences in eyeshapes (n=85)	165
6.12 Drawings by a primary school boy before the visit (HH06)	166
6.13 Drawings by a secondary school girl before the visit (IB04)	166
6.14 Sub categories in 'clothes' (n=85)	168
6.15 Drawings by a primary school girl before the visit (BG18)	168
6.16 Drawings by a secondary school girl before the visit (HL01)	169
6.17 Drawings by a primary school girl before the visit (BG10)	170
6.18 Drawings by a primary school boy before the visit (BG07)	170
6.19 Drawings by a secondary school girl before the visit (IB08)	173
6.20 Drawings by a primary school girl before the visit (BG09)	174
6.21 Drawings by a secondary school boy before the visit (IB11)	176
6.22 Gender of self figure and Japanese figure (n=85)	177
6.23 Frequency of identified differences between the human figure drawings	178
6.24 Differences in socks before and after the visit (n=85)	179
6.25 Drawings by a primary school girl (BG04)	180
6.26 Drawings by a primary school girl (BG10)	181
6.27 Drawings by a secondary school girl (HL31)	182
6.28 Differences in clothing in Japanese figures (n=85)	183
6.29 Drawings by a secondary school girl (HL19)	184
6.30 Drawings by a secondary school boy (NM02)	185
6.31 Drawings by a primary school girl (HH23)	187
6.32 Drawings by a secondary school girl (HL12)	188
6.33 Drawings by a primary school boy (HH06)	188
6.34 Differences in eye shape in self figures (n=85)	189
6.35 Differences in eye shape in Japanese figures (n=85)	190
6.36 Drawings by a primary school girl (HH09)	191
6.37 Drawings by a secondary school girl	192
6.38 Drawings by a primary school girl (HH25)	192

Table 6.1 The gender of pupils and their drawings (n=80*)	156
6.2 Increased items after the visit (n=85)	179
<b>Chapter 7</b>	
Figure 7.1 Introduction of <i>Ukiyoe</i> in a Japanese primary school textbook	205
7.2 Illustration from <i>Folk Tales of Japan</i> by Sheila Hatherley	206
7.3 Illustrations of the same folktales in Japanese picture books	207
7.4 Drawing by a primary school boy at the follow up session	217
7.5 Drawing by a primary school boy at the follow up session	217
7.6 Drawing by a secondary school girl at the follow up session	218
7.7 Drawings from two primary school girls at the follow up session	219
7.8 Illustrations of Japanese culture from British textbooks in the 1970's	236
Table 7.1 'Using homemade evidence' project for modern foreign language lesson	240
<b>Chapter 8</b>	
Figure 8.1 Building <i>Goi</i> -consensus for exhibitions representing 'other' cultures	249

# Brief guide to each chapter

## **Chapter 1 Introduction**

This chapter presents background information to the research. The rationale, and the originality are illustrated detailing the definitions of terms and concepts employed. Moreover, it sets out the overall framework developed for the present study, which provides the underlying structure of the presentation of the findings and data analysis.

## **Chapter 2 Literature and theoretical review**

Chapter 2 illustrates the arguments and findings from relevant research studies, and identifies relevant theories. It reviews current academic literature which address the issue of representing 'other' cultures and promoting international understanding in museums. Four areas are referenced and discussed; 2-2: what is international understanding?, 2-3: the western display of 'others' in museums, 2-4: British children's perceptions of Japan, and 2-5: Theory of museum education and learning from experiential exhibitions.

## **Chapter 3 Methodology**

Chapter 3 details the strengths and weaknesses of research methods when applied to educational contexts. To gain clear and accurate findings of pupils' perceptions of a different culture and the impact of visiting the exhibition, I adopt several aspects of both qualitative and quantitative methods. I have employed a 'case study' method and focused on a particular collection and exhibition in a museum. Within the case study framework, historical analysis and discourse analysis were applied in investigating the contextual background of the representation of Japan at the British Museum. Explanation and justification are given for selecting specific approaches. Finally, I present the adopted methods and the research procedure.

## **Chapter 4 The tradition of representing Japan at the British Museum and *Discovering Japan* exhibition**

Chapter 4 provides an insight into the development of Japanese collections, their educational use, and how a new type of exhibition, in this instance *Discovering Japan*, fits within this context. I conducted a documentary analysis on the history of how Japanese culture has been represented in the British Museum from the end of nineteenth century until today. The background history of the creation of *Discovering Japan* is also addressed. How themes were selected and by whom are critically discussed through analysis together with the information from interviewing the curator.

## **Chapter 5 What did children discover about Japan?: Presentation of findings and commentary on the data from both pre-visit and post-visit questionnaires**

Chapter 5 examines pupils' initial knowledge, perceptions and understanding of Japanese people and their culture. The findings present a whole picture of how primary and secondary pupils living around London perceive Japanese culture and how this is situated in their indirect

experiences. I then examine the changes in perception and understanding that are found in pupils' responses after the visit. Answers of pupils who handed in both questionnaires were analysed and compared. I looked for pupils' comments which indicated the impact of the museum experience. With the presentation of the findings, I comment on the data and suggest outcomes from the exhibition.

## **Chapter 6 Findings and analysis of pupils' drawings of a Japanese boy or girl**

I investigate visual images of Japanese boys and girls by using pupils' drawings of themselves and their representations of an imagined Japanese counterpart. These were collected before and after their visit. Although not all of them completed four figures (two self figures and two Japanese figures), many implications were extracted from the ways pupils express external differences in human figure drawings: for instance, certain body parts and clothing were given extra attention to depict differences. Drawing gives a vivid visual image of how pupils picture Japanese people in their minds. Findings and comments are discussed.

## **Chapter 7 Further analysis and discussion**

Chapter 7 presents further analysis and critical argument based on historical documentary information in chapter 4 and on data presented in chapters 5 and 6. I also further examine the process of making *Discovering Japan*. By using Barthes notions of 'myths' (1973), I analysed how intentional selection of the themes in the exhibition appear as a natural representation of Japanese culture once displayed. The process of naturalisation is influenced by a Eurocentric view of non-Western cultures which also appears in anthropological study. Non-Western culture is still defined as mysterious and exotic, and themes in the exhibition are likely to support and reinforce these notions. At the same time, visual stereotypes are also emphasised through the displays. These reappear in pupils' drawings of Japanese human figures after the visit.

In terms of enhancing international understanding, it is crucial for pupils to have an opportunity to see a culture displayed in a well-balanced format. While there are positive approaches in introducing Asian cultures to a Western audience, there remain requirements for museum educators and school teachers to critically examine their teaching resources and exhibitions.

## **Chapter 8 Conclusion: Representation by *Goi***

Drawing on my discussion in chapter 7, in the final chapter 8, I suggest a model of 'representation by *Goi*-consensus' and offer six recommendations for museum educators, school teachers and exhibition planners. The model provides practical suggestions for promoting pupils' understanding of different cultures and people.

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

Museums have increasingly become forums for the promotion of community relations and peace in addressing the problems of the world created due to inadequate cross cultural understanding, historical fears and ethnic tensions, museums are increasingly connecting with the important role that they can play in the promotion of cultural understanding through negotiated activities driven by community relations strategies.

(International Council of Museums (ICOM), 1997:4)

In this research, I seek to understand how Japan has historically been represented at the British Museum (the BM). Then, I focus on how groups of primary and secondary pupils experienced a contemporary hands-on exhibition about Japan, to analyse the museum as a setting for learning about different cultures.

Initially this chapter will explain the background, and contextualise four research questions. A brief introduction of the exhibition will be presented (1.1). Second, the rationale for this research is presented by answering the question, 'Why is it necessary?' (1.2) Third, the originality of this research is argued (1.3). Fourth, I define terms and concepts which are adopted in this thesis (1.4).

### **1.1 The development of the research questions**

#### **1.1.1 My interest in the perception of Japan of young people living in the UK**

My life history is somewhat different from a typical Japanese female. I was born in Tokyo and moved to the United States when I was five years old and lived there for about four years. One of my memories of America was visiting the Smithsonian Institute, and seeing the 'moon rock' with my family. I still remember looking at the rock displayed in a round glass case. I thought it would be fascinating to touch the rock and see how it felt. My parents took me to many

museums, galleries and zoos in the U.S. Those exciting memories at museums still remain. Years later, one book inspired me to study international understanding in a museum setting. When I was a high school student in Japan, I read 'Citizens and Aid' (*Shimin to enjo*) by Yayori Matsui, a journalist who documented a variety of projects advocating citizens' awareness of developing countries. She mentioned an education programme run by the Kinder Museum (Royal Tropical Institute) in Amsterdam, and described one programme introducing music and dance from Bali in Indonesia. I realised that if there were such a programme in Japan, people could broaden their horizons. My interest in museum education bloomed then. After graduating from a Japanese university, I decided to study in London, where virtually all museums and galleries run rich educational programmes.

At the beginning of the PhD programme, I found a book on folk tales from Japan published in London in 1993. To my surprise, main characters in the story were drawn with slit pointed eyes, wearing long-flowing robes with some wearing triangular hats. The drawings looked outdated and weird. A misleading image of Japanese people in medieval times was represented.

The illustrator was adapting images of people featured in *Ukiyo-e* woodblock prints. *Ukiyo-e* were created between the 17th and 19th centuries. They are frequently displayed in museums and art galleries and are the most popular form of Japanese art acknowledged in Europe. The following example, *Under the Wave, off Kanagawa* (1829-33) by Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1846; BM) is world famous.

**Figure 1.1** *Under the Wave off Kanagawa*  
by Katsushika Hokusai



The illustrations of Japanese females were based on the image of geisha and women in kimono found in many *Ukiyo-e*. Inserting illustrations of geisha-looking women into a children's book of folktales is a significant error. Geisha do not appear in folk tales in Japan because they are from

a different period; usually folk tales pre-date the appearance of geisha. Picture books published in Japan do not present these inaccuracies. I wondered why this kind of misunderstanding still occurs? If British children read this book, wouldn't they develop a stereotyped image?

It would have been understandable had this book been published more than 50 years ago, when Japan was suffering from isolation and distrust caused by the Second World War. Moreover, at that time, only certain groups of British people had contact with Japan. It was also rare to find Japanese people in the UK. According to the statistics from the Japanese Embassy, in 1960 there were only 762 Japanese nationals resident in the UK, whereas in 2002 there were 50,864. Therefore, the information resources on Japan were limited and it was difficult to gain a comprehensive picture of it. However, this book was published in 1993, when the economic relationship between UK and Japan was flourishing, there were over 56,000 Japanese people living in London, and thousands of British citizens visited Japan each year. How could publishers still produce a book with such stereotyped images? Why was the veracity of the illustrations unquestioned?

Where do people find *Ukiyo-e* in London? Large museums like the BM or Victoria and Albert Museum are the answer. After visiting several exhibitions on Japan, I realised that British children may reinforce their stereotypes of Japanese people through some traditional exhibitions. Children do not always have the museum-mind of adults. They may understand that an exhibition is a reflection of a contemporary culture rather than the past. I began to question the way in which museums and galleries represent different cultures such as Japan. Also the absence of a Japanese person's viewpoint in decision-making processes seemed to be a critical issue. My research addresses these phenomena in Britain, where in some cases children are receiving a misleading image of Japan, interpreted and influenced by British adults. I decided to conduct research in museums, as they are a primary site for children to encounter different cultures. What is the impact on children of this experience? How do they perceive another



culture? Do old artefacts reinforce a stereotyped image? What ability do museums have to reveal contemporary life? In order to demonstrate the impact of a museum visit, I focused on the history and development of the presentation of Japanese culture in the BM as a representative example. A travelling exhibition called *Discovering Japan* which opened at the BM was chosen as a case study.

*Discovering Japan* which ran from 3<sup>rd</sup> September to 14<sup>th</sup> October 2001, was originally planned and created in the Royal Museum of Scotland in 1991. Since 1992, it has been managed by Japan Festival Education Trust (JFET)<sup>1</sup> with few changes from the original exhibition (see 4.4.1). JFET advertised *Discovering Japan* as 'a "hands-on" exhibition, providing your pupils with a chance to experience discovery-based learning and to develop their research, investigation, problem solving and designing skills.' *Discovering Japan* was structured in eight sections: Daruma Doll, Food, Garden, Shinto shrine, Traditional costume (Kimono<sup>2</sup>), Wrapping, Writing, and Design.

**Figure 1.2 Photographs of *Discovering Japan***



**Shrine section**



**Kimono section**

<sup>1</sup> Japan Festival Education Trust (JFET) has changed their name and from Spring 2003, they are called Japan 21. Japan 21 is a registered UK charity which prepares teaching materials on Japan and arranges workshops for teachers, runs educational projects for schools in Britain and Japan

<sup>2</sup> Officially, this section is called 'traditional clothing', but in this study, I employ the term 'kimono section'.



← Food section  
Writing section ↓



Pupils were encouraged to try various activities in each section. These activities included tasting, smelling and experiencing the texture of Japanese food, trying to write kanji characters, creating an *ema* (a wooden plaque with a wish) and trying on a kimono. In this research, I focused on this exhibition and analysed its implications in detail.

### 1.1.2 Learning about different places

Learning about different places and their people is one of the Attainment Targets in the *Geography National Curriculum*. The Attainment target consists of eight levels, and levels 1 to 5 are to be completed at primary school. The secondary level follows accordingly (DfEE, Attainment targets, 1999a: 1) From level 1 to 3, pupils study at a 'local scale'. Pupils are required to show knowledge, skills and understanding of their own neighbourhood. Then, from level 4 (Year 5 and 6), they are expected to expand the boundaries and, at level 5, the requirements expand to the life of the people living in different places as follows:

Pupils show their knowledge, skills and understanding in studies of a range of places and environments at more than one scale and in different parts of the world. They begin to recognise and describe geographical patterns and to appreciate the importance of wider geographical location in understanding places. They recognise and describe physical and human processes. They describe how these processes can lead to similarities and differences in the environments of different places and in the lives of people who live there.

(*ibid*: 30)

This target requires pupils to look closely at 'the lives of people who live there'. Geography aims

to expand children's world views and to let them think and feel themselves into those places (Wiegand, 1993).

Learning about different parts of the world is also recommended by UNESCO (1976) for promoting mutual understanding between cultures. This ethos has been incorporated into various types of education programmes, for example: development education (Daniels and Sinclair, 1985; McFarlane 1986; Fountain, 1995); global education (Hanvey, 1976, 1982; Anderson, 1965; Hicks and Townley, 1982); and citizenship education (DfEE, 1999b). Thus, learning about different cultures has become a crucial educational issue in the UK.

### 1.1.3 Museums as places to understand different cultures

From establishment in the 18<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, many 'public museums' carried an educational role (Hooper-Greenhill, 1991; Wittlin, 1949). However, in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, that role declined and, until recently, museums were considered places for collecting artefacts, preservation, and professional research (Bennett, 1995; Hooper-Greenhill, 1991; Wittlin, 1949). This tradition lasted until the 1970s. However, recently museums have become one of the primary informal education sectors (Anderson, 1997; DfEE/DCMS, 1999, 2000; MGC, 1996; DFES *et al*, 2004). Museums are highly regarded for providing various types of educational opportunities complementary to, but different from, those of schools. The BM, for instance, is full of artefacts collected world-wide from ancient times (for example. *Rosetta stone*, 196 BC, Egypt, Ptolemaic Period) to contemporary artwork (for example. Kester Maputo, *Throne of Weapons*, 2001, Mozambique). Entering a large marble-inlaid national museum and being surrounded by rarities, this 'museum' atmosphere is significantly different from daily life.

Learning in such an environment has become a centre of attention for educators and the government in the past 20 years (see 2.5). One of the pioneers in developing museum education in recent Britain was Molly Harrison (1910-2002), a curator at the Geffrye Museum

(Hackney: London) from 1946 to 1969. She described the educational function of the museum as follows:

One of the purposes of education is surely to help children see things freshly and with a sense of wonder and delight. Museums are among those places in which we can say 'Look!' with a large degree of certainty that what we are showing is worth seeing, and if we are enthusiastic and skilful the children will look and their appreciative 'gosh!' will tell us what we want to hear (1967: 5).

Since the 1990s, the British government has re-emphasised the educational role of museums and galleries and has been promoting their programmes. There has been a continuous stream of government reports and initiatives since the publication of David Anderson's *A Common Wealth* (1997, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1999) (MGC, 1996; DfEE/DCMS 1999, 2000, 2001; DFES *et al*, 2004). In *The Learning Power of Museums*, it states that '[the Government] believes that all museums, whatever their size and type, can become centres for learning and powerful educational resources' (2000: 8). Under this belief, Government, quangos such as the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA), and other related organisations such as the Group for Education in Museums (GEM) and Engage (international group for promoting greater enjoyment and understanding of visual arts) have all contributed to providing rich educational opportunities.

Moreover, since museums contain rich cultural resources from the world, they have been considered as an appropriate environment in which to learn about different cultures (Simpson, 1987; Wolfe, 1987; Reeve, 1987; Suina, 1990). Furthermore, museums are considered as major out-of-school education institutions for international understanding by UNESCO (1974). In

Section 6 (306) of the *Recommendation of 1974*, UNESCO states:

All the parties concerned should combine efforts to adapt and use the mass media of communication, self-education, and inter-active learning, and such institutions as museums and public libraries to convey relevant knowledge to the individual, to foster in him or her favourable attitudes and a willingness to take positive action, and to spread knowledge and understanding of the educational campaigns and programmes planned in accordance with the objective of the recommendation (1974: 5).

Additionally a major aim of social inclusion scheme is to attract and cultivate new audiences (Davies, 1999, Allsop, 1999; MLA, 2004). In order to integrate minority cultures into British

society, some museums invite minority communities to become involved in museum projects. Social inclusion is an immense issue for all museums and galleries and many are struggling to establish a coherent approach (see *engage 11*(2002), Resource *et al*, 2002). However, my study focuses on cultures at the 'international' level. Based on the notion of international understanding, attention is given to a culture which is initially found in another country. That is those cultures not always considered as minority communities in the U.K. and, therefore, not counted as part of the social inclusion agenda (for example. Japan, Korea).

#### 1.1.4 Focusing on Japan

In this study, I focus on Japanese culture. The economic relationship between UK and Japan has become closer in the last 20 years, so British people can find aspects of Japanese culture in their daily life. For example, 'sushi', once confined to expensive restaurants is now sold in major supermarkets. Also, in 1991 and 2001, there was a series of nation-wide events promoting Japanese culture: 'The Japan Festival 1991' and 'Japan 2001'.

An increasing focus on Japan is now evident in museums and galleries. The '*Shinto: The Sacred Art of Ancient Japan*' (2001), '*Kazari: Decoration and Display in Japan, 15<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> centuries*' (2003) and '*Cutting Edge: Japanese Swords in the British Museum*' (2004-5) exhibition at the BM, and '*Encounters: The Meeting of Asia and Europe 1500-1800*' (2004) at the V&A are recent examples in London. Many of these Japanese exhibitions are accompanied by educational programmes.

#### 1.1.5 Purpose of the research

The research questions of this study are as follows:

- 1) *How has Japan been represented at the British Museum and how does 'Discovering Japan' exhibition fit within this context?*
- 2) *What perceptions did British pupils have of Japanese culture and people, and in what*

*ways did these perceptions change after the visit?*

3) *What understandings (that is: interest, appreciation) did these pupils have of Japanese culture and people, and in what ways did their understandings change after the visit?*

4) *What lessons might be learned for future exhibitions about Japan?*

I will explain the purpose of the research in relation to these research questions. Question 1 aims to fill the gap in available information about the presentation of the Japanese collection at the BM. The collection of Japanese artefacts started as early as the 18<sup>th</sup> century. However, there are no documents recording developments of the collection, specifically for educational use. This study will provide a historical survey through documentary analysis of the development of the Japanese collections and of the educational programmes which featured Japanese culture. Questions 2 and 3 propose an investigation of pupils' perceptions and understanding of Japan, both through verbal and visual expressions. A number of studies have been made on the display techniques of exhibitions. There is a study on the technical aspects of *Discovering Japan*, too (Statham, 1993). Moreover, the past decade has seen a growing interest in evaluation research (for example. Minda and Korn, 1999; Studart, 1997). However, very few attempts have been made at evaluating how pupils understand different cultures through museum exhibitions (Inoue, 2002). This is partly because evaluation of cultural understanding is a complex procedure. Pupils inevitably have certain preconceived images of, and attitudes to, foreign countries. Today, there are abundant sources of images of foreign countries for children, including television, films, books, travelling and school. Those images convey certain attitudes to each foreign country – covertly or overtly - which may lead to prejudices (Speak, 1993; Cullingford, 2000). Therefore, I would suggest it is important to research children's images and their understanding of, and attitudes to, the culture concerned before the visit, and to compare this data with pupils' perceptions afterwards.

Question 4 aims to offer an in-depth analysis of the findings from both the documentary analysis and the empirical data collection, and to provide practical recommendations for museum

educators and teachers.

## 1.2 Rationale for the research

### 1.2.1 Lack of research on pupils' perceptions of cultures through museum displays

Visitors' museum experience has been a target for assessment for many years (Bicknell and Farmelo, 1993). The term 'visitor studies' is applied to the evaluation of visitors' experience of museums and is a major topic in the developing field of museology (Lawrence, 1993; Miles, 1993; Serrell, 1998; Screven, 1986). A useful example of how visitors' research results have been incorporated into the refurbishing of a gallery is given by John Orna-Ornstein (2001). Orna-Ornstein, a curator at the HSBC Money Gallery in the BM, reports the details of a visitors' survey on the Gallery and how its results affected display refurbishment. As in this case, many museums are now keen to conduct visitor surveys to capture the visitors' needs.

In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, visitor studies focused primarily on the behaviour of individual visitors (Hein, 1998). A prominent example of this kind of research on adults was conducted in the U.S. by Robinson and Melton (Melton, 1936). In their study, they timed and tracked adult visitors' behaviour in natural history museums. This mainly covered the issue of how long visitors spent in each room (room time), and the time devoted to each object (object time). Melton argues that it is possible to examine the interest of the visitors through their actions in the galleries (*ibid*). After several revisions, this approach is still valued as one way of measuring the outcomes from museum exhibitions (see Serrell, 1998).

Along with the behaviours of visitors, the past decade has seen a growing interest in evaluation and follow-up research (for example. Hooper-Greenhill *et al*, 2001; Minda and Korn, 1999; Studart, 1997; Shaw, 2004). Among museum educators, exhibition planners and school teachers, there is an assumption that pupils will acquire positive knowledge from the visit. However, as psychologist Dorothy Rowe argues, 'What children learn is not what adults tell

them, but how they interpret what the adults have said' (2004: 5). Learning in museums is heavily dependent on pupils' individual interpretation. Rowe argues that 'interpretation', 'meaning' and 'ideas' come from the individual experience (*ibid*). She points out that:

as no two people ever have the same experience, no two people construe anything in exactly the same way. It is our interpretation of events that determines our behaviour. (*ibid*)

This applies to the learning in museums. Exhibition planners and educators assume that visitors learn the presented information, but as Rowe says, it is unlikely that they have all learned the same content in the same manner. Therefore, individual pupils who visited *Discovering Japan* could have interpreted the exhibition quite differently.

In order to investigate what pupils actually perceived about the displayed culture, I conducted a case study based on pre-visit and post-visit surveys. An analysis of these surveys is intended to fill this gap in research.

### 1.2.2 Why Japan?

There were three reasons for choosing Japan as the target. The first reason is to provide up-to-date research building on that conducted by Elizabeth Fusae Thurley in 1978; '*Understanding and Perceptions of London School Children of Japanese Society*'. She investigated what pupils in Bromley understood about Japan, and what teachers taught about Japan in schools. Thurley's research provided the baseline for the research questions for this study. The following issues are the common features:

The prime object was to find out what knowledge or image the children in primary and secondary schools possess on[sic] Japan; how correctly they understand about[sic] Japan and how much Japan is studied in their school subjects, especially at the secondary level (p.1, my emphasis).

Although Thurley's research took place in 1978, many findings are common to those in 2001. For example, 'traditional images' (for example. kimono), 'racial images' (for example. small people with slit eyes) and 'modern images' (for example. over-crowded) were all mentioned by children in London 24 years ago (1978: 23). In her conclusion, she suggests



...further research needs to be undertaken to determine in detail the type of world view found among primary and secondary school teachers...and the need or lack of need for children to understand foreign societies (1978: 53).

She also recommends development of teaching materials on Japan (1978: 54). Since 1978, Japanese culture has been highlighted even more in the U.K. through national cultural campaigns (see 1.1.4). Not only adults, but also children in the U.K. are now likely to recognise that karate and sushi are from Japan. British children have daily contact with 'Japanese' products (for example, electronic products) whether they notice it or not. Moreover, some may feel familiar with Japan since the most popular video games are made by Japanese companies. Teaching materials on Japan have increased since 1978 (for example, Pilbeam, 1988, 1991 1998; resources provided by Japan 21). Thus, this research will contribute by following Thurley's research and providing updated data on London-based pupils' perceptions and understandings of Japanese culture and people.

This research is timely because it took place in autumn 2001, immediately before the FIFA World Cup 2002 in Korea and Japan. Through increased media coverage, pupils had more opportunities to hear about Japan. Moreover, especially for pupils who live around London, the city with the largest Japanese community in Europe, children were very likely to encounter Japanese culture in 2001. This was because of 'Japan 2001' - a national, year-long cultural 'festival' with more than a thousand events across the UK. *Discovering Japan* also benefited from the support of the Japan 2001 Committee, funded by the Embassy of Japan and other sponsors of these events.

The third reason is because *Discovering Japan* was the only exhibition which aimed to introduce Japanese culture through hands-on experience (Statham, 1993). Moreover, this exhibition was not a temporary one, but had a history of more than 10 years of exposure to the public, making it suitable for research purposes. Its impact on the audience could therefore be evaluated, to clarify what audiences actually understand of Japan

### 1.3 The originality of the research

The originality of my research lies in three aspects. First, I focused on the impact derived from *Discovering Japan* which was specifically planned as a pedagogic tool to enhance the understanding of Japan by a British audience. There is a growing interest in analysing visitors' learning in museums from the 1980s (Hein 1998; Stevenson, 1994; Studart 2000).

Second, this research is original in that it investigates the image and perception of Japan and Japanese people by British pupils in 2001. There are only two research studies on British pupils' understanding of Japanese people conducted in 1978 (Tames, 1978; Thurley 1978). There are a few studies on children's stereotypical view of Japan found in the United States (Kurokawa-Maykovich 1972), but they also date back to the 1970s. During my research, I could not find any studies on how stereotypes change after visiting a specific exhibition. Therefore the findings of this research are original in terms of investigating London-based pupils' perception towards Japanese people in 2001.

Third, I used children's human figure drawings to analyse their visual perceptions of Japanese people. Analysis of Human Figure Drawings (HFD) is not a new research tool. The systematic inquiry into utilisation of HFD has a well-established research tradition in psychology dating from the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century (see 3.3.5). It is still a method to approach a child's inner mind used by art therapists and psychologists. However, their use of drawing is restricted to uncovering children's emotional disturbance and difficulties and also to smooth the communication between the therapist and the child (Malchiodi, 1998). In my case, the HFDs are analysed from a different perspective. In order to explore the visual perceptions held by London-based pupils of Japanese people, I asked them to draw two figures, one of themselves and the other a Japanese figure. My research is original in making a comparison between two drawings made by the same child. Wiegand argues that 'drawing pictures of distant people and places are a useful alternative to written responses where children's language skills are less

developed' (1992: 85). The data from these drawings provides rich information on how pupils express their understanding of different people 'visually'.

## 1.4 Definition of terms and concepts

I will define the four initial terms and two concepts which repeatedly appear in this research.

### 1.4.1 Operational definitions

**Perception:** This study utilises the term perception as defined by Roth:

The term perception refers to the means by which information acquired from the environment via the sense organs is transformed into experiences of objects, events, sounds, tastes, etc. (1986: 81)

According to the *Dictionary of Cognitive Psychology* (Eysenck *et al*, 1990) most research has focused on auditory and visual perception. But in the museum context, I recognise that prior experience (Falk and Dierking, 1992), cultural and educational backgrounds and social conditions, all influence pupils' perceptions. 'Perception' is used to describe the impact of exhibitions on pupils' museum experience, which varies between each pupil.

**Image of people and culture:** I have employed the term 'image' in order to describe pupils' 'visual and verbal perceptions' of 'other' people and culture (for example. Japanese culture in the UK). Thus, I use the term image in the following ways:

- 1 If you have an **image** of someone or something, you have a picture or idea of them in your mind.
- 2 The **image** of a person, group, or organisation is the way that they appear to other people.  
(Collins English Dictionary, 1998)

**International Understanding:** I have used the term 'international understanding' as defined by UNESCO in 1974

Understanding and respect for all peoples, their cultures, civilisations, values and ways of life, including domestic ethnic cultures and cultures of other nations (Section 3, (4)-(b))

I have also referred to Speak's definition of international understanding (1993). She distinguished international understanding from international awareness by arguing that understanding:

implies an increasing response on the part of the individual which can lead to the

development of a positive and objective viewpoint and ultimately to involvement with the concerns and problems of others (1993: 6).

Since 'international understanding' is a broad term which contains different notions, I have focused on two aspects of understanding: 'appreciation' and 'interest' towards another culture and people as key concepts in this study.

**Appreciation:** 'Appreciation' appears in UNESCO documents and in the National Curriculum of England and Wales. In this study, I employ this term as used in these documents.

In the *Recommendation concerning education for international understanding, co-operation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms* (1974), Section 5 (17), 'appreciation' is employed as follows:

Member States should promote, at various stages and in various types of education, study of different cultures, their reciprocal influences, their perspectives and ways of life, in order to encourage mutual *appreciation* of the differences between them... (p.3, *my emphasis*)

Appreciation also appears in the National Curriculum:

Teachers create effective learning environments in which:  
stereotypical views are challenged and pupils learn to *appreciate* and view positively differences in others, whether arising from race, gender, ability or disability (DfEE, 1999: 31, *my emphasis*)

Here, appreciation means more than 'knowing' about the differences, but also that pupils 'understand' them and see them positively. I define appreciation as a 'positive emotional understanding of, or empathy towards differences in other cultures and people'.

**Interest:** Collins English Dictionary (1998) defines 'interest' as 'If you have an interest in something, you want to learn or hear more about it'. In the educational context, interest is often associated with motivation. In this study, I define interest specifically as a trigger for motivation.

Barrow and Milburn state that:

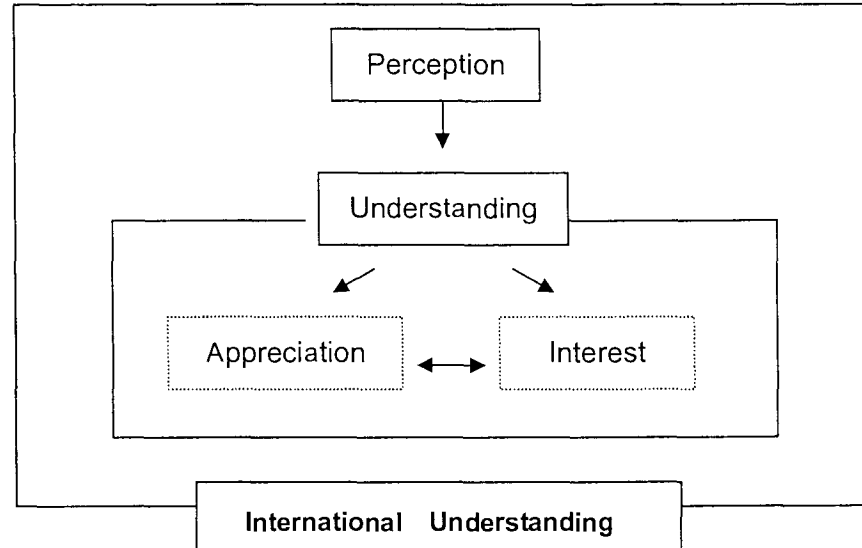
Although there are other kinds of motivation (e.g. praise, rewards, criticism, punishment, peer group pressure, success, competition), it is clearly advantageous to motivate, when one can, by taking advantage of students' present interests or by seeking to cultivate new interests (1986: 163).

They also comment that teaching should 'involve evoking not only understanding of, but also interest in, what is learned' (*ibid*). Museum exhibitions should also involve evoking 'interest in,

what is learned' (Reeve, 1992; Gundara 1992).

I categorised 'appreciation' and 'interest' as two key elements of 'understanding' as follows:

**Figure 1.3 The relations between key concepts**



**Prejudicial stereotypes:** Hoggs and Vaughan define stereotype as a 'widely shared and simplified evaluative image of social groups and its members' (2002: 852). This notion is employed, especially with regard to stereotypes of different people and cultures. Stereotypes are also discussed in gender and social class issues (Hoggs and Vaughan, 2002); however these are not the focus of this research.

Prejudice is defined as an 'unfavourable attitude towards a social group and its members' (Hoggs and Vaughan, 2002: 648). As mentioned above, I focused on a group of people from a different ethnic background and not other possible social groups (for example, gender, class, occupation). My primary focus is on children's prejudicial stereotypes which are in some aspects different from those of adults (Aboud, 1989). Cumulative research has shown that children do possess prejudicial stereotypes from a young age (Aboud, 1988; Cullingford, 2000; Davey and Mullin, 1980; Hinton, 2000; Katz, 1976; see 2.4).

### 1.4.2 The concepts

The concepts I apply in this research originate from several notions found in fields such as global education, multicultural education, and museum education. Recently, museums have started to challenge visitors' images of different culture and people. For instance the Smithsonian Institution in Washington DC planned to open a new museum called the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) in 2002. At the planning stage, the staff repeatedly stressed

the need to “change” non-Native attitudes towards Natives...[and] the “success” of the new museum was at least partly defined as its ability to achieve some level of change in the visitor (Doering *et al*, 1999: 131).

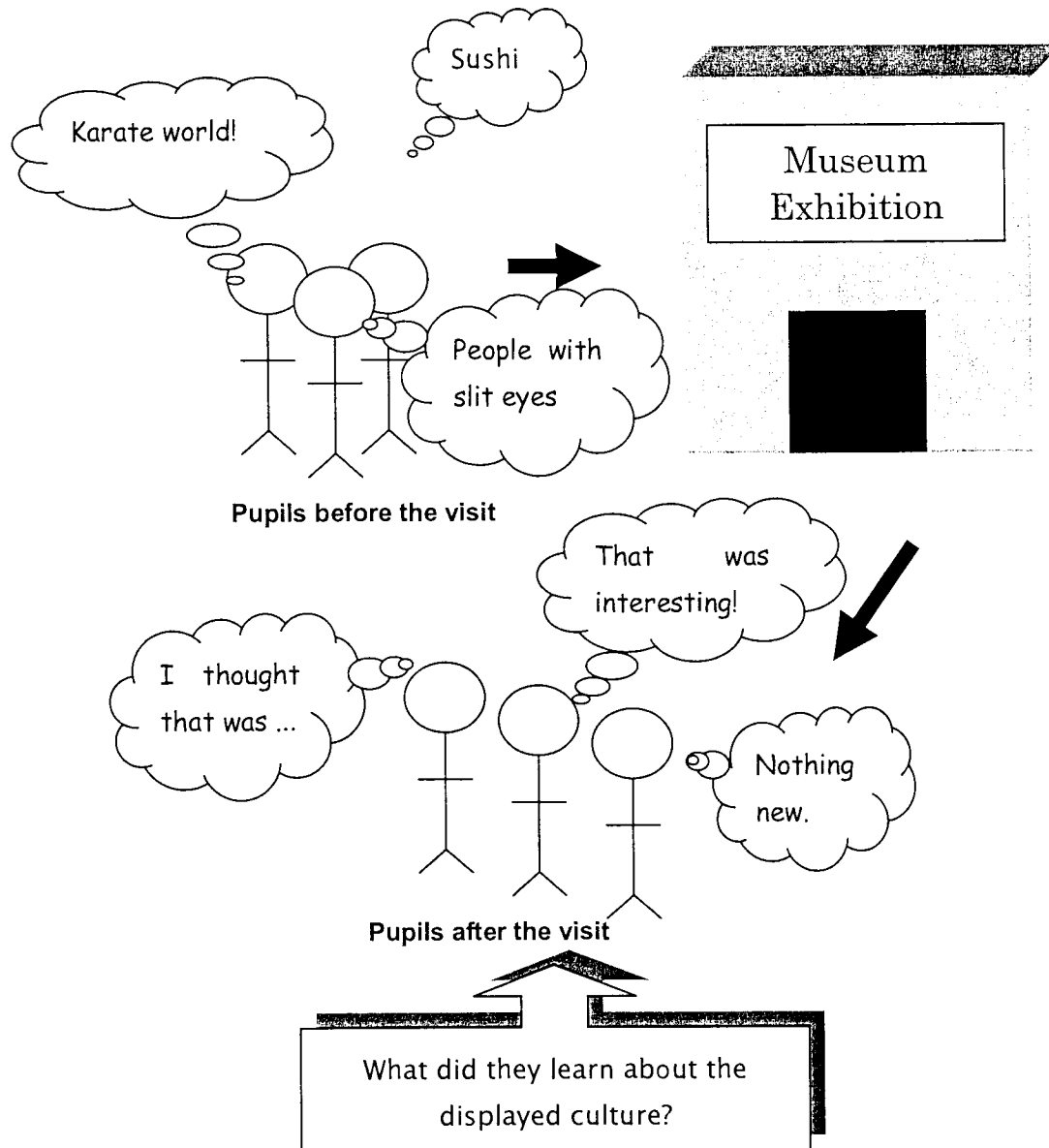
They declare that their museum aims to change the attitudes of the visitors through its exhibitions. Furthermore, they define the term 'change' as:

An increase of knowledge, an altered emotional state, an increased appreciation, a growth of understanding, a shift in attitude, or any combination of these (*ibid*).

In order to understand the attitudes visitors had prior to a visit, they conducted research on images of Native Americans among the Smithsonian Institution visitors. Through Doering, Digiacomo and Pekarik's research (1999), it has been proposed that research on visitors' knowledge, perception of image and attitudes to a given subject prior to the visit is an essential starting point in planning an exhibition.

In order to restrict and refine what I mean by 'changes of visitors' perception', I have presented the meanings of this concept in figure 1.4.

Figure 1.4 Change in visitors' perception



**Understanding Differences:** Understanding literally means 'to know how they [someone] feel and why they behave in the way that they do' (Collins English Dictionary, 1998). In terms of understanding cultural diversity, this term does not mean only 'knowing' but also includes the notions of 'respecting', and 'appreciation' (DCMS, 2000: 8-9). In the context of this study, 'difference' is considered initially in its 'cultural' and 'physical' aspects. Cultural difference appears in lifestyle, religion, and in a variety of social systems, but I focused on the 'culture' of the subject country as displayed in the museum exhibition. 'Physical difference' relates to the appearance of individuals where difference is mainly defined through the colour of hair, skin, and facial features. Thus, 'Understanding differences' means first to gain the knowledge and

then to respect and value the difference, instead of stereotyping or developing an unfavourable attitude. As shown in the figure 1.3, pupils' 'perception' is the starting point. Then, those perceptions will be associated with knowledge leading to 'understanding'. When pupils understand the subject, ideally, it will lead to 'appreciation' and 'interest'. Since museums are public educational institutions, it is important to have a positive outcome from visiting, defined as increasing appreciation and interest towards different cultures.

**Museum experience:** I adapted the notion of 'museum experience' from Falk and Dierking (1992), who created a framework for understanding both the common strands and unique and complex experiences which occur in museums. Falk and Dierking argue that the crucial element of museum experience is visitor interaction within museums. To contextualise this interaction, they have created an 'Interactive Experience Model' (1992: 2). The 'personal context', 'social context' and 'physical context' are considered as initial components of pupils' experience in museums. Personal context incorporates the visitor's previous knowledge, interests and motivations and their experience with museums. Social context includes the kind of social groups visitors were part of when they visited the museum. Were they with their family? Who did they speak to during the visit? Physical context includes 'the architecture and "feel" of the building, as well as the objects and artefacts contained within' (1992: 3). In my study, pupils' museum experience will refer to their activities in the exhibition, and also to the feelings and knowledge they have gained from the visit.



# Chapter 2

## Literature and theoretical review

### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews what current academic and professional literature tells us about the ways that international understanding can be promoted through museum education. This chapter answers the following questions raised by Hart

\*What is the structure of the knowledge on this topic?

\*What and who are the key works and theorists?

\*What methodological and moral assumptions have been deemed necessary in order to study this topic?

\*How are different studies related together?

\*What are the consequences of the general approach in the literature for the topic itself? (1998: 30-1)

I discuss the literature in order to answer these questions and to clarify my research position.

Four areas are referenced and discussed; 2.2: International understanding in museums, 2.3:

Western display of others, 2.4: British children's perceptions of Japan, and 2.5: a review of theories of learning in museums.

### 2.2 What is International understanding?

There is an argument that the world has become 'globalised', with the term frequently appearing in journals, newspapers, books and policy documents (Scholte, 2000; Mackay, 2000). Scholte defines globalisation as:

Increases of interaction and interdependence between people in different countries.

Considerable rises in cross-border exchanges have indeed occurred in recent decade (2000: 44).

People can travel around the globe with ease and communicate instantly with people worldwide through computers. People can thus encounter different cultures and peoples in their daily lives.

Scholte comments that globalisation in this sense is equivalent to internationalisation, but

argues that globalisation has a deeper meaning: it is associated with a process of westernisation, where many parts of the world become influenced by specifically American economic power and culture (2000: 45). This affects communications, markets, production, money, finance, and organisation. Yet, he strongly argues that:

...no definitions of globality (the condition of being global) and globalization (the process of becoming more global) can be completely unambiguous, objective, fixed and final (2000: 42).

Schirato and Webb agree that 'theorists from a range of disciplines...have offered different explanations and evaluations of the processes associated with globalization' (2003: 20).

However, there is general agreement that:

...any discussion of the term needs to take into account the following issues: technology and changes in the way people experience and understand time/space...the media and the idea of a global 'public sphere' (*ibid*).

My intention is not to deliver a comprehensive discussion of globalisation. As Schirato and Webb (2003) suggest, products, people, and culture from around the world arguably form an inherent part of British life; this also applies to British children's daily life. According to Lambert and Wiegand, even 4-year-olds in a Yorkshire nursery were aware of places such as 'Spain, France, Africa, America and Australia' (1990: 67).

When UNESCO defined the term 'international understanding' in the 1950s, it was based on an assumption that people were ignorant of world cultures. Therefore, UNESCO felt that overcoming ignorance of 'others' was essential in promoting peace. The social environment has radically changed since then, but this notion has not lost its relevance in today's 'globalised' society. Thus, my study employs the term 'international understanding' as defined by UNESCO. The rationale for adopting this term and definition of this term is comprehensively discussed below.

### **2.2.1 History of education for international understanding**

International understanding has become one of the key notions in education (Cushner, 1998). In 1959, there were 180 institutions from 41 countries participating in 'UNESCO's *Associated*

*Schools Projects*' which ran experimental programmes to promote international understanding. *Education for International Understanding* (UNESCO, 1959), explains that the aim of this education stems from three documents; The *Charter of the United Nations*, and the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and the *Constitutions of UNESCO*. The *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (Article 26, paragraph 2) says:

Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace (1948).

The *Constitution of UNESCO* (1945) clearly states the purpose of the organisation in Article 1; section 2 (a) and (c):

2. a. Collaborate in the work of advancing the mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples, through all means of mass communication and to that end recommend such international agreements as may be necessary to promote the free flow of ideas by word and image;

2. c. Maintain, increase and diffuse knowledge;

By assuring the conservation and protection of the world's inheritance of books, works of art and monuments of history and science, and recommending to the nations concerned the necessary international conventions;

UNESCO is aware of the importance of the world's heritage to promote mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples, as it promotes the conservation and protection of these at an international level.

*'Recommendation Concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms'* (1974) states the 'major guiding principles' for education for international understanding as follows:

- (a) An international dimension and a global perspective in education at all levels and in all forms.
- (b) Understanding and respect for all peoples, their cultures, civilisations, values and ways of life, including domestic ethnic cultures and cultures of other nations;
- (c) Awareness of the increasing global interdependence between people and nations;
- (d) Abilities to communicate with others;
- (e) Awareness not only of the rights but also of the duties incumbent upon individuals,

social groups and nations towards each other;

- (f) Understanding of the necessity for international solidarity and co-operation;
- (g) Readiness on the part of the individual to participate in solving the problems of his community, his country and the world at large. (p. 3)

World Studies and Global Education programmes also share the aim where awareness towards different cultures is emphasised to take cognisance of global perspectives (Hicks and Townley, 1982; Bridges, 1982; DfEE, 2000; Harvey, 1976, 1982).

International education has recently received attention from geography educators. In 1993, the Geographical Association in the U.K. published *International Understanding Through Geography: International Understanding and the National Curriculum*. Speak (1993) claims that although people assume that geography teaching will naturally bring about international understanding, this is not necessarily so. She argues that '...although teaching about other countries can increase international awareness, it leads too easily to the acquisition of outdated facts and stereotypes without objective understanding' (1993: 6). There is increasing awareness among geography teachers that their teaching may convey outdated information and stereotypes. Spicer also argues that the geography teacher's task is to:

Expand the cognitive and affective repertoires of students in order to create individuals with finely tuned perceptions of themselves and the world around them who are flexible in pursuit of international understanding (1995: 3).

This viewpoint can be applied to museum educators and curators, as they share the role of introducing different cultures to museum visitors.

UNESCO's statement (a) says that global perspectives in education should be promoted 'at all levels and in all forms'. Thus, these recommendations apply to informal educational institutions such as museums and galleries; the report of an international seminar on '*The use of audio-visual aids in education for international understanding*', organised by the UNESCO Institution for Education (Bucknell, 1966), documents one working group 'concerned with museums and exhibitions' (1966: 8). In the working paper J. O. J. Vanden Bossche (1966) describes one ideal

of an exhibition for international understanding in these terms;

The exhibition must be organized in such a way that it shows the aim of international understanding, the means for achieving it, and the organizations concerned with it. Thus, one panel will present the contrast between war and peace, emphasizing the consequences of both. Several panels will present means for achieving international understanding, especially international conferences, exchange visits, correspondence, languages, arts, means of communication. Finally, a series of photographs will show the activities of various agencies that work for peace and the improvement of the relations and the conditions of life in the various countries of the world (1966: 86).

In the rest of his paper, Bossche discusses the technical aspects of exhibition planning. He also notes that the content should 'present clearly the dangers of war and the rewards of peace' (*ibid*). Perhaps in the 1960s, when the majority of citizens held memories of the last war, showing the danger of war and rewards of peace would have been effective. Bossche suggests exhibitions 'about' international understanding rather than 'for'. He did not consider the use of museum exhibitions as a useful resource for teaching about international understanding through 'other' cultures.

In 1974, UNESCO clearly states in section 6, (30) (b), that:

All the parties concerned should combine efforts to adapt and use the mass media of communication, self-education, and inter-active learning, and such institutions as museums and public libraries to convey relevant knowledge to the individual, to foster in him or her favourable attitudes and a willingness to take positive action, and to spread knowledge and understanding of the educational campaigns and programmes planned in accordance with the objectives of this recommendation (p.5, my emphasis).

However, this position has not been widely recognised and the argument has been restricted to integrating global perspectives into teacher training programmes (Hicks, 1982) or to promoting school based learning (Pike and Selby, 1988, 2000; DfEE, 2000).

Definitions of international understanding have proved elusive amongst proponents of international education, multicultural education and other 'cultural' education programmes (Bridges, 1982; Cushner, 1998). The terms 'intercultural education', 'multicultural education', 'development education' often overlap (Cushner, 1998). A debate exists over defining the term,

and over teaching methods and content.

Multicultural education is frequently used in North America, Britain and Australia. According to Khoi (1994), it mainly refers to 'unrelated juxtapositions of knowledge about particular groups without any apparent interconnection between them' (cited in Cushner, 1998: 4). On the other hand, Intercultural Education incorporates different viewpoints and demands the building of proactive and co-operative attitudes (*ibid*). It recognises that: 'a genuine understanding of cultural differences and similarities is necessary in order to build a foundation for working collaboratively with others' (*ibid*). International Education aims to develop citizens' respect of cultural differences and to obtain skills and appropriate attitudes to live harmoniously with others. Above all, development of students' skills and attitudes are emphasised, rather than an emphasis on transforming institutional policy or the contents of the curriculum for equal opportunities. While I am aware that these are meaningful arguments, it is not my intention to expand the discussion here.

### **2.2.2 Exhibitions for international understanding**

Exhibiting 'others' and 'different cultures' has been the principal task of many museums (Karp, 1991). Museums exist as venues for 'exhibiting cultures' at a local and global level. Lidchi notes that '[t]he *Museum* is a *motivated* representation of the world in the sense that it sought to encapsulate the world in order to teach others about it...' (1997: 159). Museums are full of collections from diverse cultures, and this remains one of their most important functions. Their collections and facilities become a valuable resource for international understanding (Gundara, 1993; Reeve, 1987, 1992; Suina, 1992; Donley, 1993).

An educational approach to exhibitions is demonstrated by John Reeve (1987), the former Head of Education Department at the BM. Along with exhibitions on Japanese, Chinese, Indian,

Amazon cultures and Buddhism, the BM education team devised trails for families, teachers and postcard packs for teachers, as well as a video loan service to schools and colleges.

Such an approach was also followed in Canada, where the exhibition aimed to introduce a native culture to a wider audience. Neary (1987) gives the example of introducing domestic-minority cultures. The 'carving program' from British Columbia Provincial Museum focused their educational work on showing the objects and artefacts created by the Northwest Coast Indians. The programme which aimed to 'interpret the human history of the province should include public programs which will *create a more accurate and positive image of native people*' (Neary, 1982:15, *my emphasis*). In essence, the carving programme demonstrated that traditional carving work was not just historic, but very much alive. Through conversations with the Indian artists and visitors, Neary's research showed that the programme contributed to correcting misconceptions about indigenous people.

## **2.3 Western displays of 'others' in museums**

### **2.3.1 Exhibiting 'other' cultures in museums**

Although there is no common understanding of the term 'representation', it has become a crucial term in museum studies. For example, the main theme of the Annual conference of Group for Education in Museums in September 2003 was '*Representation*' (GEM, 2003). Bennett comments that 'it's a very complex term, bringing a host of difficulties in its tow' (2003: 3). However, Pomian's explanation provides a starting point. He explains:

*Representation.* Collecting and uniting these extraordinary and varied articles – be they naturally or artificially produced – into one cabinet served to create a staggering encapsulation of the world's curiosities. This account was, in turn, an attempt at a complete representation of the diversity of existence in miniature – a 'microcosm' (Pomian, 1990: 64).

Museums display various articles of the world. This is evident from permanent exhibition such as '*Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century*' at the BM which opened in 2003. This exhibition was a symbolic representation of the activities and concerns of the BM between 1759 and 1830. In this gallery, various artefacts from the world are displayed in

cabinets under themes such as 'The Pacific', 'Gods', and 'Archaeologists' (The British Museum, 2003a). This is a good example of how 18th century museums served the role of 'representing' various articles collected from around the world.

My focus is on how 'other'<sup>1</sup> cultures have been represented in Western museums. Lidchi's article '*The poetics and the politics of exhibiting other cultures*' (1997) provides a coherent argument that maintains museums began to expand their collections not only from academic necessity, but rather:

Until the nineteenth century, most of what we would now label as 'ethnographic' objects was collected in a spasmodic and fortuitous way, acquisitions whose value lay in their novelty or 'curiosity' (1997: 161).

Lidchi's comment is supported by Binyon (1913) and Durrans (2003). Durrans crucially argues that the representation of 'other' cultures was strongly biased and frequently inaccurate. He notes 'stock images took significance not from their accuracy as representations of how people actually were, but rather from how well they suited their inventors' (2003: 225).

In the following sections, I review the political backgrounds of museums during the 19<sup>th</sup> century which influenced the displays of 'other' cultures in Western museums.

### **2.3.2 Museums for reforming modern society**

Barringer (1998) and Hudson (1975) have noted the strong relationship between the state and museums. They argue that government's political considerations have strongly influenced museums' representations of their own and 'other' cultures. The nation-state recognised two primary functions in museums. The first concerns control. Before the establishment of 'public museums', many aristocratic collections were private with no public accessibility (Wittlin, 1949). However, when British national museums were opened during the 18<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century, they were designed as public institutions for educating the masses, presumably to achieve the

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<sup>1</sup> 'Other' in this study refers to non-Western cultures (see Lidchi, 1997)



government's goal of reforming and modernising society. Museums operated as an effective arm of government to control citizens. According to Bourdieu (1984), citizens were receptors of what the nation says and they were expected to change their behaviours and tastes to a 'bourgeois' one.

Second, there is an argument that museums were a vehicle to demonstrate the nation's colonial power and prestige to the public at home and abroad (Simpson, 1996). Simpson argues that:

The museum, the 'cabinet of curiosities', is the storeroom of a nation's treasures, providing a mirror in which are reflected the views and attitudes of dominant cultures, and the material evidence of the colonial achievements of the European culture in which museums are rooted (1996: 1).

During this period, exhibitions flaunted the nation's 'wealth' and 'power over other countries' to the general public. These two aspects of museums contributed to the ideological construction of representing cultural artefacts. As non-European cultures were excluded from mainstream 'high culture', their artefacts were not recognised as art work, and often referred to as craft. Objects from non-white and non-European backgrounds were considered important purely as ethnographic resources (Gundara and Fyfe, 1999).

Many objects from the British colonies, for instance African sculptures, were thus displayed as 'ethnological exhibits' instead of 'work of art' (Gundara and Fyfe, 1999: 95). This issue is not only a historic one, but also has a contemporary resonance. Karp (1991) suggests that museums are biased and their style of display strongly reflects the view of the dominant discourse in that particular society. Simpson also argues that 'display and interpretation; the classification and values attached to objects; cultural bias in representing other cultures...' (1996: 2) are some of the complex issues that museums need to take into consideration.

The above points relate to my research, as there is a question over the rationale and selection of the contents of *Discovering Japan*. One of the findings shows that more than half of the pupils did not change their image of Japanese culture following the visit (see 5.3). This indicates that

what they have seen was equivalent to what they expected 'Japan is like'. Sushi and kimono were there. Perhaps nothing contradicted what they already knew about Japan (see 4.4).

In 2.3.3, I will examine these two factors critically to show how museums represented cultures: first to display the nation's power to the public; and second, to respond to the expectations of the dominant audience.

### 2.3.3 The power of the nation and museums

Museums were established as part of the Enlightenment movement in European countries in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Ito, 1979). From their inception, museums were institutions to 'educate and inform' citizens. In the 19th century, there was a strong tendency to educate people, especially of the lower classes, with taste rather than knowledge (Meecham, 2000). Bennett (1995) argues that in mid-18th century Britain:

Libraries, public lectures and art galleries thus present themselves as instruments capable of improving man's inner life just as well laid out spaces can improve the physical health of the population (p. 18).

Lidchi agrees with Bennett (1995): 'museums were an ideal vehicle for public instruction: by contemplating cultural artefacts on display, the common man/woman could become receptive to their "improving influence"' (1997: 191). This Victorian notion of educating the public for a better life was closely tied to the task of government. The government attempted 'surveillance and control as attentive as that of the head of a family over his household and his goods' (Foucault, 1978: 92) over the public by providing for 'the wealth and behaviour of each and all' (*ibid*). The government of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was keen to reform society into sophistication and modernity. Major museums and art galleries were recognised as key institutions in delivering 'values' associated with the nation-state.

According to Bennett, transforming and regulating 'culture' which refers to 'habits, morals, manners and beliefs of the subordinate classes' (1995: 19) was one of the tasks of reformation.

Public institutions, such as museums and galleries, were used in this process; they were considered useful suppliers of 'appropriate culture', and were hence 'fashioned as a vehicle for the exercise of new forms of power' (Bennett, 1995: 19). Meecham (2000) also argues that museums of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were intended to educate lower class citizens with high culture, and to modernise the whole society by the discourses associated with such institutions.

The notion of deepening the population's shallow cultural depths is the message encoded in museums' displays, structures and procedures of presentations. Hein argues that in the latter half of the 19th century, 'Museums were included among the agencies available to help people better themselves and to appreciate the value of modern life' (1998: 4). According to Hein, museums at that time were:

Mounted in support of public campaigns for health education; to show off magnificent development in industry or advances in technology; or to exhibit curiosities, marvels, and wonders for public entertainment (*ibid*).

Introducing a sophisticated 'taste' to the public was also the role of museums and galleries. According to Bourdieu, daily contact with ancient objects develops the 'sense of belonging to a more polished, more polite, better policed world' (1984: 77). He argues that despite the ulterior motives for unifying social classes, people will respond positively when they find themselves in a world of 'harmony and beauty'.

What, then, is higher culture? Who has the power and moral authority to define culture? These questions were largely ignored until theorists such as Foucault (1974) and Bourdieu (1984) uncovered the ideological way that society is controlled. Their arguments made explicit the way power functions through institutions such as museums.

According to the above argument, Western museums were established under Enlightenment philosophy. Influenced by a Eurocentric notion of Enlightenment, it is notable that art galleries excluded non-European art until recently. Even now, the interpretation of 'other' cultures by

white curators is subject to critical debate (Araeen, 1996; Malik and Tawadros, 1996). Many museums in Europe did not consider non-European artwork and culture with the same value system as European art (Gundara and Fyfe, 1999). Araeen states, 'the history of art of the twentieth century remained a white monopoly' (1996: 61).

The state's desire to demonstrate its imperial power and dominance over non-western cultures permeated museum policy, and consequently its exhibitions. The following section will discuss how 'other' cultures were collected and displayed during the colonial period, with specific reference to the Victorian age (1847-1901).

#### **2.3.4 Exhibiting objects from different cultures**

Museums such as the *BM*, the *Victoria and Albert Museum* are seminal examples of the display of world cultures in Britain. It is important to understand that

While all cultural institutions are not equal in size or mission, nor equally accessible to users, they exist as strongly egalitarian agencies devoted to the provision of data and experiences apart from everyday resources (Carr, 1991: 15).

Cultural institutions, such as museums, devote themselves to presenting resources which people cannot access in their daily lives. According to Karp (1991), visitors uncritically accept such representations.

In the late-19<sup>th</sup> century, museums were used as legitimate fora for demonstrating the power of the state to the public. It is noteworthy that many museums with rich, worldwide collections are based on the imperial history of their countries (Hein, 1998). Hein states that 'Only in imperial nations in Europe and North America can one find large *international* collections of paintings or objects' (1998: 4, *my emphasis*). Museums in other countries, for example in Japan or China, have collections based at a 'national level', as unlike imperial states, they did not collect objects from colonies.

In many of the British museums in the late-19th century, 'the representations of the world which

it offered were deeply imbedded in the developing culture of Victorian imperialism' (Barringer, 1998: 11). In the *Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections* published by the BM in 1910, the Keeper Charles H. Read described the collections as:

The great amount and variety of the available information on the people of the whole uncivilized world, their beliefs, habits, and productions, have rendered concise treatment a necessity (1910: v).

Read shows his imperialistic views to the collections as:

...the magnificent collection of the London Missionary Society, now shown in the Pacific Section, illustrates another phase of British enterprise among uncivilized peoples, in which we may take legitimate pride (*ibid*).

His view towards the museum's ethnographic collections clearly presents a Victorian view of non-Western civilisations. Barringer argues that taking possessions from colonies and transferring them to London is a symbolic act, showing London as the centre of the empire (1998). While some artefacts were given as gifts under pressure, the crucial fact is many objects were plundered from the colonies, a fact rarely officially mentioned in exhibitions. Some may argue artefacts were acquired under a formal procedure with agreement, however, we cannot ignore the fact that some of the collection was taken during the expansion of the British Empire (for example. The BM's Brass-casting plaques from the Benin Kingdom were acquired during the British Punitive Expedition in 1897).

There was a display in the South Kensington Museum 'directly related to colonial military action' (Barringer, 1998: 21). An Abyssinia King's belongings were displayed after the military campaign in 1867. The exhibition demonstrated these objects in a violent triumphant style. This Victorian example shows how objects increased the notion of triumph over colonies, instead of contributing to social reform or international understanding. In this way, the South Kensington Museum 'offered the Victorian public the spectacle of the remains of a defeated enemy whose perceived status as a racial and cultural inferior was implicit in the mode of display' (Barringer, 1998: 21). Museums at this time were intended to demonstrate that many inferior cultures of the world existed under control of the British.

In bringing back colonial acquisitions to Britain, there were selections made by certain people (with Western taste and knowledge) who decided the value of the objects. Barringer states that there had been a dilemma for imperial collectors in 'balancing the desire or need to present colonial objects at the centre and the wish to be seen as a just and benevolent power in the colonies' (1998: 23).

There was another aspect of collecting objects from overseas: trading and profit making. At the same time, collectors desired to show their power over the colonies through their collection of objects. There is an episode concerning Nathan Dunn (1782-1844), an American merchant who amassed a large collection of Chinese goods and commercially displayed them in London. At that time, 'the Orient' was presented to the public as an exotic culture, and as 'one worthy of serious academic study' (Pagani, 1998: 35). However, Dunn used his Chinese collections for marketing purposes (*ibid*). Thus, China became a 'commodity through its goods' and 'Chinese objects stood for Chinese culture as a whole' (Pagani, 1998: 37). Dunn's exhibition came at an opportune moment: the victory in the Opium War (1840-1842) was announced the year before. British people were thus interested in China, but could also feel socially and politically superior (Pagani, 1998). Exhibitions can therefore create, and in some cases reinforce images of an 'inferior' culture.

Exhibitions present certain images of different cultures, as was the case in the Chinese collection mentioned above. In particular, the selection of the objects and its method of display produce images towards cultures. To support the first point, Malik and Tawadros pointedly state that materials in exhibitions are:

filtered through tastes, interests, politics, and state of knowledge of particular individuals at a particular moment in time. Behind the selection of works lies a hidden agenda (1996: 114).

Therefore, they argue that the displayed materials are not speaking for themselves but are carefully put together by intention. Moreover, in many cases, the audience does not realise that

the exhibition itself is already circumscribed by some kind of perspective. This situation applies to the Victorian (1837-1901). After colonial objects arrived in Britain, curatorial decisions were made within museums. Where to put the new acquisitions was one question. There is a salient episode from the 1870s. At the South Kensington Museum, the objects from China, India and Japan were located separately from European objects. The Oriental Courts were prepared for artefacts from these countries. The design of the court was distinctive from the other parts of the building. The collection from the 'Orient' was isolated and its exoticism emphasised (Barringer, 1998). Barringer says that this enhanced the 'otherness' of the 'oriental' culture. This material separation of the Oriental Courts reinforced the difference between the 'orient' and the 'occident', but did not convey the differences between 'oriental' cultures (Said, 1978). Curators and the public saw the world from an 'imperial' viewpoint, and misunderstood differences among 'Oriental' cultures and nations; Japanese objects, for example, were displayed alongside those from the 'Orient colonies', despite the fact that Japan had never been a colony of Britain or any other European country.

To summarise, the South Kensington Museums, which became the Imperial Institute in the late-19th century, reinforced public belief in the power of the empire. From their social role, Barringer claims that museums were:

a department of the British state in the nineteenth century. Strong images of imperial power were emphasised in exhibitions and 'the representation of the world which it offered were deeply imbedded in the developing culture of Victorian imperialism (1998: 11).

Under this imperial policy, cultures were displayed under a Eurocentric, often specifically British perspective, that lacked an understanding of cultures in their original contexts. This tendency can still be observed in present museums (Tawadros, 1990; Simpson, 1996; Karp, 1991).

Tawadros describes this situation as:

The notion of western culture as inherently progressive, sophisticated and, above all, superior...remains firmly imbedded in the cultural institutions of western Europe, not least in its museums (1990: 30-31).

However, there has been an increasing awareness and critical debate on representation of 'others' in museums. As Simpson (1996) states, museums are now undergoing a change in how to present 'other' cultures within their collections. Many museums actively involve members from source communities during their exhibition planning (see 8.2.3). The fundamental reasons for these changes are a reconsideration of the 'relationship between the dominant western cultures and those of indigenous, minority, and suppressed culture everywhere' (Simpson, 1996: 1). It is encouraging though, to find that more museums in Britain and elsewhere in the world are managing to explore appropriate ways to represent other cultures. Above all, as Simpson argues:

...these issues are not just about displays in glass cases, but about relationships – between individuals, between museums and communities, and between people of different cultures – relationships which need to be built upon *respect, tolerance, understanding, and appreciation of differences and similarity*' (1996: 2-3, *my emphasis*).

How does Japan fit with this context? How was the Japanese collection developed at the BM?

These issues are discussed and analysed in Chapter 4.

## **2.4 British children's perceptions of Japan**

When adults and children arrive at the Japanese gallery, they often already carry an image of Japan. Before I review British children's perceptions of Japan, I summarise the studies on children's perception of 'others'. I then review western adults' perception of Japan.

### **2.4.1 Children's racial perceptions of 'others'**

Since the 1930s, social science has investigated children's perceptions of race (Van Ausdale and Feagin, 1996). Research has focused on how children develop their racial identities. Early research used dolls and pictures of children from different races and asked children to classify them by choosing 'those you wish to play with' (Clark and Clark, 1939). Since then, several methodologies have been established to investigate children's racial perceptions and behaviours (for example. trait adjectives, pictorial stimuli, observation). Aboud reviewed 20



years of research in this field in *Children and Prejudice* (1988). One study concludes that 'children as young as 3-4 years of age demonstrate ethnic and racial awareness, with finer discriminative and conceptual skills developing thereafter' (Augoustinos and Rosewarne 2001: 143). Moreover, children seem to form their stereotyped knowledge based on indirect experience (Cullingford, 2000; Devine, 1989; Augoustinos and Rosewarne, 2001; De Baas, 1993). De Baas argues that:

The early ethnic socialisation processes are very important and powerful in the life of an individual. Ethnic patterns constructed during this period are rather stable. ...What they might know is what they hear from the adults around them talking about other groups or what they see and hear on television and radio (1993: 15-16).

According to Aboud, ethnic awareness is described in one sense as 'being able to assign correctly the labels to the actual faces or pictures of various people which indicates a basic form of perceptual ethnic awareness' (1988: 6). Most research studies examined racial attitudes between White and Black (Van Ausdale and Feagin, 1996; Kurokawa-Maykovich, 1972; Katz, 1976; Katz and Zalk, 1978). For instance, there are multiple-item tests by Williams *et al* (1975) known as the Preschool Racial Attitude Measure (PRAM) and also the Katz-Zalk Projective Prejudice Test (1978). In these tests, a picture of a black and a white person are presented to a child who must decide which one best fits a description such as, 'Here are two girls. Which girl would you like to play with?' These tests ask children to look at black and white people, or in some cases Asian people, but do not ask the difference within a group with similar appearances (for example. Chinese, Koreans, and Japanese). This applies to many 'prejudice' or 'stereotype' studies in the past (Seago, 1947; Aboud, 1988; Hinton, 2000).

According to Devine (1989), a low-prejudice response from children can be achieved by overlaying the stereotypes with egalitarian beliefs and values learned later in childhood as their cognitive capacities increase. Augoustinos and Rosewarne's study also supports this, concluding:

The young child's reports are probably not indicative of prejudice *per se*. Rather, the child is less able to reconcile different perspective and to give responses that are inconsistent with



the pervasive social codes learnt early in life (2001: 155).

From their empirical data analysis, they argue that:

By age 8, children are cognitively capable of taking a differentiated perspective, giving personal belief responses that diverge from dominant stereotypes (*ibid*).

Therefore, we can conclude that education for international understanding is important to develop children's low-prejudiced behaviour towards 'different' people. Children aged eight years and older should be encouraged to develop their personal understanding towards different others, and to develop an empathy with them.

#### 2.4.2 Perceptions of 'Japan' by Westerners

Here, I will discuss in depth what kind of perceptions British adults and children have towards Japanese people and culture. It is not unusual to find a British person with certain pre-existing perceptions. Beasley (1982), a British scholar in Japanese Studies, illustrates this in his lecture *Changing British-Views of Japan since the 19<sup>th</sup> Century*. He argues that there has never been a 'single' British view of Japan but 'many views'. He attributes the British view to government policy, business association and chambers of commerce, press reports, and a wide range of popular beliefs. Beasley comments that press reports are often 'influenced by a variety of assumptions about what the reading public wants' (1982: 56). Popular conception of Japan amongst the public encompasses:

a whole range of public belief, both accurate and inaccurate, derived from what is taught in school, or performed in cinema and theatre, or contained in family reminiscences of Japan (*ibid*).

For the purpose of this research, the most important source of information derives from three elements; 1) what is taught in schools and 2) media reports and publications on Japan and 3) public belief. Most literature focuses on images of Japan held by Western adults (Katz and Braly, 1932; Kurokawa-Maykovich, 1972). Children's views, where I focus, are under represented. In order to provide a comprehensive review of Western perception of Japan, I will review related literature. If the museum wishes to promote understanding of Japanese culture, planners should try to put themselves in the general visitors' shoes, and acknowledge their

information on Japan and their perceptions of its culture (see 8.2.2). Here, I will describe how Westerners have perceived Japanese people and culture.

Several studies reveal the images of Japanese people and culture held by Westerners (Katz and Braly, 1932; Kuroiwa-Maykovich, 1972; Burgman, 1987). There is a marked difference of images held between the United States and Europe. In Burgman's book, *The Image of Japan in the United States and Europe* (1987), he describes the historical relationship between the U.S. and Japan, and presents differences in U.S. – Japan and Britain (Europe) – Japan relations. The U.S. and Japan relationship started from 1853 and had a close political, economic and cultural relationship initiated at the beginning of the 20th century, by considerable numbers of Japanese immigrants to Hawaii and California. Moreover, the U.S. military occupied Japan after the Second World War (1945-1953) and this legacy remains in the U.S. military bases. Furthermore, they have been in trading competition.

The relationship between Europe and Japan is slightly different. In addition to the geographical distance, the relationship itself has been limited. As my research is situated in the British context, I focus on the image of Japan held by British citizens.

According to Burgman (1987), there are no detailed studies of the image of Japan in Europe. He illustrates historical changes and developments of images of Japan held by British citizens. The following works have been introduced as highly influential: Lehman (1978, *The Image of Japan*), Ono (a Japanese female author), and Storry (1982). Burgman particularly focuses on Storry's category of four phases in Anglo-Japan relations: 1870-1895, when Japan was regarded as 'the lotus land'; 1895-1921 when it was 'the gallant ally'; 1921-45, 'the Japanese threat'; and 1945-70 'the prizewinner' (cited in Burgman, 1987). Storry (1982) refers to an account of books about Japan which had a great impact on British perceptions, as did popular culture (see 2.4.3),

Beasley (1982) states that from 1650 to 1850, Japan was little known in Europe because of its seclusion. He argues that any understanding of Japan came under the heading 'Oriental' which often refers to Ottoman Empire, India and China. Europeans believed that these 'oriental' countries had autocratic rulers, devious officials and unreliable servants. These negative stereotypes often stemmed from a Western misunderstanding of their concepts of law. Furthermore, Westerners believed that the 'oriental' people were 'peasants, dominated by religious and ethical beliefs that differed radically from those of Christianity' (Beasley, 1982: 58). Syliowicz also notes that traditional attitudes of scholars towards the East were 'invested with feelings of inherent superiority, and "objective" scholarship was frequently tainted by these implicit beliefs' (1988: 3). These feelings were replicated in late-19<sup>th</sup> century museums.

The most notable book written on Japan around this period was by Rutherford Alcock, *The Capital of the Tycoon* (1863). According to Beasley, Alcock concluded:

although Japan's "intellectual and moral pretensions" had to be ranked low by the standards of the West, the advanced state of its material civilisation implied that the capacity of the Japanese for developing "a higher and better civilisation than they have yet attained" must be greater than that of any other country in Asia, except China (1982: 63-4).

Forty years after Alcock's claims, the West began to look on Japan differently, and considered it an important country in Far East Asia in terms of industry and the military. Many were interested in the rapid change of Japan under modernisation.

### **2.4.3 Western perception of Japanese people**

Several notable texts thoroughly investigated the stereotypes of Japan. In 1991, Finkelstein *et al* published *Transcending Stereotypes*. This was written by authors from the United States and Japan, and contains summaries of images of Japanese people. Tobin notes that 'For Westerners, Japan has long been an important 'other', the antipodes, an object for conquest and commerce and also for fantasy' (1991: 7). It is noteworthy that Commodore Perry, who

forced the termination of Japan's national seclusion policy in 1853, described Japanese people as 'the most polite people on earth' (*ibid*). Until the Second World War, the image of Japanese people for Westerners was relatively positive although mystical. During the Second World War, however, for many Americans, the Japanese became 'the people of a feared, aggressive nation ... an enemy' (*ibid*).

Research supports Tobin's argument that Americans' view towards the Japanese was fairly positive until the Second World War. In 1932, research into 'racial stereotypes' conducted by Katz and Braly examined the personality traits of ten ethnic groups (Germans, Italians, Negroes[sic], Irish, English, Jews, Americans, Chinese, Japanese and Turks[sic]) by asking one hundred Princeton University (PA, U.S.A.) students to select the personality traits for each ethnic group out of 84 adjectives. These adjectives were selected from the pilot study, where Katz and Braly collected the terms used by students to describe the traits of ethnic groups. After students repeated this procedure for ten ethnic groups, they were asked to go back to the list of words they selected and then 'Mark with an X the five words in each list which seem to you the most typical of the race in question' (1932: 282). According to Katz and Braly (1932), American students at that time agreed Japanese and English traits as shown in table 2.1:

**Table 2.1 The twelve traits most frequently assigned to various racial and national groups (n=100)** (Originally from Katz and Braly, 1932: 284-5)

Traits checked rank order					
<b>Japanese</b>	No.	Percent	<b>English</b> (for reference)	No	percent
Intelligent	45	47.9%	Sportsmanlike	53	53.5%
Industrious	43	45.7%	Intelligent	46	46.5%
Progressive	24	25.3%	Conventional	34	34.3%
Shrewd	22	23.4%	Tradition-loving	31	31.3%
Sly	20	21.3%	Conservative	30	30.3%
Quiet	19	20.2%	Reserved	29	29.3%
Imitative	17	18.1%	Sophisticated	27	27.3%
Alert	16	17.0%	Courteous	20	20.2%
Suave	16	17.0%	Honest	18	18.2%
Neat	16	17.0%	Industrious	18	18.2%
Treacherous	13	13.8%	Extremely nationalistic	18	18.2%

Aggressive	13	13.8%	Humorless	17	17.2%
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Katz and Braly (1932) show how American students in 1930s imagined Japanese people. From figure 2.1, four (sly, imitative, treacherous, aggressive) are negative traits, however, Japanese received the highest response rate (47.9%) for demonstrating 'intelligence' among the ten ethnic groups. Katz and Braly analyse the results of Japanese traits as:

The picture of the Japanese seems more clear cut with some recognition of the westernization of Japan. Emphasis was placed upon intelligence, industry, progressiveness, shrewdness, slyness and quietness (1932: 287).

When comparing the 12 most frequently selected traits for 'English', only two words matched with Japanese, 'Intelligent' and 'Industrious'. We can conclude that the students' image of the English and Japanese were quite different. Even when compared with the traits for the Chinese, only three words matched the Japanese (Sly, Industrious, Quiet). In the survey, there is a distinction between Chinese and Japanese. It must be noted that 1932 was before the Second World War, and it is assumed that the image of Japanese was less negative in the United States than latterly (Tobin, 1991).

However, there is a counter-argument to the above idea. In 1924, there were strong feelings against East Asian people as the U.S. senate passed a law prohibiting Japanese immigration. According to Kurokawa-Maykovich, the racial attacks on Japanese people in the 1930s, mainly in the west coast, were based on negative stereotypes such as:

Race (inassimilable), nationality (land-hungry, imperialistic, warlike), styles of life (mysterious, un-American), personal habits (sly, greedy, dishonest), economic competition (undercutting labour standards) and sexual conduct (breeding like rabbits) (1972: 878).

However, there is also research indicating a positive view of Japanese people in the U.S. during the 1930s. Seago investigated Americans' racial attitudes in 1946. Her research observed the effect of 'possible changes in stereotypes to world events' (Seago, 1947: 56). She adapted the 'racial attitude test' created by Katz and Braly (1932) and used it on college women in Louisiana from 1941 to 1945. The scale of her research is relatively small (under 100 participants) but it still provides significant data on Americans' perception of the Japanese during the 1940s.

According to Seago (1947), the Japanese were seen as a 'favourable' ethnic group in 1941, but this image quickly modified in 1942. Following the attack on Pearl Harbour on 8<sup>th</sup> December 1941, the Japanese became threatening enigmas to Americans (Seago, 1947). Seago claims that the prevailing adjectives for Japanese people from 1942 to 1945 were 'deceitful, treacherous, sly, shrewd, cruel and extremely nationalistic' (1947: 62). Seago also points out that 'deceitful', 'treacherous', 'sly', 'shrewd', 'courteous' and 'tradition loving' were used exclusively to characterise the Japanese. Although racial attitudes towards Japanese people dramatically worsened after Pearl Harbour, the Americans' attitude towards the other enemy, Germans, became only slightly unfavourable. Seago concluded that:

this may be indicative of the absence of an international point of view on the part of American college women, or, at least, an indifference to the role being played by Germany in Europe as long as America was not herself directly involved or threatened (1947: 61).

Perhaps this is one way to explain the less negative image towards Germans. However, it is noteworthy that even after the war, some Americans' racial attitudes towards the Japanese remained consistent.

Another crucial text on Japanese culture and people is Ruth Benedict's *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (1947). It was written for military purposes, and thus seems to complement the hostile wartime image of the Japanese (Tobin, 1991). Benedict never visited Japan herself, and relied on indirect sources: secondary materials collected by the U.S. military, and information from Japanese-Americans. Nevertheless, this book became a bible for American and European students studying Japan.

According to Tobin, there is a stereotype of Japanese people:

On the negative side, we tend to see Japan as a nation of unscrupulous, ruthless trading partners, soulless and uncreative competitors. We see Japanese workers as a disciplined army of self-sacrificing, diligent conformists who are employed for life. On the positive side, we view the Japanese as unvaryingly high-achieving, productive, energetic, hardworking, and service oriented (1991: 8).

Finkelstein, in *Transcending Stereotypes*, stated that his book enables readers to:

Both interpret Japanese behaviour and penetrate Japanese culture unencumbered by Western mindsets and rigid commitments to rational rather than intuitive ways of knowing (1991: 3).

Finkelstein challenges the widespread western images of Japanese people and Japanese culture as described by Tobin (1991), by providing fact-based articles by both American and Japanese researchers studying education and sociology. However, they do not feature Western children's understanding of Japanese culture, and there is no description of Westerner's visual images of Japanese people and culture. The stereotypes such as 'uncreative competitors' or 'productive' are often used by people in business who have been involved with Japanese companies, rather than of children, housewives and older citizens. My data from London-based children collected in 2001 will go some way to indicating children's perspectives.

Most descriptions of Japan in academic sources are by professionals in Japan. They are 'scholar-generated' images (Finkelstein 1991: 137), and are not necessarily common to the image held by the general citizen with limited exposure to Japanese culture. In order to understand how Japanese people understand themselves, there is well-known literature which has been written by Japanese authors in English. Chie Nakane's *Japanese Society* (1973) and Yoshio Sugimoto's *An Introduction to Japanese Society* (2002) are stepping stones towards overcoming the image portrayed by Western scholars.

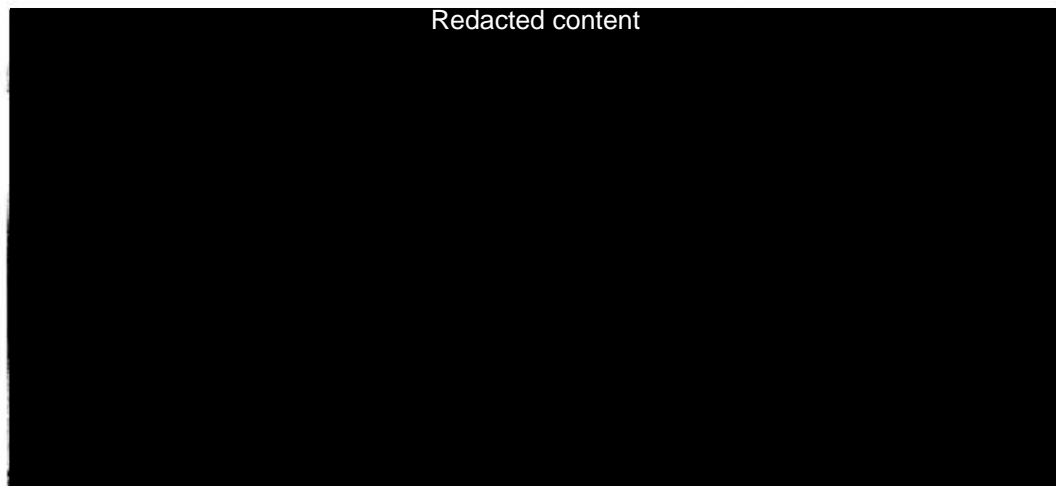
Literature on the general population's images of Japanese people is rare. An exception is Nisho-Iwai (a large Japanese trading company) Trade-Per Division's publication '*The country "Nippon" observed from the world (Sekai ga miteiru Nippon to iu kuni)*' in 1996. The survey is not 'academic', but provides interesting information on the non-scholarly, 'general' image of Japanese people in many countries, which involved 'Fuji-yama' and 'geisha'.

The arts also provide images of Japan. Puccini's opera '*Madame Butterfly*' (1900) is an example of a colonial view of Oriental women. Irene L. Szyliowicz studies the works of Pierre Loti, the author of *Madame Chrysanthemum*, on Oriental woman. She argues that '[Loti] led his audience



to believe that his descriptions of places were realistic, he also led them to believe that his portrayals of the female indigenous were accurate' (1988: 2). Loti's description of Oriental female had a strong impact on the Westerner's image of the Orient. She further argues that the traditional portrayal of Oriental women has been 'biased and based on Western judgements. European ethno centrism and male chauvinism have combined to account for the phenomenon' (1988: 3). Oriental women, conventionally, have been viewed by Westerners as 'innocent, primitives, uncorrupted by civilisation' (*ibid*). Loti's work has significantly contributed to perpetuating this myth; inaccurate images of 'Oriental' women still persist, with the image of geisha adorning book covers.

**Figure 2.1 Cover illustrations of geisha on recently published books**



[Left] Iwasaki, M. and Brown, R. (2003) *Geisha of Gion: The Memoir of Mineko Iwasaki*, London: Pocket books.

[Centre] Dalby, L. (2000) *Geisha*, London: Vintage. [Right] Golden, A. (1998). *Memoirs of a Geisha*, London: Vintage.

These visual images can influence British people's perception of contemporary Japanese people. Although it is beyond the limit of my research to discuss this issue, it is notable that more Japanese female images are emphasised in various sources (for example. tourist advertisements). Roland Barthes analyses Japanese culture in, *Empire of Signs* (1982). This provides another more sophisticated work about Westerners' views of Japanese culture.

#### 2.4.4 British pupils' perception of Japan

Pupils are surrounded by a variety of information on different cultures and countries. The main information resources are the media (for example, TV, magazines), and school classrooms (teaching resources and textbooks) (Cullingford, 2000; Wiegand, 1992, 1993). Cullingford states television as a source of influence on children's perceptions of the world. He suggests:

One result of inattentive viewing [television news], when the pictures are not framed by explanation, is that stereotypes become very powerful pictures of particular kinds of people.

It is repeated images that gradually become clichés embedded in the mind (2000: 39).

Pupils take this information to create their own perception and understanding of other cultures (Cullinford, 2000; Tames, 1978; Thurley, 1978). The association between stereotypes and social history is strong (Hinton, 2000). For example, the image of Japanese people in Britain developed from the history of Anglo-Japanese relations and limited knowledge of Japanese culture. Hinton suggests considering stereotypes as one form of cultural representation: 'they exist beyond our own personal experiences of others, in the shared culture that we learn from other members of our cultural group' (2000: 151). This discussion demonstrates the close relationship between stereotypes and how cultures are represented in museum (see 2.2).

According to Wiegand's study (1991), Japan was one of the countries most often listed by 11-year-olds in Yorkshire in naming foreign countries. Although remote in location, thus limiting the possibility of direct experience, Japan seems to be well-known. Two studies examined British pupils' perceptions and understanding of Japan. First, '*Understanding and Perception of London School Children of Japanese Society*' was conducted by Elizabeth Fusae Thurley between 1977 and 1978. This aimed to 'investigate London children's attitude towards other countries, using Japan as a test case' (1978: 1). Thurley investigated how much London children knew or understood Japan by using a questionnaire. Four primary (713 questionnaires collected) and four secondary schools (390 questionnaires collected) in Bromley (Kent) participated.

Thurley's data suggests that the London pupils' perception of Japan in 1977 was similar to that

revealed in my research. Thurley categorised the images possessed by primary children into three groups: 'Traditional Images', 'Racial Images' and 'Modern Images'.

**Table 2.2 Three categories of images of Japan and of the Japanese possessed by primary school children (Thurley 1978: 23)**

<b>Traditional images</b>	-People wearing kimonos traditional customs -Paper houses -Rice consumption -Living on the floor with shoes off -Rice cultivation (farmers with coolie hats)	
<b>Racial images</b>	-Small people with slit eyes -Black hair	-Yellow skin -Traditional hairstyle.
<b>Modern images</b>	-Skyscrapers -Factories -Over-crowded population.	-Many shops -Many cars

Thurley found that many pupils knew about the geography of Japan and some customs and 'had a fair knowledge of Japanese industry' (*ibid*), and 'all children tended to have a strong image of traditional Japan and of Japanese customs' (*ibid*: 24). For example, some primary school pupils commented:

'I expect to find paper buildings.'

'Lots of paddy fields and people are wearing a funny hat.'

'Women have buns in their hair and wear types of knitting needles in their hair.'

'They are small and have slit eyes.' (quoted from Thurley, 1978: 24)

These images also appeared in my data. It is noteworthy to find many similar perceptions held by pupils in 1978 and 2001. Thurley also found several images confused with those of China.

Research undertaken by Richard Tames in 1978 shows how sixth-formers understood Japan. He conducted a short questionnaire. The majority of 61 students agreed with the following opinions: 'Religion still dominates the daily life of most Japanese', 'The great majority of Japanese are hard-working, well-educated and loyal to their employers'. Only a few teenagers showed 'fear, a revival of the "Yellow-Peril"' (Tames 1981: 12). He comments that among those sixth-formers, 'apart from "the Suzuki violin method", there was not one single reference whatsoever to any aspect of Japan's great cultural tradition' (*ibid*: 13). This is a significant difference to those findings from Thurley's study. However, Tames' testing format seemed to have had a strong influence on the results. Tames asked pupils to 'tick in the column which nearly represents your opinion' and provided statements such as 'Religion still dominates the

daily life of most Japanese', 'Japanese export success is based on the lower wages paid to Japanese workers'. These choices inevitably influenced pupils' perceptions of Japan. There were three open-ended questions in Tames' questionnaire (for example. Complete the following sentences in your own words- Japan's greatest asset is....., Japan's greatest problem is....., Japan and Britain...). Pupils' answers to these questions turned out to be 'industrial efficiency', 'over population', and 'trade problems'. Most responses were related to the opinions raised in the first half of the questionnaire. It is very likely that the pupils in Tames' study were: 1) strongly influenced by the printed opinions on the questionnaire and 2) learned about Japan in school as part of a subject lesson (for example. geography, economics). Therefore, pupils' responses did not include any cultural aspects of Japan. This was before the implementation of the National Curriculum, so these pupils had not learned about Japanese art.

These two studies provide interesting data on British pupils' perception of Japan in the late 1970s. Since the employed methodologies are different, it is difficult to directly compare the results to those of my data. However, these studies demonstrated that the majority of British pupils did not show strong negative perceptions of Japan and its people, although there were some misunderstandings.

#### **2.4.5 Sources of the perceptions**

Mass media contributes to the formation and communication of social representation through the vast and rapid amount of information transferred every day (Hinton 2000; Wiegand, 1993; Cullingford, 2000). As Tames says:

Although Japan finds a place in relatively few school curricula it receives enough coverage from the mass media to enable teenagers to form some relatively durable impressions about the country and its inhabitants (1981: 12).

He is also concerned that 'these images may be based on information which is slender, outdated or distorted' (*ibid*). It is important for school teachers, museum curators and educators to be aware of pupils' perceptions of Japan before their visit. Although I am aware of the

importance of media influence on pupils' cultural perceptions, it is not central to my research purpose therefore I will not discuss this issue in detail.

School textbooks are another crucial source from which perceptions of Japan are derived. I focused on materials written in English and made for school teaching practices. There are two types of teaching materials on Japan: geography textbooks (Waugh and Bushell, 1995) and teaching booklets (Learning Enrichment, 1994; Lorseyedi, Keller and Celecia, 1994; Pilbeam, 1991, 1998). Here I will review a geography textbook as an example. In a secondary geography textbook '*Key Geography: Places*' by Waugh and Bushell (1995), there are five chapters (Development, Brazil, Kenya, Italy, Japan). As recommended in the National Curriculum of England and Wales, Japan appears as an example of a non-European developed country. In the first two pages, 'What is Japan like', Waugh and Bushell introduce the characteristics of Japan in a diagram with pictures. They list, kimono, origami, Buddhist temple, sumo wrestling, chopsticks and sushi, bonsai tree, karate, and a bullet train (1995: 86). The next page shows pictures of a camera, video camera, car, PC, calculator, and TV as goods made by Japanese companies. What Waugh and Bushell introduced here matches the content of the *Discovering Japan*; kimono, origami, temple (shrine), chopsticks and sushi, and bonsai tree. This does not seem a coincidence, rather a typical British view of Japan. In this textbook, virtually all Japanese people are drawn with slit eyes and very yellowish skin colour. It is highly possible therefore, that British pupils will repeat the same kind of drawing to represent Japanese people.

The text also shapes British perceptions of Japan. Waugh and Bushell say 'Most Japanese spend long hours at work and have few holidays' (1995: 87). This is very much a stereotypical view of Japanese business people working like 'bees'.

**Table 2.3 Working hours and holidays** (The Japan Institute of Labour Policy and Training, 2004)

	Britain	Japan	U.S.A.
Annual working hours	1888	1948	1943
Annual holidays	136	128	127

As in table 2.3, Japanese people do work longer than British people do with fewer holidays. However, over the last 20 years, working hours in Japan have decreased significantly (Statistics Bureau, 2004). Moreover, if you compare Japan with the U.S, there is only a slight difference. Nevertheless, Americans are not referred to as 'busy bees'. Thus, we can see that 'Japanese people spend long hours at work and have few holidays' is an outdated stereotype.

Another important point is that the geography textbook strongly associates Japan with natural disasters such as volcanoes and earthquakes. In Waugh and Bushell's textbook, you find:

Of 10,000 earthquakes in the world each year, over 1000 occur in Japan. The majority are fairly gentle, but occasionally they can mean death for thousands of people and can destroy whole cities. An earthquake in 1923 resulted in 140,000 deaths in Tokyo and Yokohama. A more recent one in Kobe in 1995 killed over 5,000 people (1995: 88).

These are facts. However, there are no explanations, of why significantly less people died in the Kobe earthquake compared to the 1923 Tokyo earthquake. Moreover, no text explains how Japan prepares extensively for natural disasters to prevent damage, using sophisticated technology. Instead, projecting pictures of destroyed motorways and burning cities will certainly leave British pupils with a horrific image of Japan. Italy is also another country with earthquakes and volcanoes, but the text only briefly refers to these, and no disaster pictures accompany it. Geography textbooks can contribute to a frightening image of Japan as they emphasise Japan as a land plagued with natural hazards.

The geography textbook describes the quality of life in Japan in these terms:

Although standards of living in Japan are very high, does the same apply to the quality of life?...Japan chose rapid industrialisation as the way to develop. This has brought wealth and economic success to the country and to most of its people. The Japanese have been prepared to sacrifice their quality of life in order to improve their standard of living (1995: 109).

We could question how many Japanese people would agree with this comment. According to the statistics by Economic Planning Agency (a Japanese governmental organisation), in 1984, 64.2% of Japanese citizens showed satisfaction in their everyday life; there has been a

decrease, yet the statistics in 2002 show that 41.3% of citizens are satisfied (Cabinet Office, Government of Japan, 2003). From these figures, the above statement appears exaggerated in its gloomy prognosis.

These examples demonstrate that British pupils encounter certain views towards Japan during geography lessons. Hicks' study supports this discussion. He comments that "[t]he existing literature from North America, Europe and the U.K. shows both extensive racial bias and avoidance of contemporary issues in school text books' (Hicks, 1981: 1). It is for this reason that exhibition and programme planning in museums should start from the audience's perception of the subject, particularly that inculcated by the National Curriculum and standard textbooks.

#### **2.4.6 Children's drawings and perceptions**

The literature and theoretical review on how perceptions appear in children's human figure drawings is given in chapter 6.

### **2.5 Theory of museum education and learning from experiential exhibitions**

#### **2.5.1 Education in museums**

The educational role of museums is not a new topic. According to Wittlin (1949), Hooper-Greenhill (1999) and Anderson (1997), from inception, museums have been public institutions for education. For example, the Victoria and Albert Museum, first established as the South Kensington Museum in 1853, had a major role in the enhancement of industrial design and technology of 19<sup>th</sup> century Britain. The first director, Henry Cole, was very aware of the public educational role of the museum (Esteve-Coll, 1992).

In Britain, many museums were established after the Great Exhibition in 1851. Anderson argues this was partly because during the 19th century, people started to notice 'the power of objects and works of art to educate people's hearts and minds' (1997: xiii). At the same time, government and voluntary organisations began to develop an educational system to combat

poverty. It is notable that public museums were developed along with educational reforms. Museums were arguably established as part of this self-education trend. (see Lawson and Silver (1973) for further discussion.)

However, museum education in today's form is a relatively new issue and the style of education programmes has fundamentally changed. To discuss the historical development of museum education, Hooper-Greenhill's *'Museum and Gallery Education'* (1991) is a core text, providing a thorough review of the development of the educational role of museums and galleries. In the 'Historical perspectives' section, she discusses the primary role of museums in the formation of a 'civilised public' (1991: 9). From the late-19th century, there were arguments about educational aspects of museums. For example, in 1890, Chard and Higgens wrote a report on museums' circulation services for schools and other educational purposes in *Report of the Proceedings of the First Annual General Meeting of the Museums Association*.

Nearly 100 years ago, some museums in Britain were used as alternative educational institutions to schools; during the First World War, museums played a role as schools. They taught public health and hygiene under war conditions using the museum resources (Hooper-Greenhill, 1991). This occurred because the 'general shortage of resources of all kinds led to some school authorities turning to museums and galleries for specific educational provision for children' (1991: 31). Although the serious issue of whether museums should deliver state education or have a different agenda is an important issue (see 8.2.7), it is beyond the scope of this thesis, so I will not address it here.

According to Hooper-Greenhill, by the 1920s 'the educational role of museums was not upheld so firmly, and the radical potential of museums was no longer articulated so clearly' (1991: 9). She also points out that the curators turned away from the public, and their only medium of communication was exhibitions. In the 1960s, display methods became an important issue and museums started to approach the audience. However, Hooper-Greenhill emphasises that it is



since the 1990s that the 'educational role of museums is expanding on all fronts' (*ibid*), a view supported by recent governmental documents such as *Learning Through Culture* (DfES *et al*, 2004).

Some important monographs published in the 1960s underpinned the museum educational movement in Britain. Molly Harrison's book, '*Changing Museums: Their Use and Misuse*', is one of the few pioneering text in this field. It was published in 1967, before the expansion movement of museum education in the 1970s. From her experience as a member of the education staff at the Geffrye Museum in London, she argues the importance of using museums to engage visitors in an active learning experience. Harrison states that:

To most people they [museums] may well be in the category of things 'good for you', but hardly in that of 'enjoyment' and still less of 'fun' (1967: 24).

She claims that the public understand museums as valuable and justifiable public institutions, but they are not appreciated as places for enjoyment and excitement. Harrison critically examines the problems found in museums, and claims that the staff who take care of collections 'remained hypnotised by the charms of collecting, preserving and maintaining' (*ibid*). Additionally, Harrison comments, many museums were planned for restricted members of public citizens such as professionals. She critically argues that 'the growth of a civilised society depends upon the education of everybody and not only of the elite, then we find we have to think differently' (*ibid*). Harrison feels that museums are gradually changing with social change. She raises fundamental issues about developing better access to the objects, and also in engaging visitors in inter-active learning experience within the galleries.

Museums had a long history of reprioritising education where educators were pushed aside by curators in the exhibition planning process (Hein, 1998; Davies, 1994). Hein addresses 'the gradual split between curation and education has led to a curatorial focus on collection and documentation and to an elitist, academic image connected with the pursuit of pure knowledge' (1998: 23). Until the 1970s, the curators were the sole purveyors of exhibition planning, from the

contents to the design. Typically, educators were asked for advice *after* the exhibition plan was finished (Hooper-Greenhill, 1999).

Hooper-Greenhill's *The Educational Role of Museums* (1999) illustrates the above issue. She suggests that during the past thirty years, museum educational professionals' strong commitment derived from the belief that 'the arena for educational work is no longer the "education room", but the whole museum' (1999: 4). In progressive museums, where a holistic approach to education is taken, educators and curators work together to carry out visitor studies and to deliver educational activities (Hooper-Greenhill, 1999). The Money Gallery in the BM is a successful example where curators and educators co-operated in redesigning the displays based on suggestions from the visitors' survey in 1997, and also from running handling sessions by volunteers (see Orna-Ornstein, 2001). The role of curators has expanded to include planning all museum activities, including educational ones (Harrison, 1967; Hooper-Greenhill, 1999; Jensen, 1999).

Hein states that '[m]useums are remarkable sites for learning' (1998: 78). Harrison describes this as:

... they [children] need to learn to be sceptical and to question statements and opinions. This is a fundamental principle in all aspects of education: if we hope to encourage alert, curious minds we must give them constant opportunities to ask questions. Museums are places in which it is particularly appropriate to seek for evidence (1967: 2).

In order to develop museums to become more educational, advanced research and a strategic approach involving various agencies are essential (Anderson, 1997). The National Museum Directors' Conference (NMDC) claims:

Education is central to the role of museums and is enshrined in their mission as public institutions (NMDC, 2004b: 41).

The above comment expresses the directors' growing interest in education in museums. This is reflected in these figures: '50% of school age children visit museums and galleries at least once a year' (2003) and '80% of the parents believe that museums are a very important resource for

educating their children' (NMDC, 2004a: 4). Education is arguably now at the 'centre' of museums in the U.K.

### **2.5.2 Learning from experience**

Bettleheim (1984) suggests that museums attract people first and foremost through their collections. What kind of experience do visitors have from their museum visit? Falk and Dierking (1995) argue that among the many processes of learning, the most basic are perception and memory. Perception is strongly based on people's previous experiences: we understand things through what we know and how we recognise them. Hooper-Greenhill also argues that '[l]earning is influenced by motivation and attitudes, by prior experience, by culture and background, and – especially in museums – by design and presentation and the physical setting' (1999: 21). These basics are common to learning in schools. However, museum education has different characteristics. I will discuss these characteristics under two key concepts: object-centred learning, and informal learning.

Museums encourage 'learning from the real, as opposed to the simulated – learning from visual and material culture in all its diversity' (Esteve-Coll, 1992). Learning from objects is a holistic process which 'encompass skills development (including those of literacy and numeracy); increased knowledge and awareness; offer experiences that illuminate personal relevance and that ground abstract concepts; and enable social learning' (Hooper-Greenhill, 1999: xi). When objects are handled and studied closely, they can provide strong stimulation to the learner (Carr, 1991; Hein, 1998; Caulton, 1998). People recall their own experience and knowledge, which enhances their curiosity (Dewey, 1938). Another characteristic of object-centred learning is that it does not require any specific reading level or stage of conceptual development (Studart, 2000).

Informal learning institutions, such as museums, enhance abilities that are not emphasised in schools (Gardner, 1993, 1999). In museums, the learning strategies go beyond reading and writing, and encompass drawing, looking, handling, and feeling (Carr, 1991; Caulton, 1998; Hein, 1998; Gardner, 1999). Arnheim (1970) emphasised the role of 'visual perception' in learning, arguing that perception and thinking should not be separated. Visual perception is not only a 'passive reception' but also an 'active perceiving' which 'is contained even in elementary visual experience' (1970: 14). Museum experience is fundamentally based on visual experience; therefore, Arnheim's discussion on educating visual sensitivity applies to the museum environment. As a result of active visual perception, what Arnheim's calls 'visual thinking' requires:

... the ability to see visual shapes and images of the patterns of forces that underlie our existence- the functioning of minds, of bodies or machines, the structure of societies or ideas (1970: 315).

Carr states that cultural institutions such as museums, galleries, libraries and zoos seem to share a common feature of learning. He argues that

The situation for learning in cultural institutions - inviting, astonishing choices, provocative and extraordinary juxtapositions – induces a reflective process, polishes a cognitive mirror for the examination of images, thoughts, and beliefs (1991: 10).

As in Carr's discussion, the museum environment encourages visitors' reflection. Visitors such as school children may thus reflect on their images, thoughts and beliefs of a certain culture, and reinvent these after visiting a museum.

Anderson also argues that there are significant differences in how people actually learn:

Some prefer to perceive through sensing and feeling, others through thinking; some to process these experiences through actively doing, others through observing; some to learn alone, others to learn in a group (1997: 3).

In museums, visitors can learn from their five senses. There will be no interruption or pressure of obligation on visitors (Gardner, 1999):

...children can proceed at their own pace and direct their energies wherever they like. There is no need to focus on language or logic and there is no explicit teacher or curriculum (1999: 165).

Museums need to consider the variety of learning styles that take place in their galleries (Anderson, 1997). Informal learning institutions cannot select their visitors, unlike schools which are able to target learning according to age and academic ability; museums need to prepare their exhibition and programmes to suit a wide audience. As Jensen states:

Museum programmes must relate to the life-experiences of the audiences they seek to motivate and engage. As museum staff members come to understand their audiences in greater depth, they can create programmes more directly relevant to them (1999: 110).

Museums have become increasingly aware of the need to meet visitor needs. Traditionally, museum curators confined their role to collecting, preserving and exhibiting objects (Harrison, 1967; Davies, 1994). However, along with collaborative work with educators, curators have recently come to realise that they need to approach the exhibition by analysing visitors' interests and learning styles (Carr, 1991; Gardner, 1993; Hein, 1998).

In Britain, the educational role of museums is emphasised at government level (DCMS, 2000; DfEE/DCMS, 1999, 2000; Anderson, 1997; MGC, 1996; DfES *et al*, 2004). In 1989, Richard Luce, the Arts Minister, identified educational work as a priority development during the following decade. Museums and galleries are also institutions, requested by government, to expand their audiences and to pursue a social inclusion policy (Re:source, 2002). Social inclusion is currently a vital issue for many museums and galleries in the UK dependent on funding. The role of museums in social inclusion is beyond the scope of this research, but further discussion of these matters are found in *Journal of Museum Education vol. 20* (1999) and in *engage vol. 11* (2001).

## **2.6 Summary**

**2.2 What is International understanding?:** International understanding is one of the crucial terms in recent educational debates. In this study, I deliberated the concept of pupils' understanding of 'others' and different cultures. I addressed how the concept 'international understanding' can be incorporated into educational practices in museum settings. In order to

ascertain what is meant by 'international understanding', I summarised the discussion regarding World Studies and UNESCO documents on international education. Several studies examined educational practices for international understanding in museums (Reeve, 1987; Neary, 1987).

**2.3 The Western display of 'others' in museums:** This section reviewed the recent arguments on how museums in the 19th century treated non-western culture. It discussed the style and tradition of displaying 'others' in British museums. During a colonial past, major national museums in London collected objects originating in many parts of the world. How Western curators and keepers have interpreted non-Western culture is discussed.

**2.4: British children's perceptions of Japan:** Perceptions and stereotypes involve attitudes and behaviours towards 'other' people. Initial studies of children's prejudice by Aboud (1988) and Katz and Zalk (1978) were discussed. After reviewing the concept of children's prejudice, I presented the studies of British pupils' perception of Japanese people conducted in the late-1970s.

**2.5 Theory of museum education and learning from experiential exhibitions:** Literature by Anderson (1997), Gardner (1993, 1999), Hein (1998), Hooper-Greenhill (1991, 1999), governmental reports and articles from *Journal of Education in Museums* (JEM; 1987 to 2004) were analysed. I reviewed the text relevant to 'experiential learning' (Dewey, 1938) in the context of museum education.

# Chapter 3

## Methodology

### 3.1 Introduction

First, I will review research methodology in an educational context (3.2) and the specific requirements for conducting a survey in museums. Second, I will present the reasons for choosing specific methodologies in this study (3.3). I will describe the exhibition focused as a case study. Third, the process of data collection and analysis is introduced (3.4).

### 3.2 Review of research methodology

Research is a combination of methods to investigate and resolve a problem. Until the 1960s, a 'traditional objective science method' was perceived as the most appropriate for social science research (Burns, 2000:3). Since then, research methods can be roughly grouped into two types: quantitative and qualitative approach. According to Burns (2000), a quantitative approach often aims to establish general laws or principles. However, in an educational context, generalising the learning from individual students is nearly impossible, because each student has his or her own prior knowledge, experience and expectations. What then, is educational research? Anderson and Aresnault define it as:

Research in education is a disciplined attempt to address questions or solve problems through the collection and analysis of primary data for the purpose of description, explanation, generalization and prediction (1998: 6).

#### 3.2.1 Research in the museum context

I will review the approaches applied in museum visitor studies. An important factor is that the outcomes or results should be presented in such a way as to contribute to develop effective exhibitions and programmes. Research in museums is not only for academics, but also for practitioners who plan and organise exhibitions. Dierking and Pollock suggest making practical

use of the results from a front-end visitor study in museums (1998: 69-77). A front-end visitor study is used for planning exhibitions or opening a new museum. Their suggestions on visitor surveys raise key points for useful and practical research in museums. They argue that efficient care of time and frequent communication with the staff is crucial for a fruitful outcome, and strongly advise that the researcher should attend regular meetings of the exhibition development team. In this way the researcher can 'exchange and build relationships[,] [c]reate shared meaning, and keep channels of communication open, providing opportunities to raise questions and to consider and absorb new information' (1998: 71). This requires an institutional culture that recognises the researcher as part of the exhibition team, ensuring that individuals feel comfortable in providing information and working together. Without this kind of environment, research outcomes can simply be ignored. Communication, sufficient time and well-presented reports are the crucial elements for quality research in a museum context.

'Summative evaluation studies' is a technical term; to some extent, it defines my survey. These studies are 'where a judgement about the effectiveness of an exhibition or program is made' (Dierking and Pollock, 1998: 74). However, learning and museum experience itself emerges within a wide variety of contexts and it cannot be generalised, as each element changes according to personal, social, and physical contexts (Falk and Dierking, 1992; Hein, 1998). In order to identify visitors' museum experiences, it is necessary to investigate prior knowledge and perceptions. This study does not aim to 'make judgements' about the learning or perception of visitors, but to examine in what way visitors perceived *Discovering Japan*. Therefore, I chose a combined quantitative and qualitative method to investigate and interpret the exhibition experience.

Some aspects of my research share commonalities with the 'experimental method', involving 'one experiment group, pre-test, special treatment, and post test' (Scott and Usher, 1999: 56). In my research, 'one experiment group' will be the pupils from five schools who visited the



exhibition. The pre-test is the pre-visit questionnaire. The special treatment is 'visiting the exhibition' and the post-test is the post-visit questionnaire. Scott and Usher argue that this is typical of 'single-group experimental research'. One of the weaknesses of this approach, which can be found in my research, is that '[e]xperimental subjects cannot be isolated during the experiment, but continue to lead normal lives and are subject to a variety of other information' (1999: 56). I recognise that pupils' perceptions and understandings of Japanese culture are derived not only from their museum experience, but from other sources such as school lessons. For this reason, I asked what pupils already knew before the museum visit. Although this process does not completely reveal pupils' previous knowledge and experiences, it certainly provides a more reliable resource when examining the impact of the exhibition.

### 3.2.2 Research questions

The four research questions are:

- *How has Japan been represented at the British Museum and how does the 'Discovering Japan' exhibition fit within this context?*
- *What perceptions did British pupils have of Japanese culture and people, and in what ways did these perceptions change after the visit?*
- *What understandings (that is: appreciation, interest) did these pupils have of Japanese culture and people, and in what ways did these understandings change after the visit?*
- *What lessons might be learned for future exhibitions about Japan?*

### 3.2.3 Rejection of other methodologies

I will now argue my rationale for rejecting other methods for this study. I will focus on research methods frequently used in an educational context: action research, experimental approach and interviews.

Action research, a major research method in educational studies, was developed closely with the 'teachers as researchers' movement (Elliot, 1987) and it is regarded as an appropriate method for practitioners to conduct research in their working context. As Cohen and Manion

state, action research is suitable 'whenever specific knowledge is required for a specific problem in a specific situation; or when a new approach is to be grafted onto an existing system' (1994: 194). The argument for rejecting 'action research' in my research is as follows. First, the research question is not to solve a 'specific problem' or to implement a 'new approach'. Rather, it is to see the content and reality of pupils' perceptions and understanding towards a different culture. Second, I focused on the learning through museum experience. Conventional research styles, centred in a classroom environment (that is: participatory observation) are therefore unsuitable for my research. Third, I am not a 'practitioner' because I am not a teacher at any school or an educator in a museum. I am not in a position to teach or run events at the museum. My research does not reflect on my own teaching or the institution to which I belong. Action research is thus inappropriate for my purpose.

An experimental approach is frequently adopted in psychological tests. According to Cohen and Manion, 'the essential feature of experimental research is that investigators deliberately control and manipulate the conditions which determine the events in which they are interested'(1994:164). The strength of experimental research is that they 'allow replication, and ultimately the establishment of law-like propositions about social activity' (Scott and Usher, 1999: 53). However, there are problems of timing, ecological validity and ethics. The problem of time occurs when the outcomes may not appear at the time of the research, but later. The ecological validity refers to the danger of generalising the findings from one experiment to other contexts of time and place. The third problem is an ethical issue; 'it is discriminatory because one group of social actors is given preferential treatment' over another (1998: 66). The reason for not employing this approach is as follows. First, there was a time limit to my research. Since I looked at the relatively immediate impact from the exhibition, it was impossible to wait for later, highly unpredictable effects to appear. Second, my intention does not lie in generalising the findings. Third, it was inappropriate to turn an already planned museum visit into an experiment of any kind. My intention was to examine their experience by *not* interrupting their informal

learning opportunity.

Interviews are one of the major methods employed in educational research (Anderson and Arsenault, 1998; Cohen and Manion, 1994; Scott and Usher, 1999). However, since my research questions spotlights London-based pupils' perceptions of Japanese culture and people, I considered it inappropriate for myself, a Japanese female, to appear in front of participating pupils and interview as my appearance might influence pupils' perceptions of Japanese people. They might answer from the experience with me, instead of through their previous experience and knowledge. The ethnicity of the researcher is taken into consideration when the research aims to identify racial stereotypes among children (Aboud, 1988; Katz, 1976). In fact, no significant association between the ethnic group of the attendant and pupils' racial attitudes measured were identified in those research studies. However, in my research, it is highly possible that a considerable number of pupils, especially young ones, will have had no direct experience with the target group. In order to avoid direct contact with the pupils, interviews were not chosen as a methodology.

Moreover, if I interviewed them about their prejudiced stereotypes, they might answer in a 'socially desirable' way (Aboud 1988; Augoustinos and Rosewarne 2001). It is highly possible that pupils could not expose their inner feelings or thoughts to the interviewer. Older pupils especially are aware that expressing a prejudiced attitude or belief in front of other people is socially undesirable (Augoustinos and Rosewarne, 2001). This social desirability bias may occur, if I directly encounter pupils and ask their views of Japanese culture and people. The same argument applies for not employing a 'participant observation' method (Cohen and Manion, 1994).

### **3.3 Research methods employed**

To insure the reliability of this study I have employed the logic of triangulation. As Bryman notes, triangulation implies:

...that the results of an investigation employing a method associated with one research strategy are cross-checked against the result of [sic] using a method associated with the other research study (2001: 447).

This provides assurance in the data analysis, especially in qualitative research. Silverman describes the research as 'qualitative forms of investigation tend to be based on recognition of the importance of the subjective, experiential 'lifeworld' of human beings' (2000: 11). Each individual's experience differs and it is important to investigate each case in depth. Denzin and Lincoln's (1994) generic definition of qualitative research offers a useful starting point:

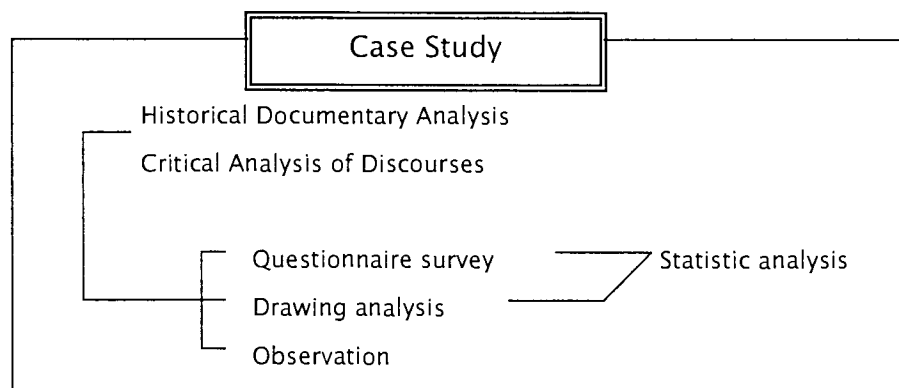
Qualitative research is multimethod in focus, involving an interpretive naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials...that describe routine and problematic moments and meaning in individuals' lives. Accordingly, qualitative researchers deploy a wide range of interconnected methods, hoping always to get a better fix on the subject matter at hand (1994: 2).

Silverman also explains the importance of looking at the facts in a multiple way as follows:

the 'reality' of a given educational setting may be seen not as a fixed and stable entity but as a type of variable that might be discerned only through an analysis of these multiple forms of understanding. Qualitative methodologies provide avenues that can lead to the discovery of these deeper levels of meaning (2000: 11).

To integrate Silverman's argument on the use of 'multiple forms of understanding' and to discover 'deeper levels of meaning', I have employed several methods.

**Figure 3.1 Research methods employed in this study**



First, a **case study** approach provides the framework for this study. One particular exhibition in one museum was chosen to allow for a deep investigation. Under the umbrella of the case study, I also employed **historical documentary analysis** and **critical analysis of discourses** to

examine the representations of Japan at the BM. For empirical data collection, a **questionnaire survey** was chosen. I asked teachers to conduct the questionnaire within their classroom where possible. This method traditionally has a low response rate, and cannot be done under exactly the same conditions for every child. However, this seemed the best method considering the limited time, budget and number of researchers. Third, **analysing children's drawings** method was employed. This provides information of pupils' pictorial images of people from other ethnic groups. To supplement the data, I made **observations** of the pupils at the exhibition and at post-exhibition visits for follow-up sessions.

### 3.3.1 Case study

Case study is a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence (Robson, 1993: 5).

As Robson suggests, case studies can take many different forms; from focusing on one person (for example. drug user; immigrant) to organisations and institutions (for example. firms, schools). In my case, the target was the impact of an exhibition on school groups. According to Bell, 'case study has been described as an umbrella term for a family of research methods having in common the decision to focus on inquiry around an instance' (1999: 10). Case study is suitable for this research for three reasons. First, it is practically impossible for an independent researcher to conduct a national-scale research (for example. Anderson, 1997; MORI, 2001). This may be feasible for large research institutions like MORI which has sufficient human resources and financial support. Bell notes:

The case study approach is particularly appropriate for individual researchers because it gives an opportunity for one aspect of a problem to be studied in some depth within a limited time scale... (1999: 10).

The second reason for choosing this approach is that the outcomes cannot be generalised, but it examines what particular pupils understood about Japanese culture and how their perceptions expanded after the visit. In this sense, my research was very different from a general visitor study where often there is no follow-up research.

The third reason is that it allows the researcher to combine several research techniques. Robson claims that the case study approach can include 'questionnaires; standardized tests (for example. of intelligence, personality or attainment); scale (for example. of attitude); repertory grids; ...' (1993: 159). Bell also argues that in case study 'no method is excluded' (1999: 10). This flexibility enabled me to employ documentary analysis, questionnaire, drawing analysis, observation and statistical analysis. The strength of the case study is explained by Bassey, when he comments that if case studies

...are carried out systematically and critically, if they are aimed at the improvement of education, if they are relatable, and if by publication of the findings they extend the boundaries of existing knowledge, then they are valid forms of educational research (1981: 86).

### 3.3.2 Historical documentary analysis

Historical analysis has been long applied in educational studies (McCulloch and Richardson, 2000). A number of studies focused on the historical development of education in Britain (for example. R. Aldrich, *An Introduction to the History of Education*, 1982). However, historians rarely published information on the methodology in historical analysis (McCulloch and Richardson, 2000). McCulloch and Richardson focus on this gap and published *Historical Research in Educational Settings* (2000). First, they distinguished between two sources; documentary records and oral evidence. I paid attention to the first. Second, as in other fields of history, there is a distinction between primary and secondary sources. According to McCulloch and Richardson (2000), the prime difference in these two sources lies in:

the authorship:...primary sources are produced by those directly involved in or witnesses to a particular historical episode or issue, secondary sources are written after the event, usually by those who were not party to it (2000: 79).

In the museum context, primary sources will be the exhibition displays, labels, exhibition catalogues, brochures and leaflets written by curators. It is important to take into account for whom these documents were targeted, and for what purpose. This is to 'appreciate the perspective adopted by the author and therefore the potential biases and interests involved'

(2000: 80). On the other hand, secondary sources are 'produced at some remove from the events' (*ibid*). But, it is also important to be aware of the 'assumptions and problems of the society and the context in which it is written' (*ibid*). In terms of museum exhibitions, a typical secondary source can be exhibition reviews in newspapers, magazines and books. The authors can be journalists, artists, academics, commentators or curators from other institutions. Secondary resources can provide a critique of the exhibition from a person remote from the institution. However, in my study, the main purpose is to examine in what ways Japan has been displayed at the BM. Thus, the interest lies in how the museum explained its aims and the contents of Japanese exhibitions to the public. For this reason, I focused on the primary sources. I contacted the British Museum Archive and the British Library and individuals such as the educators, curators and librarians who were involved in Japanese exhibitions for this purpose.

McCulloch and Richardson (2000) point out several elements which are essential when conducting historical analysis. Out of seven issues, I employ the following three:

- 1) Issues relating to the author: who produced the work, in what circumstances, for what purpose...
- 2) Issues relating to the context: what were the circumstances in which it was produced? This includes the immediate context surrounding the production of the work...the nature of social and cultural changes at this time...
- 3) Issues relating to the audience of the work: who was it intended for? A limited audience based on locality, or social class, or gender, or ability to pay, or other restricted groups?  
(2000: 91-2)

I have analysed the primary resources and documents according to the above. Although there are limitations in documentary analysis, due to lack of essential materials or deliberate exclusion of information, it provides supportive evidence to my argument and to the empirical data collected.

### 3.3.3 Critical analysis of discourses of the documents

Critical analysis of discourses is an approach commonly employed in social science and humanities studies (Fairclough, 2003; Gill, 1996; Robson, 1993, 2002). According to Fairclough, discourse analysis begins from the assumption that:

language is an irreducible part of social life, dialectically interconnected with other elements of social life, so that social analysis and research has to take account of language (2003: 2).

He argues that one productive way of conducting social research is through 'a focus on language, using some form of discourse analysis' (*ibid*) together with other forms of analysis. One of the most influential works of discourse analysis is by Michael Foucault (Foucault, 1974, 2000). From his *Archaeology of Knowledge*, we can see one form of discourse analysis, which focuses not only on detailed analysis of texts, but also connection with social theoretical issues. Robson (2002) also argues that discourse analysis examines the use of 'language' and that it has become one popular method employed in social science. Robson supports the use of discourse analysis because:

language has such a central role in social life, the study of it provides the key to understanding our social functioning. In those approaches, it is not only the substance of what is said (which forms the basis for conversational analysis) that is important, but the styles and strategies of the language users – how they say things (2002: 365).

Gill emphasises that 'discourse analysis are interested in the content and organization of talk and texts' (1996: 141). In order to implement this analysis, Gill explains the process in two stages: first you 'search for the pattern in the data' (1996: 146), second, 'there is the concern with function, with formulating tentative hypotheses regarding the functions of particular features of the discourse and checking these against the data' (*ibid*). Following these strategies, discourse analysis produces 'readings of talk, texts and contexts' (*ibid*: 147). Gill also comments that discourse analysts 'do not claim to "discover" the "truth" or even to produce a "definitive" reading' (*ibid*) because analysts are aware that the same text can be interpreted in many different ways. What they can do is 'produce readings that are warranted by attention to the detail of texts and that lend coherence to the discourse being studied' (*ibid*). Gill claims that empirical generalisation is not the aim of discourse analysis; instead, the interest is 'in the way



that the account was constructed, the kinds of rhetorical resources that were used and the functions that they served' (1996: 155).

Meaning-making from the text relies on three elements: 'the production of the text; the text itself, and the reception of the text' (Fairclough, 2003: 10). Meanings made from the text derives not only from what is explicit but also from what is implicit, in other words, what is assumed (2003: 11). The texts I refer to are written by the curators and museum staff directly responsible for exhibition planning and publications. They start from the assumption of what visitors are likely to know about the subject (for example. Japan, India, China). Curators are also aware of what visitors (the receptors, the reception of the text) will expect from that exhibition (for example. image of fantasy, cruelty). The text in exhibition catalogues and labels may appear academic, objective and neutral, yet in the sense of critical analysis of discourses, these texts are considered to be based on implicit tacit assumptions.

#### **3.3.4 Questionnaire survey**

I employed the questionnaire survey method before the museum visit (pre-visit survey) and afterwards (post-visit survey). It aimed to see how visitor perceptions and understanding of Japanese culture and its people had expanded during the visiting experience. Moreover, a pre-visit questionnaire for teachers was completed to see what they expected from the exhibit and how they co-ordinated their teaching with the visit. The questionnaires were posted to the teachers for distribution and collection during their lessons. After the visit, I interviewed the teachers who planned the visit.

The pre-visit questionnaire (see appendix 2.1) is an important step in assessing outcomes of museum experiences, because museum visitors bring their own experience, prior knowledge, and perspective (Dierking and Pollock, 1998; Hein, 1998). As Dierking and Pollock state:

visitors...are not blank slates; they generally come because they already know something about the subject, knowledge that may hold an emotional charge (1998: 2).

Dierking and Pollock (1998) also claim that if museums prepare for a rich learning experience, staffs need to give careful attention to visitors' understandings, feelings, attitudes, and beliefs. This is especially relevant for school groups. Pupils learned something related to the exhibition within their subject classes. To a certain extent, therefore, they had already acquired information about the topic. Moreover, speaking of their emotions or attitudes, it is assumed that pupils already hold some kind of image and attitudes toward Japan and Japanese people (Tames, 1978, Thurley, 1978; Inoue, 2002). Much of our knowledge of other people does not come from direct experiences (Hinton, 2000). Hinton argues that the source of information of many people can come through 'chatting to a neighbour, reading a newspaper or a book or watching television' (2000: 26). He continues, 'Children learn an enormous amount through their parents, teachers and friends, which they are not able to experience themselves' (*ibid*). What we understand as 'common knowledge' of certain people can be 'seen as a shared knowledge existing within a culture' (*ibid*). For these reasons, it was necessary to collect the existing views of 'British' pupils participating in my research. In addition, the information on pupils' previous attitudes and knowledge is used to assess the change of their perception after the visit.

### 3.3.5 Analysing children's drawings

I employed children's drawings to investigate pupils' visual image/perceptions of Japanese people. The use of children's drawing in museums is found in recent research. Moussouri (1997) notes that this method can reveal children's development of their spatial intelligence through the museum experience. She incorporates Howard Gardner (1943- ) and Jean Piaget's (1896-1980) theories in analysing drawings by Greek children. She argues that analysing children's drawings is an appropriate approach as 'a diagnostic method of children's intellectual abilities, especially in informal settings where traditional evaluative methods are less effective' (1997: 43). She also suggests that not only the spatial skills of children are displayed but 'their drawings also make explicit their beliefs and attitudes to everyday life. These attitudes are not free from "stereotypes" and "simplifications" which exist within the culture itself...' (1997: 46).

Drawing can express the beliefs and attitudes within children without using words. As Moussouri points out: '[Children's drawings] can also be used as an indicative method in testing children's understanding of the concept itself or mastery of the relevant skills' (1997: 49). This suggests that drawing can be used as a complementary method to evaluate children's skills and understanding.

Studart (2000) also used children's drawing for assessing perceptions and behaviour of children and their families in child-oriented museum exhibitions. Studart states that:

The analysis of the children's drawings revealed that drawings can be a valuable source of information about children's interaction with hands-on exhibits and can be used to assess children's understanding of exhibits through the depiction of the exhibit outcomes (2000: 2).

Moussouri and Studart asked the children to draw what they remembered from the exhibition. Although they used and analysed drawings differently from my case, analysing drawing by children proved to be a suitable method with which to approach my research questions.

Drawings have also been used to capture adults' stereotypical views of 'distant people'. As a part of an in-service course for British primary school teachers, Wiegand asked them to 'draw an Australian'. An example of a drawing by a primary school teacher shows a man wearing a hat 'with corns round to keep mosquitoes out of eyes' and wielding a 'big knife for killing crocodile' (Wiegand 1992: 77). It even accompanies a drawing of a boomerang in the corner. From this example, we can suggest that drawing of a figure from a distant country or culture, is an effective method of understanding visual perceptions and stereotypes. Therefore, I asked the pupils to draw themselves and also to draw a Japanese boy or a girl next to their own image. This is an original contribution to researching with children in relation to racial stereotypes.

### **3.3.6 Background of drawing analysis**

Cox (1992) and others state the human figure is one of the first topics drawn by western children. Children's Human Figure Drawings (HFDs) has been analysed dominantly in two traditions over the years: psychological theory (Cox, 1992; Kelpsich and Logie, 1982; Koppitz,

1968; Malchiodi, 1998; Thomas and Silk, 1990) and semiotic analysis (Barthes, 1982, 1984, 2000; Hawkes, 1977; Currell, 1976). In this study, I modified and employed the approach typically taken in psychology. I will review the semiotic approach and provide a reason for rejecting this.

According to Silverman, semiotics is 'the science of "signs". It shows how signs relate to one another in order to create and exclude particular meanings' (2001; 198). Semiotics arose in the early years of the 20th century out of the theories of the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure, (see Culler, 1976; Hawkes, 1977) and significantly developed by Roland Barthes (1982; 1984; 2000). There is considerable discussion of the semiotic approach in interpreting visual images, but in my analysis, the importance does not lie in 'looking behind and underneath signs' (Silverman 2001: 202). Pupils' drawings are considered to reflect their visual perceptions of other people (for example. appearance, dressing) and they are not examined as 'signs' which are part of a certain system. Moreover, the semiotic approach does not provide a standard measurement in analysing the drawings, and the images focused in the studies are largely produced by adults, who are highly aware of the meaning behind the images (for example. art work, commercially produced images) (see Silverman, 2001). Thus, I followed the psychological tradition in analysing pupils' drawings in this research. Human figure drawings by children were used to analyse the subjects' inner feelings or mental development based on psychological criteria. Koppitz (1968), for example, developed a list of 30 emotional indicators by which to assess a child's emotional adjustment or disturbance.

Drawing human-figures were used not only to reveal feelings, but also as an indication of the child's intelligence or intellectual maturity. Goodenough (1926), Machover (1949), Harris (1963) and Koppitz (1968) created a testing format used for assessing children's drawings. These scoring systems may be 'a good guide to a child's general intellectual level', but used alone, they are unsuitable to make important decisions about the child's treatment. Cox (1992) also

claims that these assessment and scoring systems are based on observation and data collected from children in Western societies. In the Western tradition, it is believed that developmental progression can be observed in 'the increasing addition of body parts with age and adaptations towards more realistically shaped and proportioned figures' (Cox, 1992: 75). This may not be the case for non-western children's development; therefore, assessments cannot be interpreted as universal (for example. it is unsuitable for Islamic children in some cases as there is a prohibition against drawing human figures).

Other work on children's drawings included assessment by finger-painting/printing, crayons, watercolours, chalk or pencil, topic or object given by the investigator or 'free' drawing (Koppitz, 1968). In this study, I will limit my investigation to pencil or pen drawings. The age range will be from eight to sixteen.

I focused on how pupils drew Japanese people differently from themselves (pre-visit) and how their drawings of Japanese people were modified after the visit. Which parts did pupils emphasise to depict differences? Did they change the drawing of a Japanese person? If so, in what way? Are there any more details added to the post-visit drawing? To respond to these questions, the drawings were analysed according to categories of body parts (see 3.3.7). According to Thomas and Silk (1990), children start to draw visually realistic pictures after the age of eight. This means that most respondents in my research are able to draw human figures in some detail. Analysing children's drawing by body parts is a method used by Harris (1963), and Koppitz (1968). In my research, I mainly adopted Koppitz's category in analysing the human figure drawings (see table 3.1).

**Table 3.1 The 30 Developmental Items in analysing children's HFD's (Koppitz 1968)**

1. Head	16.Arms correctly attached to shoulders
2. Eyes	17.Elbows
3. Pupils	18.Hands
4. Eyebrows or eyelashes	19.Fingers
5. Nose	20.Correct number of fingers

6. Nostrils	21. Legs
7. Mouth	22. Legs in two dimensions
8. Two lips	23. Knees
9. Ears	24. Feet
10. Hair	25. Feet in two dimensions
11. Neck	26. Profile
12. Body	27. Clothing: one item or more
13. Arms	28. Clothing: two or more items
14. Arms in two dimensions	29. Clothing: four or more items
15. Arms pointing downwards	30. Good proportion

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Some items were modified or omitted because my research participants were older than in Koppitz's study (Koppitz, from five years to 12 years old: my study eight years to 16 years old). Items such as 'head' were excluded, since those were drawn by all students. These categories were used to focus attention to specific parts of the drawing. Originally, as in Koppitz's study (1968), these categories and her 'List of Emotional Indicators in HFDs of Children' were created for accessing 'the child's level of development and his interpersonal relationships, that is his attitudes toward himself[sic] and toward the significant others in his life' (Koppitz, 1968: 3). Moreover, she believed that HFDs may reveal the 'child's attitudes towards life's stresses and strains and his way of meeting them' (*ibid*). Cox (1992) claims that scoring systems by Goodenough, Harris and by Koppitz are reasonably reliable and valid. Accordingly, these categories have been adopted with some modifications.

However, my question is not to answer 'At what age will children start to include certain body parts?' and to assess their mental development level, but, 'How and in what way do they draw a person from a different cultural background?' My hypothesis is based on the understanding of how 'through drawing children express ideas that are meaningful and important to them' (Numminen *et al*, 1996: 3). Therefore what pupils have drawn of a Japanese boy or a girl may reveal their internal image and understanding of Japanese people. It could be argued that drawing a Japanese person with a triangular hat suggests an understanding of Japanese as

frequently wearing these types of hats, which very rare in modern Japan. The following statement supports the theory proposing that drawings reflect pupils' understanding of others:

One special form of cultural influence on the subject matter of children's drawings is the child's experience of other people's drawings and pictures (Thomas and Silk, 1990: 68).

This indicates that their drawing of Japanese people is a response to looking at others' drawings, including professional artists' drawings and cartoons.

### 3.3.7 Methodology adopted in analysing the drawings

I adopted the content analysis method on drawings. All drawings were labelled and scored according to the following categories; gender, size and body parts. First, I made a comparison of the gender of the pupil and the figure in their drawing. According to Klepsch and Logie (1982), human figure drawing expresses a person's self-image. Therefore, they argue that 'When asked to draw a person, children usually draw their own self sex' (1982: 20). Other research also supports this argument (Schildkrout *et al*, 1972; Tolor and Tolor, 1974). My data did not support these claims (see 6.3.1).

Second, I looked at the visualisation of body parts in the portraits. I modified and adopted Koppitz's scoring system to identify what dimensions are important in analysing children's drawings, as I did not follow Koppitz's system as a tool for assessing intelligence. I decided to focus on 14 categories in the drawings (table 3.2).

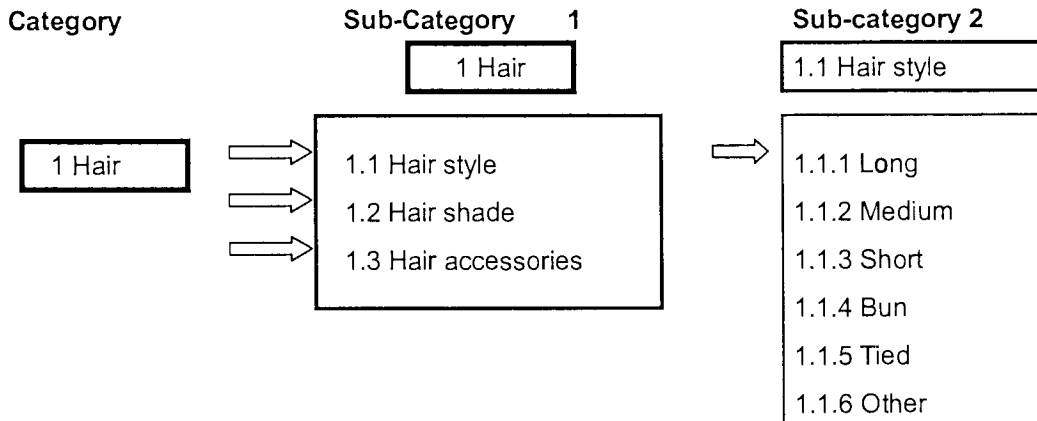
**Table 3.2 Categories used for analysing children's drawings of people from a different ethnic group**

1 Hair	8 Hands
2 Eye	9 Legs
3 Nose	10 Feet
4 Mouth	11 Clothes
5 Face	12 Socks
6 Skin shade	13 Shoes
7 Arms	14 Other items

These categories were chosen after examining the drawings to identify where pupils present the

differences between themselves and Japanese boys and girls. I then created sub-categories within each category (see figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2 Example of categories and sub categories



I created sub-categories one and two for all of the 14 main categories. The 85 samples were scored individually. I used SPSS to calculate the frequency of occurrences within each category.

### 3.4 Data collection and analysis

#### 3.4.1 Research participants

After negotiating and receiving official permission from the BM and from the JFET (Japan Festival Education Trust), I contacted six schools from the list provided by the Education Department of the museum of which five eventually took part (see table 3.3).

Table 3.3 Participant schools

Date of visit	School / Size of group
9 <sup>th</sup> , 11 <sup>th</sup> , October 2001	School BG (South east London, 60 students, 3 teachers)
15 <sup>th</sup> , October 2001	School HH (South east London, 60 students, 5 teachers)
10 <sup>th</sup> , October 2001	School HL (Ascot, 60 students, 6 teachers)
16 <sup>th</sup> , October 2001	School IB (Roehampton, 30 students, 3 teachers)
9 <sup>th</sup> , October 2001	School NM (Newmarket, 30 students, 3 teachers)

#### 3.4.2 Ethical considerations

Ethical issues were carefully considered. I referred to the 'Revised Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research' proposed by the British Educational Research Association (2004) and



the points addressed by Boyden and Ennew (1997: see appendix 3). As this research took place mainly in school classrooms, it was necessary to avoid causing stress and anxiety among teachers and pupils. First, I sent a letter to the teachers stating the purpose of the research and explaining that it was not to evaluate their teaching or the school. I also made it clear that this was research conducted independently from the BM. Participation in the research was entirely voluntary. I was prepared to answer any questions from teachers and to provide any information required. I consulted my supervisors and other experienced professionals to obtain advice in creating the questionnaires and also in planning the research procedure and received their approval. Through this process I received informed consent from five teachers.

Personal details, especially the names of the children were kept anonymous to ensure privacy and also to help collect honest answers. Instead, children's date of birth and gender were used for identification. I advised teachers that the data obtained would be used for research purposes only. For the pupils, I stated at the beginning of the questionnaire 'This is not a test and it will not be used in your school records'.

There is a problematic nature of informed consent in classroom settings. I made it clear to the teachers and to children that the questionnaire was voluntarily. However, adding phrases such as 'You don't need to answer these questionnaire if you don't want to' on the form could have helped reducing the pressure on pupils and ensure their rights to refuse. Although there was a lack of individual consent, pupils' responses revealed that freedom of answering the questionnaire has been assured to some extent as a number of pupils failed to respond and submitted the forms with no answers. In this way, pupils were able to exercise the consent in this study.

As an ethical consideration, I considered it would be irresponsible to leave the children without the correct answers and information about Japanese culture after asking them to answer the questionnaire. Proponents of action research, where practitioners become researchers, insist

that providing feedback is one of the initial aims of the research (Atweb *et al*, 1998). Therefore, I decided to give a follow-up session. I spoke with the teachers to ascertain whether they would like to have a follow-up session on Japanese culture and all teachers responded positively. Eventually, I visited four schools to give follow-up sessions (refer to 7.2.3).

### 3.4.3 Questionnaire development procedure

In order to avoid ambiguous and misleading questions, I adopted the following procedure in developing the questionnaire, based on Davidson's chart of 'Stages in the planning of the survey' (Davidson, 1970 cited in Cohen and Manion, 1994: 100).

First, I developed several questions which aim to answer the research questions. They were developed into questions that were suitable for primary children. Second, in developing the questions, I consulted a professional researcher, museum educator, experienced teachers (primary to post-graduate) and the exhibition organiser, which resulted in changes. I made space for open-ended questions (for pre-visit, Q3 Q5, Q9, Q10, Q12, Q13; post-visit Q4, Q5, Q6, Q9, Q11, Q12, Q13, Q14: refer to appendix 2.1 and 2.2). I underlined and used symbols to clarify how to answer questions. For example, I circled the word 'circle' in the question to visually clarify how to respond to the question. Davidson (1970) states that:

...since people's participation in surveys is voluntary, a questionnaire has to help in engaging their interest, encouraging their co-operation, and eliciting answers as close as possible to the truth (cited in Cohen and Manion, 1994: 92-3).

In order to attract students, I avoided using white paper familiar in worksheets, using a yellow for pre-visit and a green for post-visit questionnaire. Different colours were chosen so it would be easier to distinguish them later on. Also, I inserted some illustrations and phrases, not only instructions such as 'Please turn over', but also commentaries such as 'You've already finished half! A bit more to go...' to encourage students to proceed.

Third, after revising the design and questions, I conducted a pilot study with eight children who attend primary schools in north London. They were aged eight to 12 years old, four boys and four girls. I timed how long it took for them to answer. The result was five to ten minutes. Major

difficulties were not found and all of them said it was fairly easy to answer. In particular, I asked the pupils about what kinds of words they usually use when describing people's characters. This was to check the wording for Question 12, where I ask children to choose several adjectives that describe Japanese people. I chose 20 adjectives which are used as adjective personality traits (Anderson, 1965) and others adapted from Maeda's study (1998). Words are not always used by children as they are defined in the dictionary. So, it was necessary to check whether the terms were suitable from children's perspective. Accordingly, I changed some terms such as 'strange' into 'weird', as pupils said they seldom use 'strange' to describe people.

After revisions to the pilot study, I sent the draft questionnaires to experienced teachers and asked whether the questions were suitable and answerable by primary children. They thoroughly checked the forms, and advised me and the questionnaire was finally completed (see appendix 2.1 and 2.2). The final questions and their aims are as follows:

\*PRE: Pre-visit; PST: Post-visit

PRE Q1: *Have you ever been to Japan?* (Previous experience)

PST Q1: *Draw a circle around Japan.* (Geographical perception)

PRE Q2: *Draw a triangle around the UK. And draw a circle around Japan.* (Geographical perception)

PRE Q3 and PST Q4: *What do you think of when you hear the word 'Japan'?* (Perception of Japanese people and culture)

PRE Q4 *Have you met any Japanese people?* (Previous experience)

PRE Q5 *Do you know any Japanese words?* (Perception of Japanese people and culture)

PRE Q7 *Do you know any Japanese food?* (Perception of Japanese people and culture)

PRE Q8 *Circle the objects you think are sold by Japanese companies in Britain.* (Perception of Japanese people and culture)

PRE Q9 *Have you learned anything about Japan at school?* (Previous experience)

PRE Q10 and PST Q9 *Would you like to know more about Japan?* (Understanding: interest)

PRE Q11 and PST Q10 *How and where would you like to learn about Japan?* (Understanding: interest)

PST 11 *Would you like to meet Japanese people?* (Understanding: appreciation)

PRE and PST Q13 *Would you like to visit Japan in the future?* (Understanding: appreciation and interest)

PRE and PST Q12 *What do you think Japanese people are like? Circle the words, as many as you want and answer why.* (Perception of Japanese people and culture)

PRE and POST Q6 *Please draw. (Yourself and a Japanese boy or a girl)* (Visual perception of Japanese people)

### 3.4.4 Methods of data analysis

'Analysis is necessary because, generally speaking, data in their raw form do not speak for themselves' (Robson, 1993: 305). It is the task of the researcher to interpret and present data in a suitable and accessible way. I accordingly combined several analytical methods. For example, I conducted descriptive analysis for Yes and No answers, and also a content analysis on the reasons and descriptions. I also conducted a statistical analysis on the 'appreciation scores' and the 'exhibition satisfaction scores' and their association with responses to other questions (see chapter 5.4). The procedures of analysis on children's drawings are explained in chapter 6.

**Table 3.4 Summary of data analysis**

Questions (Pre-visit)	Method	
Q1 Q2 Q4 Q5 Q7 Q9 Q10 Q11 Q13 Q12	Descriptive analysis	Counted the raw number of each of the answers.
Q3 Q7-1 Q10-1, 10-2 Q13-1	Content analysis	By reading pupils' sentences, several common key words are chosen. Key words are used as categories.
Q6	Drawing analysis	Focused on the number of differences between the drawings.
Q12 Q12-Q4 Q12-Q7 Q12-Q9 Q12-Q10 Q12-Q13	Statistic analysis (t-tests, chi-square)	Compared the mean of appreciation score according to Yes and No answers to other questions.

Question (Post-visit)	Method	
Q1 Q2 Q3 Q5 Q8 Q9 Q10 Q11 Q12 Q13	Descriptive analysis	Counted the raw number of each of the answers.
Q4 Q6 Q8-1 Q9-1 Q11-1 Q12-1 Q13-1 Q14	Content analysis	By reading pupils' sentences, several common key words are chosen. Key words are used as categories.
Q7	Drawing analysis	Focused on the number of differences between the drawings.
Q3 Q12 Q3-Q5 Q3-Q8-1 Q3-Q9 Q3-Q11 Q3-Q12 Q3-Q13 Q12-Q5 Q12-Q9 Q12-Q11 Q12-Q13	Statistic analysis (t-tests, chi-square)	Compared the mean of appreciation scores/satisfaction scores according to Yes and No answers to other questions.

#### Appreciation scores

In social psychology, cognitive algebra is one of the methods used to assess how impression formations of others occur in human beings. According to Hogg and Vaughan, cognitive algebra 'focuses on how people combine attributes that have relevance into an overall positive or

negative impression' (1998: 47). I have adopted the 'averaging' method, a process where 'the overall impression is the cumulative average of each piece of information' (Hogg and Vaughan, 1998: 48). In cognitive algebra, the researcher obtains the score for each adjective (that is: personality traits). For example, Anderson (1965) asked 100 research participants to score adjectives by using the scale from minus 3 to plus 3. The adjectives were scored as Intelligent (+2), Sincere (+3) and Boring (-1). This impression score will be calculated as  $(2+3-1)/3=+1.33$ , because the score is higher than 0, the impression is categorised as positive.

In my study, the purpose of employing an 'appreciation score' is to capture pupils' perceptions towards Japanese people and whether they appreciate the people in a positive or negative manner. It was necessary to collect recent data from primary and secondary school pupils living in London. I conducted a second survey for this purpose in 2003. Since Anderson's adjective scores were collected from adults in 1965 in the U.S., it was improper to adapt his scores to my research. Therefore, I employed the scores for question 12 which were graded by British primary and secondary pupils (from Year 5 to Year 9). Participants (138 pupils in total) were from five schools and three schools were the same as those who answered the main questionnaire. The age group was chosen to match the ones who answered the main questionnaire.

On the second survey questionnaire, I provided a list of 20 adjectives and asked pupils to circle the score from 0 (strongly dislike) to 6 (Strongly like). The middle score 3 was defined as 'Don't mind'. Since the participants included primary school pupils who do not understand the notion of 'minus', I used 0 to 6, instead of minus 3 to plus 3 as in Anderson's case. The instruction was **'For each word, please show whether you like this kind of person or dislike them (or somewhere in between)'**. I used the median score obtained from this sub-survey and defined them as adjective scores. For example, pupils scored 'Friendly (+6)' as a strongly appreciated term, and 'Unhappy (+1)' as an unappreciated term (see table 3.5).

**Table 3.5 Adjective scores**

Strongly Dislike			Don't mind			Strongly Like
0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Nasty	Unhappy	Scary	Noisy	Active	Cool	Friendly
Unkind			Poor	Clever	Happy	Funny
			Quiet	Outgoing	Nice	Kind
			Rich			
			Shy			
			Weird			

Second, these adjective scores were used to calculate pupils' appreciation score by averaging. For example, an appreciation score for a pupil who chose 'active' and 'rich' will be calculated as  $(3+4)/2=3.5$ . Each adjective score will be added and then averaged. In this way, pupils who answered question 12 will have an appreciation score, which indicates their appreciation level.

### Satisfaction with the exhibition

I asked pupils to circle the sections they visited (Daruma Doll, Shrine, Kimono, Wrapping, Design, Writing, Garden, Food) asking: **'How did you like these exhibits? Tick the boxes which show your impression. Tick one for each exhibit.'** I provided a table with the section names listed on the left, together with three boxes for 'Boring', 'OK', and 'Exciting' on the right. To make the question clear, I used a three-scale rating instead of a five-scale rating: commonly used for 'attitude measurement' in psychology. A typical example would be the Likert scale (cited in Katz and Braly, 1932). In the Likert scale, respondents are asked to rate their answers from 1 to 5 (1='very low' or 'improbable'; 5='very high' or 'probable'). Other possible choices were using 'semantic differential scales', but again this is a complicated system and not appropriate for primary pupils. Since I was expecting pupils from various cultural backgrounds and age groups to participate, I devised simple questions. Therefore, I chose a three scale rating, with simple terms such as 'Boring', 'OK', and 'Exciting'.

The popularity of the sections is described in figure 5.2. I added the 3 scale scores for each section and then divided the sum by the number of pupils who visited that section. In this way, I calculated the average score for each section and labelled them as 'satisfaction scores'. One pupil did not follow the instructions, and answered incorrectly. This data was excluded.

## Chapter 4

# Representing Japan at the British Museum

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter consists of three sections: 4.2 Historical representations of Japan at the British Museum; 4.3 The Japanese Gallery and its educational use and finally, 4.4 *Discovering Japan at the British Museum (BM)*. It explains how *Discovering Japan* fits within the historic and contemporary context. There are no prior publications focusing on the history of representation of Japan at the BM, this chapter therefore provides an original contribution to knowledge.

### 4.2 Historical representation of Japan at the British Museum

The BM official website introduced the Japanese collections as follows:

The Department of Japanese Antiquities houses one of the most comprehensive collections of Japanese material culture in Europe, comprising about 25,000 objects. The collection includes early archaeological material; the arts of Buddhism; secular sculpture; *netsuke* and *inrō*<sup>1</sup>; lacquerware; swords and sword furniture; metalwork; secular paintings, prints and printed books; textiles; ceramics including porcelain and tea ceremony wares and utensils. For the pre-20th century, the decorative arts are among the finest in the Western world, while for paintings and prints the collection is pre-eminent within Europe, both for scope and quality.

Many of the objects were collected by specialists in the past and either given or bequeathed to the Museum. Important antiquities not represented in other European collections continue to be judiciously acquired wherever possible, often from Japanese sources, and the Japanese Galleries have proved the stimulus for many generous gifts.

(quoted from the British Museum official website last accessed 12<sup>th</sup> October 2004:  
<http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/ja/jahome.html>)

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<sup>1</sup> *Netsuke* is a traditional toggle to keep the personal belongings attached to the kimono sash. For more details refer to: <http://www.netsuke.org/>. '*Inrō* (literally 'seal basket') were originally used to carry the personal seals which the Japanese used to stamp documents. ...However, during the Edo period they were more commonly used to carry medicines' (British Museum, 2004b).

#### 4.2.1 Expansion of the Japanese collection

The BM was established in 1753 and opened to the public in 1759, guidebooks to its collections were written by keepers and curators of individual departments in order to make these collections accessible. The first illustrated guide was '*Museum Britanniam*' (1778) by John and Andrew van Rymsdyk (Caygill, 1999: 6). Caygill's '*The British Museum A – Z Companion*' (1999) focuses on the basic themes and objects from the vast collection, and explains in alphabetical order the background history of each object. In this section, I focus on the historical texts providing the background of the development of exhibitions.

References by Boulton (1931), Caygill (1992), Miller (1993), Caygill and Cherry (1997) and Wilson (1989) are the main texts which review the historical background of the museum and document how collections have developed and expanded. They describe the history, the social role and the policy of the museum as well as offering an introduction to collections. These 20th century books show how authors' views of non-western culture vary over time. I examined the relationship between the museum and the Japanese collections and analysed authors' contributions. Each book, gives an idea of how the Japanese collections were understood and displayed during the previous two centuries, if only by omission; the descriptions of Japanese culture are few and simplistic compared to other collections, particularly those of ancient Greece and Egypt. Moreover, there are no independent chapters on 'oriental' art. Japan and China were often categorised as 'Oriental' cultures, alongside India, Afghanistan, Tibet, Pakistan, Korea, Burma, Turkey and Ceylon (Sri Lanka). This chimes with the notion of 'Orientalism' as:

Almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences...Orient...is also the place of Europe's greatest and richest and oldest colonies...and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other (Said, 1978:1)

This stance is common in the BM over the past two centuries.

Boulton's (1931) *The Romance of the British Museum*, documents the origin, growth and purpose of the BM. He starts his discussion with the establishment of the BM, which originates in



the donation of Sir Hans Sloane's collections in 1753, some of which were Japanese materials. The historical development and changes to the Library and the Reading Room are also illustrated. Additionally, Boulton states that the BM's first policy was initially exclusive and closed to the public with only a few permitted to enter the building. It is notable that, as late as 1859, 'it was considered unsafe to allow the British public to be admitted indiscriminately' (1931: 9).

Boulton introduces the contents of the collections with explanations of their geographical, historical and cultural backgrounds. He divides the collections into taxonomy of manuscripts, autographs and documents or geographical areas. Relevant here is information regarding the representation of Japan in the BM. Three pages illustrate Japanese culture, and one section is on the relationship between Japan and Buddhism (1931: 156). In the 1930s, some Japanese figures were presented in the 'Buddhist Room' together with Buddhist artefacts from China, Tibet, India and other East Asian countries. Other Japanese objects were exhibited in the 'Oriental Saloon', with ethnographical Afghan and Indian collections (1931: 192). Here the collection of Japanese arms and armour is introduced with complete suits of armour on display. It is notable that Boulton discusses the culture of the *Ainu* people, an indigenous group in Hokkaido the northern island of Japan, although he does not mention its direct relevance to the display. He describes the history of the *Ainu* and comments on their culture as distinct from mainstream Japanese culture (1931: 193). Other objects, including ivory carvings and *netsuke* (Japanese toggles) seem to have been displayed, or at least were part of the museum's collection in the 1930s. Boulton indicates that the collection from Japan and Indo-China was small and rendered them, under-represented so far 'as their everyday habits and customs are concerned' (1931: 195).

Miller's (1973) '*That Noble Cabinet*' also illustrates the historical development of the BM from 1759 to the two World Wars and in the following post-war period. He critically reviews the Principle Librarian's, treatment of 'other' cultures in the museum. In the 1850s, the Principal

Librarian believed that the ethnographical collection did not deserve to be preserved, nor be part of the collections (1973: 222). Miller states that in the late-19th century, Byzantine, Oriental, Mexican and Peruvian antiquities were thought to be stowed away in the basement, as unworthy for public display. Alcock, (1863) '*The Capital of the Tycoon. A Narrative of Three Years' Residence in Japan*', who selected Japanese objects for the International Exhibition (London) in 1862, confirms this. His limited, Western concept of Japanese culture is apparent in his writings:

No Japanese can produce anything to be named in the same day with a work from the pencil of a Landseer...whether in oil or water-colours: indeed, they do not know the art of painting in oils at all, and are not great in landscape in any material (Conant cited in Alcock, 1863: 81).

We may assume that many museum staff held a similar view of Japanese culture in that era, a supposition supported by statements by Covin and Binyon (refer to 4.2). However, there were keepers who did accept and value different cultural objects; David Masson (cited in Miller 1973: 222), expressed regret that in the 1850s, only five paltry cases were provided in the museum to show the ancient civilisations of China and Japan.

Miller (1973), Caygill and Cherry (1997) confirm that the decision-making for acquisitions relied on the keepers, particularly the director of the museum. Despite the prevalence of prejudice towards non-western cultures in the late-19th century, keepers such as Charles Riu (Keepership 1869 –1898), Augustus W. Franks (1866 – 1896) and Sir Robert Douglas (1892 – 1908) increased the number of acquisitions for the Department of Oriental Manuscripts. Many Chinese and Japanese books were edited into a catalogue under their keepership. Those keepers who acknowledged the importance of non-western culture promoted the acquisition of artefacts, but this derived from personal preference and knowledge rather than museum policy. Gray comments on Franks' scholarly achievements: 'It was Franks who ensured that the Museum should be the first in Europe to admit the East as a field suitable for archaeological and art-historical research' (1971: 211).

There are, however, examples showing how Japanese art was subordinated by Western

museums in the 19th century. Lawrence Smith (1990b), former Keeper of Japanese antiquities at the BM (1962-1997), comments that a historically valuable book from Japan had been handled inappropriately:

For European arrogance and insensitivity led a British Museum librarian at some point during the 19<sup>th</sup> century to bind the two slim volumes together in leather covers in the wrong order, and to abandon the original paper covers. Some of the evidence, which could have been valuably preserved, was thus destroyed with what most would now describe as wilful stupidity (1990: 82).

Another piece of evidence from the 20<sup>th</sup> century supports this argument - the Japanese armour and sword collection belonged to the Ethnography Department. The Keeper of the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography, Charles H. Reed describes its ethnographic collection from 'the people of the uncivilized world' (The British Museum, 1910b: v). This attitude to ethnography appears again as:

At no period in the world's history has any one nation exercised control over so many primitive races as our own at the present time, and yet there is no institution in Great Britain where this fact is adequately brought before the public in a concrete form (1925: vi)

This Victorian attitude confirms arguments presented by Barringer (1998), Pagini (1998) and Hein (1998) (refer to 2.3).

Smith (1990b) notes that most Japanese objects were obtained through European collectors and dealers. Considerable quantities of artefacts were exported from Japan after the Meiji Restoration in 1868, as swords and *netsuke* became obsolete in the new society. Franks was zealously keen to collect high quality objects from early Japan, although he never went to the Far East (Gray, 1971). It was rare to find staff travelling to Japan. Currently however, curators visit Japan several times a year and the museum has visiting Japanese curators and scholars<sup>2</sup>.

The museum acquired Japanese objects gradually. According to the BM's official website from the late-19th century 'The arts and crafts of Japan were sold at auctions, and in both specialist and non-specialists shops...Great collections were formed by private individuals to be later given,

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<sup>2</sup> BM staff have been working with Japanese counterparts for the past 20 years (Smith, 2004).

sold or bequeathed to Museums' (2004a). According to Miller, between 1902 and 1909, a private collection of Japanese woodcuts was obtained by Sidney Colvin (Keepership: 1883-1912) (1973: 297). Miller's book also comments that the keeper's decision strongly influenced the variety and contents of the collection.

During the Second World War (1939-1945), interest in Japan seriously declined in the U.K. According to Smith, the Japanese collections in the BM 'had to wait until the 1960s to be generally perceived once again as useful resources for scholarship or history of art' (1990b: 79). There is documentary evidence for this claim. There were no articles on Japanese art from 1932 to 1939 in the *'British Museum Quarterly'*, an academic journal published by the museum since 1927, and due to the war, it was suspended entirely from 1939 to 1951. However, the articles on Japanese artefacts disappeared from 1932, and only reappeared in 1952.

After the Second World War, Smith comments that as early as 1948, Basil Gray (1904-89), then Keeper of Oriental Antiquities (1946-69), held an exhibition on the centenary of the death of Hokusai Katsushika. His commitment to collecting Japanese artefacts is acknowledged (Smith, 1990b) together with the work by David Waterhouse (1936-), who was the first specialist in Japanese art and antiquities at the BM (1961-4).

In 1987, the Museum established a new department: the Department of Japanese Antiquities. David Wilson's *'The Collections of the British Museum'* describes the boundaries of the Japanese collections within the museum as follows:

The Japanese collection aims to cover all aspects of material culture from the Jōmon period (beginning C. 1000BC) until the present day. It is particularly recognised as the national collection of Japanese fine arts in traditional styles or formats, but excludes international-style easel-paintings of the last 130 years, which for reasons of conservation fall within the remit of the Tate Gallery. Items of anthropological interest, especially relating to the *Ainu* culture of Hokkaido, are held in the Department of Ethnography, while a group of Japanese clocks is cared for by the Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities (1989: 176).

Until 1989, the museum's collection focused on 'Japanese fine arts in *traditional style or formats*'.

Whilst it valued traditional artefacts from Japan, it considered an indigenous culture such as the *Ainu* as non-traditional Japanese, and categorised such artefacts as ethnographic resources. This phenomena is derived from the Western notion of 'ethnographic artefacts' which are separated from mainstream 'art' (refer to chapter 2.3), and labelled as 'primitive'. Nevertheless, this distinction can become a positive force in organising an exhibition on Japan from a new perspective. The innovative, contemporary nature of the exhibition '*Souvenir*' was, perhaps, due to the fact that it was curated by the ethnography department, rather than Japanese Antiquities.

'*Souvenirs in Contemporary Japan*' (14<sup>th</sup> June 2001 to 6<sup>th</sup> January 2002) was displayed in the BP Ethnography Showcase. This exhibition is an inspiring example of how contemporary Japanese culture can be represented through objects in an attractive and accessible way. Interestingly, this exhibition was devised by a short-term contract ethnography curator. According to the website:

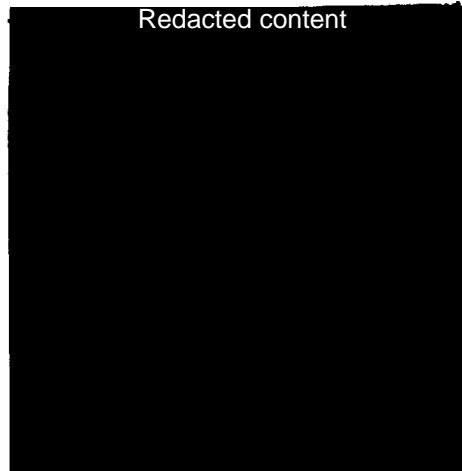
Between 15 January and 6 February 2001, Sara Pimpaneau, a curator in the Department of Ethnography, travelled in Japan collecting objects for the BP Ethnography Showcase *Souvenirs in contemporary Japan* (14 June 2001 - 13 January 2002). The display is based on research carried out in The British Museum and by the co-curator, Inge Daniels, an independent researcher. It explores the scope and variety of souvenirs in domestic travel, their role as gifts and their place in the home.

The most common Japanese word for souvenirs is *omiyage*. 'Miya', meaning shrine, is a reminder of the religious origins of leisure travel in Japan. Shintō shrines are dedicated to native Japanese deities, and temples are associated with Buddhist gods, though distinctions are rarely made between the two in everyday practice, and they offer similar goods for sale to visitors. *Omiyage* now refers more generally to a large variety of popular items which convey the ephemeral memory of places and events. They are highly specialized and illustrate the particular identity of local communities. They are also based on recognized famous products, or *meibutsu*. Souvenirs are also crucial for new places to establish themselves as travel destinations.

(quoted from British Museum website:<http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/>. Accessed on 25<sup>th</sup> May 2004)

A visual sample of the display is the Hello Kitty hand towel from Shikoku, one of the four main islands of Japan.

**Figure 4.1 Hello Kitty towel from the *Souvenir* exhibition at the British Museum**



(Original image quoted from <http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/compass/>)

My data shows how several secondary school girls associated Japan with the image of 'Hello Kitty', a popular character from Sanrio, a major stationery and toy company in Japan. These pupils' prior knowledge implies that this hand towel will attract their attention. Pupils may notice why the Hello Kitties are not dressed in their usual pants and skirts, but in a special outfit, and holding hats and canes. The caption to this towel reads 'Illustrated here is a souvenir from Shikoku, a face towel showing Hello Kitty dressed as a pilgrim in front of a suspension bridge' (British Museum, 2004b). Pupils will realize the visual difference within the characters, and then read the labels to be initiated into the 'pilgrim' culture that is famously associated with Shikoku island.

Whilst museum exhibitions often emphasise differences between their 'own' culture and those of the 'others' (Simpson, 1996; Karp and Lavine, 1991, it is not difficult for pupils to find parallels between cultures. However, in our globalised society, where 'the role of the medical technologies and communication technologies – increased mobility of ideas, capital and people – in transforming cultural fields' (Schirato and Webb, 2003:132), finding commonalities and similarities within cultures could replace the emphasis on difference. For instance, McDonalds,

Pizza Hut, Twining Tea and Honda cars are found in both Japan and the U.K. Thus, if an exhibition attempts to simply reflect the 'other' culture, like a mirror, instead of re-presenting it, the exhibition should display similarities and differences. These echoes with several pupils' responses to my follow-up session, where they found that contemporary Japanese students dress more or less like themselves (refer to 7.2.3). Therefore, the *Souvenir* exhibition has succeeded in reflecting the similarities between the two cultures through ethnographical objects, in contrast to *Discovering Japan*, which emphasised differences between Japan and the UK.

Another innovative aspect of '*Souvenir*' is that it provided two hands-on activities. An instant picture-sticker printing machine (called *Pri-Kula: Print clubs*) was provided. Visitors paid two pounds to choose a picture frame, take a picture and instantly receive 16 printed small stickers with their images. The entire procedure is automatic and operated by a simple button. There was a great boom in these machines in Japan from around early-1990s, and many, some with more advanced functions, can still be found in Japan. The stickers became Japanese 'souvenirs' of the visit to this 'souvenir' exhibition. The other activity utilised a stamp with carvings of the BM building. Stamping on tourist brochures or leaflets is a popular activity in contemporary Japan. The curator adopted this idea and created a blank space on the exhibition leaflet with the suggestion: 'Print your own souvenir stamp here to remind you of your visit to The British Museum' (British Museum, 2001b). These two activities have strong contextual associations to the exhibition and made a great impact on visitors by providing real 'souvenirs' in an authentic Japanese style. This is an excellent example of how contemporary Japanese culture can be introduced. Traditional paintings, prints, ceramics, and swords are not the only available resources; in some cases, low culture objects can have an equally powerful impact on visitors' perceptions.

Museums have a long tradition of displaying 'high culture' to the public to cultivate their taste (Bourdieu, 1984; Stanley, 1998). Simpson argues that '[I]n Europe, the tradition of museums as

institutions both reflecting and serving a cultural elite has long been established and, in many, is still maintained' (1996:1). There is still a strong tendency to show 'antiquities' and not 'crafts' from unknown cultures (Stanely, 1998). In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, museums are once again opening their doors to accept cultural diversity and approaching wider audiences (MLA, 2004). The discussion of 'representing others' has been critically debated (Karp and Lavine, 1991; Simpson, 1996; Lidchi, 1997; Clifford, 1995) and there is evidence showing increasing awareness of the value of 'low culture'.

The final book introducing the Japanese Gallery is Caygill's '*The Story of the British Museum*' (1992), published by the BM. It chronologically covers the historical development of the museum informing the public about the foundation and development of the museum. Caygill (1992) notes that in 1990 the Japanese Galleries were opened on the fifth floor of the museum. Before the opening of the gallery, in 1987, the Department of Japanese Antiquities was established. By then, the number of specialist staff of Japanese art and antiquities had increased from one to three.

According to the Japan Information Centre (Embassy of Japan), on 6<sup>th</sup> April 1990, the museum:

marked the end of a five-year campaign to create a permanent home for Japanese culture in the U.K., a study centre to deepen Western understanding of Japanese culture and the opportunity for the British Museum to display, over the years, its fine collection of Japanese art (1990: 1).

The British Museum managed to raise five million pounds to open the new gallery, which offered a permanent place to exhibit Japanese antiquities, with donations from Japanese companies, the Government of Japan, British companies and individuals (Smith, 1990a).

#### **4.2.2 Japanese exhibitions at the British Museum**

It is a difficult task to find the official records of past Japanese exhibitions, especially those of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. First, published exhibition catalogues or guidebooks were fewer (Smith, 2004<sup>3</sup>). According to Smith (2004), publishing exhibition catalogues at the BM started in the

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<sup>3</sup> Telephone interview with Lawrence Smith (ex-Keeper of Department of Japanese Antiquities at the British Museum) on 1<sup>st</sup> May 2004.



late-1960s, following the successful Egyptian exhibition in 1971. Therefore, no relevant records of exhibitions, specifically on Japanese exhibitions before 1888, were found in either the BM or the British Library. Second, there have been exhibitions displaying Japanese artefacts, but with ambiguous titles (for example. *Buddhism: Art and Faith* exhibition, 1985). In such cases, without the exhibition guidebooks or catalogues, it is nearly impossible to determine the contents. Third, the organisation of the Japanese collections has changed over time. Even in the last 30 years, the Japanese collection first belonged to the Department of Oriental Antiquities (1933-), then to the Department of Japanese Antiquities (1987-2002), and finally to the Japanese Section as part of the Department of Asia (2003-). Under these circumstances, the records of the collections, especially on the exhibitions, are very difficult to pursue. It was therefore difficult to find information related to Japanese exhibitions prior to 1990.

However, from my research, I obtained several documents from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, 1970s and 1980s describing the Japanese exhibitions. The oldest document is the '*Guide to the exhibition of Chinese and Japanese Paintings in the Prints and Drawing Gallery*' (1888). This guide explains the background history of the extensive collection of Japanese and Chinese paintings purchased from William Anderson, F.R.C.S (formerly medical officer to Her Majesty's Legation, Japan) in 1881. Sidney Colvin (1845-1927), the Keeper of Prints, notes to British readers:

In studying the pictorial art of the Japanese, with that of the early Chinese masters from which it was derived, it is essential to bear in mind the character of their artistic ideals and traditions, which in some respects differ radically from our own (1888: 4).

Colvin explains the differences by comparing the drawing techniques as follows:

To reproduce on the painted surface, in the Western manner, all the parts of any given scene of nature, in the actual truth of their appear and relations, is not the task they have proposed to themselves; and of the scientific aids requisite to such an attempt they have accordingly remained contentedly ignorant, - of linear perspective almost entirely (while handling aerial perspective with great, though generally quite arbitrary, skill) - of the anatomical structure of men and animals hardly less (1888, 4).

Colvin tries to allude to the artistic skills in Japanese and Chinese paintings by comparing them to the Western manner. His description is written in an academic style, free of Eurocentric views

towards Japanese art, and differs significantly different from Alcock's description, who ranked Japanese 'intellectual and moral pretensions' low by Western standards (see 2.4.2).

The second oldest document discovered is the '*Guide to an exhibition of Chinese and Japanese paintings: (fourth to nineteenth century A.D.) in the Print and Drawing gallery*' published in 1910. However, this document only refers to a particular exhibition which consisted of 273 examples from the Anderson purchase and contains little commentary. One sentence by Laurence Binyon (1869-1943) is particularly interesting, he ends his comment with a rare instance of a well balanced perspective: 'In spite of all differences, however, the essential affinity between the finest of those paintings and the finest Western art is manifest' (1910a: 10).

A further '*Guide to an exhibition of Japanese colour-prints*' published in 1920, was updated in 1926. The guide shows the contents of the exhibition which seems to have changed almost yearly. It includes paintings of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. The commentary by Laurence Binyon, the curator at the Oriental Department, titled 'Japanese Colour-Prints' reads:

Japan was now a country cut off from the rest of the world by its own choice...The populace of the new capital of Yedo (now Tokyo) separated by the rigid divisions of the feudal system from the warrior and priestly estates[sic] above them, and undistracted by politics, began to form a culture of their own. A desire for beauty and the pleasures of art arose...Paintings were too expensive to satisfy this need. Woodcuts, at first hand-coloured, then printed in colours, supplied their place. ...the production of prints which, cheaply sold and despised by the *samurai*, seem to us marvels of distinction and fine taste (1920: i).

Binyon's descriptions of Japanese prints are generally neutral, and do not show a strong bias towards non-western art. However, he does seem to hold a gender stereotype which appears in his description of Japanese women in the prints. He claims 'The sweet, small feminine types of Harunobu have been supplanted by a tall, majestic race (quite unlike the real Japanese woman)' (1920: iii). This comment seems to reflect his view towards Japanese woman in the early-20<sup>th</sup> century (Szyliowicz, 1988; also see 2.4.3).

Binyon was also aware that Japanese and Chinese collections in Western museums did not start

from academic interest or curiosity. In *'Painting in the Far East: An introduction to the history of pictorial art in Asia especially China and Japan'* (1913), he explained the backgrounds of the collections:

In most of the countries of the West collectors are beginning to collect, seriously and studiously, and no longer with a haphazard curiosity, specimens of the classic art of China and Japan. Museums begin to realise that these things are worthy of acquisitions for their own sake and not merely as illustrations of ethnography or religion (1913: vii).

This text indicates that Western collectors in the 19th century collected the artefacts from China and Japan as 'ethnographic' examples of 'exotic objects' and not as formal works of art. It also highlights how, in the early-20th century, art from Far East Asia started to be considered as professional and valuable as European art.

The list of exhibitions on Japan (table 4.1) was compiled from the *'British Museum Quarterly'* (1926-1972; interrupted from 1939-1951) and the *'British Museum Society Bulletin'* (1969-1989).

**Table 4.1 Japanese exhibitions at the British Museum from 1920 to 1989**

Year	Title	Place (if known)
1920–26	Japanese Colour-Prints	Prints and Drawings Gallery
1929	Japanese Screens and Indian Paintings	-
1933	Japanese Colour Prints	-
1935	Exhibition of Chinese and Japanese Paintings	Upper Gallery
1939	Oriental Portraits and of Oriental Prints and Drawings (No documentary evidence available)	-
1972	Art treasures from the Japanese Imperial Collection	Oriental Gallery II
1974	Exhibition of Chinese and Japanese Maps	North Entrance Hall
1976	Japanese Netsuke	
1977	Japanese paintings and prints of the Ganku and Buncho schools	
1978	A dream of fair women: Japanese Ukiyoe prints	Oriental Gallery II
1980	Japanese prints over 300 years	Prints and Drawings Gallery
1982	Edo: Arts of Japan 17 <sup>th</sup> - 19 <sup>th</sup> Century	Oriental Gallery II
1983	Japanese print since 1900: Old Dreams and New Visions	
1984	Japanese paintings and drawings 17 <sup>th</sup> - 19 <sup>th</sup> centuries: from the Harari collections	
1985	Japanese paintings from the Harari collections	Room 74
1986	Contemporary Japanese prints: Symbols of a society in transition	Room 74
1988	Ukiyoe: Images of unknown Japan	Room 49
1989	Masterpieces of Japanese art in the British Museum	Room 93

In 1976, there was the 'Netsuke: the Miniature Sculpture of Japan' exhibition. According to the booklet, Netsuke's function was to:

Prevent such objects as purses, *tabakko* [sic]-pouches and seal-cases from slipping from the sash which formed an essential part of traditional Japanese dress. The purse would be attached to a silken cord: this would be tied at the other end to the netsuke, the cord hung through the sash. Thus netsuke was simply toggles, and they had to conform to certain practical rules (1976: 1).

The booklet does not refer to the uniqueness or the difference of Japanese art compared to Western art. Perhaps this is because by the late-1970s, people were more aware of the artistic differences, and less prejudiced. At least, the museum brochure does not mention *netsuke* as an object of representation of exoticness<sup>4</sup>. After explaining that many *netsuke* feature creatures in daily life, beliefs, and mythology, there is an interesting comment that 'foreigners were often used as humorous netsuke-objects' (*ibid*).

From these limited resources, I found that, at least from the mid-1970s, Japanese exhibitions were held almost every year up to the 1980s. The 'Contemporary Japanese Prints: Symbols of a society in transition' (1986) exhibition visited five cities in the U.S. and London. This was a good example of 'co-organised' exhibition, frequently found at the BM from the 1980s onwards. It was co-organised by the College Women's Association of Japan (CWAJ) and the artefacts became part of the BM collection at the conclusion of the tour.

'Globalisation' and the development of international infrastructures, in terms of both information and transport, have greatly influenced the process of making exhibitions. It increased the numbers of co-organised exhibitions (Smith, 2004). In terms of the Japanese exhibitions, this movement started after the co-organised exhibition at the Royal Academy of Arts in 1982; 'The Great Japan Exhibition: Art of the Edo Period'. Smith (2004) comments that until the introduction of FAX in the 1980s, the department rang Japan perhaps once or twice a year, as the cost was

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<sup>4</sup> For discussion on use of the term 'exoticness', refer to Rousseau, G. S. and Porter, R. (eds.) (1990). *Exoticism in the Enlightenment*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

extremely high. Today, not only do curators use FAX, but from 1997, they started to use email to contact scholars in Japan and worldwide (Clark, 1996). Transport costs have dramatically decreased over the years, prompting British curators to visit Japan more often and vice versa, increasing co-organised exhibitions.

As a result of co-authored work, British curators show their gratitude to Japanese scholars:

The exhibition has been possible only as a result of the kind co-operation and hard efforts of many individuals. The information presented in the catalogues relies heavily on the research of scholars in Japan.... (Clark, 1993: 10).

#### 4.2.3 The establishment of the Japanese Galleries

In 1987, nearly 200 years after, a gallery and department for Japanese art were established. Caygill (1999) estimates the Japanese collection to be 25, 000. The museum has about 3300 *netsuke* (toggles) and 8000 *ukiyo-e* (woodblock prints) initially obtained during the 18th and 19th century. The number of Japanese paintings is the largest outside of Japan, and is described as 'the finest and most comprehensive in Europe' (Caygill, 1999: 374).

Economic climate is a significant factor in the opening of new galleries. In the case of the Japanese Galleries, opened in April 1990, substantial donations were possible because of the timing of the project. The Japanese economy was brisk in the late 1980s. Smith notes that out of some 5 million pounds for the Japanese Galleries project:

...about 4 million pounds has been given by Japanese sources, while the rest has been raised by donations from within the United Kingdom and by the British Museum's own earnings in various Japanese-related ventures – loan exhibitions, publishing, and television series (1990a: 5).

According to Smith (2004) and Clark (1996), '*The Great Japan Exhibition: Art of the Edo Period*' (1982) at the Royal Academy of Arts in London had a significant impact on British perceptions of Japanese art, attended by 500,000 visitors over four months. The exhibition received financial support from 'Japanese companies and foundations, often generated with the assistance of the Keidanren [Japan Federation of Economic Organizations]' (Clark, 1996: 39). Clark comments

that:

...this was the first major event since World War II to reestablish[sic] Japanese art in the consciousness of the general exhibition-going public and was very enthusiastically received...Its success reaffirms also the importance of borrowing exhibits of the highest quality from Japan, if a significant impact is to be achieved (1996: 39).

After this successful exhibition, new galleries for Japanese art have been constructed in museums in quick succession. By receiving financial support from Japanese companies and foundations (Clark 1996), the following projects have been conducted:

- \*Toshiba Galleries at the Victoria and Albert Museum (1986);
- \*Japanese galleries and ongoing exhibition programme at the British Museum (1990)
- \*The conservation facilities for Far Eastern pictorial art: the Hirayama Studio (1994)
- \*Shiba Room for the display of Japanese prints and drawings at the Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge (1992)
- \*The gallery for Japanese art at the Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford (1997) (*ibid*: 39).

Two national events, the Japan Festival (1991) and Japan 2001 (2001) were held in recent years. This demonstrates the consistency of interest in Japanese art, which the Japanese Galleries project at the BM was part of. After the 'bubble economy' (1986-) collapsed in 1990, it became tremendously difficult to collect the same amount of funding for museum projects. Clark explains:

The challenge now is at least to sustain and if possible develop and deepen all these activities in the financially stringent later 1990s and onwards into the new millennium. The threat is that if we are unable to do this, then much of the hard-won institutional infrastructure and the momentum of exhibitions outlined above will have been wasted (1996: 42).

Moreover, although the museum has benefited from sponsorships from Japanese bodies, these cover only a small part of the actual costs of exhibitions (Clark, 1996). Fund-raising became a crucial barrier, even for Japanese exhibitions which benefited from generous support. However, the new Japanese Galleries have been successful in organising major exhibitions in the past 14 years (see table 4.2 and appendix 1).

**Table 4.2 Major exhibitions in the Japanese Galleries at the British Museum**


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1990 Porcelain for Palaces
1991 Swords of the Samurai
1991 Kamakura: The Renaissance of Japanese Sculpture, 1185–1333 (Japan Festival 1991) *
1992 Nihonga: Traditional Japanese Painting, 1900–1940 (Japan Festival 1991) *
1993 Demon of Painting: The Art of Kawanabe Kyosai, 1831–89
1994 Treasured Miniatures: Contemporary Netsuke *
1995 The Passionate Art of Kitagawa Utamaro (d.1806)
1996 Kayama Matazo: New Triumphs for Old Traditions *
1998 Rimpa Art from the Idemitsu Collection, Tokyo *
2000 Saga: Contemporary Ceramics from the Home of Japanese Porcelain *
2001 100 Views of Mount Fuji (Japan 2001)
2001 Shinto: The Sacred Art of Ancient Japan (Japan 2001) *
2002 Arts of Japan
2003 Kazari: Decoration and Display in Japan: 15 <sup>th</sup> – 19 <sup>th</sup> Centuries *
2004 Cutting Edge: Japanese Swords in the British Museum

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(Quoted from the British Museum website, edited by author)

\* Exhibitions receiving funds from Japanese sources

The opening of a permanent gallery seems to have influenced the nature of the exhibitions. First, the number of exhibitions has increased significantly, from once to twice to three or four exhibitions per year. Second, there are more opportunities to display the permanent collections 'because of the delicate nature of some of the items, the exhibits will be regularly changed, thus enabling a more constant flow of these hidden treasures to come out of storage' (JICC, 1990: 1). Third, the creation of the gallery publicises that the BM has significant Japanese collections supported by substantial academic studies. It also shows that the museum benefits from strong support from Japanese and British sponsors enabling the construction of the galleries.

### **4.3 The Japanese Galleries and their educational use**

#### **4.3.1 Documentary review of the educational use of Japanese collections at the BM**

There were several workshops using Japanese collections before the opening of the Japanese Galleries. In the 1980s, in co-operation with the Japan Information Centre at the Japan Embassy, several workshops for art teachers were arranged, where curators lectured on the exhibitions and introduced ways to teach the arts of Japan to British pupils. For example, 'a series of day

work-shops for teachers and students, including lectures, films, handling, practical calligraphy and a Japanese lunch box' (Reeve, 1987: 27) was arranged together with the 'Edo' exhibition in 1982. Moreover, the Education Service prepared 'stapled booklets called trails, for children to pick up individually in the holidays and weekends, and for teachers to use as a basis of their own materials' (*ibid*). He notes that 7000 copies of the 'Edo' trail were picked up by visitors. So, educational programmes and materials associated with Japanese exhibitions appeared from at least the 1980s, as the museum benefited from financial support from the Japanese sponsors (Reeve, 1987). The Keeper of the Oriental Antiquities at that time was a Japanese expert (Lawrence Smith, 1977-1987), and Reeve also specialised in Japanese art. This demonstrates the contribution of personal elements to the implementation of such programmes (Smith, 2004).

After the opening of the Japanese Galleries in 1990, there are several cases of educational use of the collections. The first event was a programme based on the exhibition in 1991, '*Kamakura Sculpture: The Renaissance of Japanese sculpture (1185-1333)*'. According to the Japan Festival committee:

Education: an integral part of the Japan Festival 1991 will be a comprehensive and far-reaching education programme, appealing to children, students and teachers, whatever their subject. The education programme aims to bring a deeper understanding of the Japanese way of life to schoolchildren... (1991).

The committee also refers to museums and galleries as 'organising events to complement their exhibitions, including previews, lectures and artists' residencies' (1991). *Discovering Japan* was introduced in this document. Japan Festival education programmes highlight the role of the BM, which from 17<sup>th</sup> September to 24<sup>th</sup> November 1991 organised 'a range of educational activities including teachers' previews, workshops, films, lectures, and guided tours, as well as resource packs' (1991) accompanying the 'Kamakura Sculpture' exhibition.

The second case concerns two projects co-organised by the BM Education Service and the Institute of Education, University of London, Centre for Multicultural Education (CME); The ACE Project in 1992 and 1993. The aim of this art education project was to 'help children to participate



more effectively in their own multicultural society.... [and to] help the learner to become a more confident and competent person' (CME *et al*, 1992: 13). The first project 'Responses to Kamakura' involved primary school pupils aged from nine to eleven years old from Camden. Reeve introduced the Kamakura sculpture:

Kamakura was the capital of the first military ruler of Japan from 1185. After a period of civil war and disruption, many temples and shrines needed repairing or rebuilding, and a great deal of sculpture was therefore commissioned during this period. The style is very distinctive: dramatic, larger than life guardian figures; naturalistic sculptures of spiritual and military leaders; and other-worldly Buddhist figures (CME *et al*, 1992: 10).

After the introduction, primary school children made drawings directly from the sculptures. The drawings were then projected onto limewood panels, and the children drew with charcoal over the projected image. They then spent four days carving the panels. Many struggled with this task, and found that high skills were required to carve details with the chisels. At the final stage, children applied linseed oil, which brings out 'the colours and the grain in the wood as well as accentuating the relief' (CME *et al*, 1992:14). There was another similar project reported in '*Responses to Ukiyo-e Paintings and Japanese Masterpieces*' in 1993. This project concluded with a children's art exhibition, displayed from 20<sup>th</sup> January to 12<sup>th</sup> February in 2003.

The documents report that there was a positive impact on children in terms of international understanding. Gundara comments:

Children working with the ACE Project have transformed their understanding of Japanese art in these etchings and woodblock prints. For most of them, this would have been an intense and private act of creativity. Japanese art provides a dynamic and restless blend of conflicting cultural forces: temperament, religious belief, love of nature, respect for artistic creativity as well as acceptance and rejection of foreign cultural influences (1993: 8).

Students' comments confirm this,

Before...I didn't have much interest in Eastern art...I saw it as just flat and bare. At the British Museum we learnt to look more at the pictures. Learning how they developed was really interesting (1993: 15).

This primary school pupil became aware of how to look at pictures and expressed a positive appreciation of the background. This is crucial evidence of how the museum experience can

deepen the understanding of art from 'other' culture.

In 2003, two teachers' guides were published; one the *Kazari* exhibition (The British Museum, 2003) and the other '*The Arts of Japan*'. These are the first editions of a teachers' guide for the Japanese collections, enabled through funding available from foundations based in the U.K. An educator, curators, and some assistants were involved in publishing these materials.

One of the most recent family activities in the gallery was the '*Japanese Fan Day: A drop in event for families*' on 2<sup>nd</sup> August 2003. The curator prepared a special display of Japanese fan paintings for this event. Some external funding was obtained to cover the expenses of plain fans (imported from Japan) and other materials and personnel fees. There were 157 children and some parents involved. They carefully observed the displayed fan printings, and tried to reflect the patterns and brush techniques on their own fan painting. From my observations, participants were very happy to take their own fan with them. No evaluation was done on this particular programme.

Many of the educational events at the Japanese Gallery have not been assessed. There have also been several other workshops arranged by the education department, without the involvement of the Japanese Department including *Discovering Japan* in 2001.

#### **4.4 *Discovering Japan* at the British Museum**

##### **4.4.1 Background history and the aim of *Discovering Japan***

*Discovering Japan* was originally created by the Education Department of the Royal Museum of Scotland in 1991. This museum was keen to 'encourage the public to find out about the world around them, past and present, using objects' (Stevenson and Bryden, 1991: 24). The 'Discovery Room' was constructed with this in mind: it aimed 'to build up the visitors' confidence in their ability to understand objects' (*ibid*). Visitors were encouraged to investigate on their own. Stevenson and Bryden conducted an evaluation survey of the Discovery Room in 1991, and their data provides a rich source for studying the effect of hands-on exhibitions.

As part of the Discovery Room project at the National Museums of Scotland, an education department officer, Katriana Hazell and others were looking for a suitable topic for a new hands-on exhibition involving visitor participation. The first 'Japan Festival' held in the U.K in 1991 provided an opportunity. According to Hazell (2003), she was confident of financial support from the event organiser, if their new exhibition was focused on Japan, and her proposal for the project to create a hands-on exhibition on Japanese culture was duly accepted. It is interesting that the museum was looking primarily for a 'theme' for a sensory hands-on exhibition, rather than a method of presenting Japanese culture and objects.

*Discovering Japan* was introduced by the National Museum of Scotland as follows:

In 1991, as part of the Japan Festival, the National Museums of Scotland intend to present an exhibition entitled '*Discovering Japan*'. The unique feature of this exhibition will be its 'hands-on' format whereby visitors either will be given direct access to the exhibits or will be able to participate through carefully planned interactive computer programmes. Each visitor's sense of discovery will be greatly enhanced by this provision for personal investigation. (National Museum of Scotland, 1991b: 2).

The content of the exhibition was defined as follows:

'*Discovering Japan*' will focus on traditional and contemporary Japan and subjects will include costume, calligraphy, food and drink, the Japanese garden, electronics, design and traditional games. Through out the exhibition participation, personal investigation and a 'hands-on' approach will be encouraged... (National Museum of Scotland, 1991b: 3).

As stated above, the exhibition intended to introduce both traditional and contemporary Japan through hands-on activities.

The participative nature of this exhibition will ensure that it makes a strong impact: visitors will learn about the traditional and contemporary culture of Japan in a vivid and memorable way. (National Museum of Scotland, 1991b: 4).

The creators believed that the participative experience at this exhibition would prove memorable for visitors, and that it would allow them to learn about Japanese culture, both traditional and contemporary, in depth.

#### 4.4.2 The history of the exhibition

The *Discovering Japan* team had only six months to plan and organise the exhibition. According to the 'Sponsorship Proposal for Discovering Japan' (Internal Copy, 7<sup>th</sup> February 1991) (National Museum of Scotland, 1991b), the original idea for this exhibition differed slightly from the one which now exists.

The main differences in content between the Scottish and London exhibitions were:

**Table 4.3 Comparison of *Discovering Japan* in Scotland (1991) and in London (2001)**

Scotland	London
Traditional Costume	Kimono (Traditional costume)
Calligraphy	Writing
Japanese Garden	Gardening
Miniaturisation(Technology)	----- (Space Hotel only during 1991)
Japanese Design	Design
Traditional Games	-----
Japanese Food and Drink	Food
Ema	Shrine
	Daruma Doll

Two displays changed from the original planning, the Miniaturisation and the Traditional Games.

The Miniaturisation display aimed to 'look at one example of Japanese technical dexterity' (1991b: 5.). This display was planned to show a microchip and liquid crystal. However, for practical reasons, the original plan needed some changes, which took the form of the 'Space Hotel' display, where visitors could 'trip electronically to a hotel in space' (1991a). 'Space Hotel' contained wireless stereos and modern TVs. Its aim was to provide information on new technology as one aspect of contemporary Japanese culture. An article 'Getting a proper feel for the Japanese way of life' by Jenny Carter in *The Sunday Times* (Scottish section: 15<sup>th</sup> September 1991) describes 'Space Hotel' as follows:

Modern Japan, with its advanced technological expertise, is not neglected. Visiting the Space Hotel, you will discover that even the toy robot, so popular with Japanese children, displays up-to-the-minute engineering techniques. Digital walkmans, miniature televisions (watchmen), infra-red speakers which rely on tiny transmitters rather than cumbersome cables are all representatives of Japan's strong technological base. The Space Hotel itself reflects the nation's obsession, not with space exploration but with

space tourism which is regarded as imminent (The Sunday Times, 1991).

Due to lack of funding, 'Space Hotel' was displayed only at the National Museum of Scotland and Aberdeen Art Gallery in 1991. Thereafter, there were no alternative displays to cover the theme of technology. This is a noteworthy change, as the lack of 'Space Hotel' meant that the content of *Discovering Japan* heavily relied on traditional culture. Although the curator argues that people can find contemporary Japanese culture in the remaining sections (for example, wrapping which is performed today), they originate from traditional aspects of Japanese culture. Karaoke, mobile phones, digital products, widely used in Japan and without cultural precedent were not incorporated in *Discovering Japan*

The second major change was in the 'traditional games' section. 'Here children and adults will be invited to play traditional Japanese games. They will be encouraged to produce their own version of 'kai awase' and 'hyaku nin isshu' (1991b: 6). (Kai awase is a matching game using seashells and hyaku nin isshu is a card game involving traditional poems.) It aimed to introduce traditional games played by children and adults in Japan on special occasions. However, it was difficult to plan a display with suitable materials, and in the end this exhibit was not realised.

#### 4.4.3 Individuals involved

Two British female professionals were involved in the development of the *Discovering Japan*: an education officer and a curator who specialized in Asian Antiquities. They chose the themes and designed the displays.

When a museum develops exhibitions, especially of those introducing a different culture or people, it is important also to consider the topic through the eyes of the people whom they try to represent. Boyd explains that staff at the Field Museum (Chicago, U.S.A.) are:

increasingly mindful of the need to consult broadly with those we serve and represent. The research and communications experts are responsible for any exhibit to reach out for other perspectives, particularly those of teachers and *of the people whose cultural traditions are presented in an exhibit* (1993: 769, *my emphasis*).

In the case of *Discovering Japan*, there were no consultations with, or involvement of, Japanese people, confirmed during an interview with staff. Staff did not have the funding to visit Japan, so they asked a family member living there to collect the items. They did ask for help at the final stage where they needed practical advice in, for example, displaying a kimono. However, from the outset they mainly consulted British academics and professionals who specialised in Japanese culture.

Another important point is that the cultural themes for this exhibition were chosen from the viewpoints of two female British museum staff. They did not start from what general British children and adults will know about Japan. The themes represented at this exhibition seem likely to reflect a view of Japanese culture of a British female museum professional. People can transcend their own exclusive perspective but consulting would have been useful (see 7.4)

#### **4.4.4 *Discovering Japan at the BM***

The exhibition was open to the public from 3<sup>rd</sup> September to 14th October 2001. The initial decision in inviting this particular exhibition was made by the Asia education officer in the Education Department. Since Japan 2001 was held, many Japan-related events were planned in Britain, and the BM also planned a *Shintō* exhibition as part of this year-round event. Interestingly, although the Department of Japanese Antiquities was informed of this event, none of its staff was involved in hosting this exhibition. According to my observation, there were several posters of the *Shintō* exhibition displayed at the venue of *Discovering Japan*, but no information was provided in the *Shintō* exhibition in the Japanese Galleries. There seemed to be a communication gap within the museum.

The exhibition was open from 10:00 to 16:30 on weekdays and at weekends. Weekdays were mainly for school visits, and when school groups were using the exhibit, it was closed to the public. Each day, two school groups were booked for 90 minutes each. Some schools booked for two units and brought two classes on the same day. The admission was free.

The exact number of visitors to *Discovering Japan* is difficult to ascertain, as admission was free and no booking was required. Therefore, the assistants who were helping at the event used a manual counter, from which it can be surmised that around 3100 people visited this event. On weekdays, the visitor numbers varied from 30-80 (including school visitors of approximately 60 students per day). During weekends, 110-250 people saw the exhibition. *Discovering Japan* was advertised as:

A 'hands-on' exhibition, providing your pupils with a chance to experience discovery-based learning and to develop their research, investigation, problem solving and designing skills. (JFET, 2001).

For the school groups, assistants and the teachers or adults accompanying the group would act as facilitators and work on cultivating learning within the exhibition.

*Discovering Japan* consisted of eight sections, based on specific topics or themes in Japanese culture.

**Daruma Doll:** *Daruma* is a special traditional doll used to make wishes for goals or dreams to come true.

**Food:** Visitors could try out and smell some ingredients and food used frequently in Japanese cooking. For example, seaweed, dried sardines, soy-sauce, dried squid, raw rice.

**Japanese Garden:** Using real stones arranged into different formations. Visitors were expected to create a miniature Japanese garden of their own.

**Shintō shrine:** Entering the *Torii*-gate, visitors could try *Omikujii*, which is a fortune telling stick, and also write their wishes and dreams on miniature *Emas* to have them come true.

**Traditional clothes (kimono):** Kimonos, special socks, decorative sandals for both female and male, adult size and child size were available to put on. A mirror was provided so that visitors could see themselves dressed in a Kimono.

**Wrapping:** Many Japanese souvenirs and presents, lunch boxes are wrapped up neatly using a wrapping technique. Those skills could be tried out by following the explanation card using some papers and other materials provided.

**Kanji (Writing):** A computer-based programme explained the shapes and meanings of several Chinese characters, *Kanji*. Also in a *Kanji* colour-in corner, visitors could make a sheet to iron a *Kanji* character on a T-shirt later on.

**Design:** A computer-based programme explains traditional symbols called *Mon*. The symbols feature figures from natural resources such as flowers and trees. It also displays some traditional tools used in older days in Japan, which visitors could touch and guess what

they were.

All sections provided 'Instruction cards', 'Information cards', and 'Flip books'.

The purpose of the cards and book was as follows:

- *Instruction Cards* with instructions for working through the theme/section concerned.
- *Information Cards* give additional information related to the theme.
- *Flipbooks* provide information and encourage visitors to use their own skills of observation and deduction to find out about the theme concerned (JFET, 2001: 1).

For example, at the Kimono (Traditional Costumes) section, the task was to 'use the flipbook to discover about traditional clothes, try on a kimono' (JFET, 2001: 27). There was one Instruction card, one Folding instruction and one Flip book. The Instruction card said 'Try on a kimono' began with taking off your shoes, and progressed to read *How to wear traditional Japanese clothes* in the flipbook. The flipbook provided several pictures of kimonos, and explains the role and meaning behind them, as well as showing Japanese people wearing both them and western clothes. The amount of information and its quality was set at a very high level. The instruction card then told the visitor to read the instruction board hung under the kimono and to try wearing it. This board gave instructions systematically with detailed illustrations.

#### **4.4.5 The content of *Discovering Japan* and its association with the collections**

Since *Discovering Japan* was planned at the Royal Museum of Scotland, there was no direct association with the BM collection. However, some of the themes in this exhibition introduced fundamental aspects of Japanese culture related to the arts of Japan. In the 'Writing' section, pupils learnt about the meaning associated with the Chinese characters and their shapes. There was also a display of calligraphy brushes and tools. Pupils could associate the calligraphy paintings in Japanese artwork, found in paintings and wall scrolls, with their own writing experience.

The kimono section can also deepen the understanding of female dresses painted in *Ukiyo-e* paintings. The BM owns a large collection of *Ukiyo-e* paintings depicting Japanese women and men in kimonos. If pupils can associate the hands-on experience to the drawings of kimono, it



will enrich their understanding of the traditional Japanese clothing

However, there was no link made between the temporary exhibition shown at the Japanese Galleries and *Discovering Japan*. The venues were quite separate and there was no record of how many visitors visited both exhibitions. If there had been simple labels at the *Shintō* exhibition, relating the object to the section in *Discovering Japan* (or vice versa), it might have enhanced understanding of Japanese culture.

#### **4.5 Conclusion: How was Japan represented at the British Museum and how did *Discovering Japan* fit within this representation?**

From the historical documents, it is clear that there was a dramatic change in the way Japanese culture was presented to the public in the BM. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Japanese paintings were often combined together with Chinese paintings, ignoring the historical relations between them. The curators showed a Victorian understanding of the art from the Far East. However, comments on the so-called 'ignorance' of Japanese artists are not found in recent studies. After the 1960s, Japanese art became popular and gained in scholarly value in Britain (Smith, 1990b). At the same time, Japan was rapidly growing as an economically powerful state in North East Asia. From the 1970s, the Museum enjoyed funds from Japanese sources, and presented more large-scale Japanese exhibitions. The introduction of Japanese culture in the guidebooks consisted of scholarly information. After the 1980s, British and Japanese curators cooperated in representing Japan (sometimes with Americans or European curators). This is a radical change, as the Japanese exhibitions in the BM no longer represent only British views of Japan. Lidchi supports this argument saying:

Museum curators are no longer automatically perceived as the unassailable keeper of knowledge about their collections; museums are no longer simply revered as spaces promoting knowledge and enlightenment, the automatic resting place for historic and culturally important ethnographic objects. How the West classifies, categorizes and represents other cultures is emerging as a topic of some debate (1997: 153).

Museums in the 21st century are highly unlikely to represent other cultures according to Western classifications and categories. In the case of the BM Japanese Section, collaborative work

between the curators at an international level has increased, and interpretations of objects and displaying methods rely more on multiple perspectives. Representation will not only mean to represent 'other cultures', but also to represent one's 'own culture' in different countries and contexts.

Despite this, in the case of *Discovering Japan*, although created as recently as 1991, British curators planned it without consulting Japanese people. The content of the exhibition heavily relied on the British curators' knowledge of traditional culture in Japan. The exhibition lacked children's perspectives, and contemporary aspects of Japan were dismissed.

The aim of this exhibition was to promote understanding of Japanese contemporary culture through an interactive experience (National Museums of Scotland, 1991b) and its target age group was Key Stage Two children who are eight to ten years old (JFET, 2001). I will suggest three points for future expansion. First, the exhibition may become more successful in attracting British pupils by including Japanese children's perspective of Japanese culture. Consulting Japanese school teachers and pupils could have helped to include 'contemporary Japanese culture' by portraying the daily life of Japanese children.

First of all, for example, when Koichi Nomoto, a primary teacher in Ehime prefecture in Japan asked his Year 4 pupils to think of what they would introduce to British pupils, they raised the following ideas.

**Table 4.4 Japanese children's selection of Japanese culture for British children**

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*Gymnastic activities on the mat (very popular in PE classes in Japan)	
*Japanese halberd	*Singing a Japanese pop song in sign language
*Calligraphy	*A performance of recorders played by all pupils in class
*Tops	*Scenes during lunch time
*Skipping ropes	

---

The only feature exhibited in *Discovering Japan* is the calligraphy. Other ideas are all rooted in the daily life of Year 4 pupils in Japan. Pupils' minds and curators' minds have a different

perspective. When planning exhibitions to introduce 'other cultures' to children, it is important to plan it from children's perspective; this will provide a more balanced approach in choosing themes, and will respond directly to children's interests.

Second, if the Japanese Department and the Education Department had collaborated in planning exhibitions, they could have encouraged visitors to link the information on Japan across exhibitions. For example, the 'shrine' section at *Discovering Japan* directly relates to the *Shintō* exhibition theme which was shown at the same time. If children were encouraged to understand that the activities at the Shrine section came from the *Shintō*, then, the sculptures of the guardians and printed artefacts in the exhibition could have become more meaningful not only to children, but also to the accompanying adults who would feel more confidence in introducing traditional Japanese religion. This also applies to the kimono section. Many *Ukiyo-e* prints have images of Japanese women in kimono. If visitors associate their experience of wearing a kimono with the depiction in the prints, they are likely to understand the texture and importance of such dress in detail. In this way, hands-on exhibitions can contribute to the traditional type of art exhibitions by providing introductory information on the subject.

Third, if *Discovering Japan's* themes had been based on the Japanese collections often found in large museums in Britain, it would have been easier for educators to link the ideas<sup>5</sup>. For example, several collections contain prints, paintings, ceramics, sculpture, and *netsuke*. If each section introduced the relevance of these art works in contemporary Japan, it would certainly deepen the contextual understanding of the Japanese artefacts held in Britain. There are examples of hands-on exhibitions, (for example. Discovery Gallery in the Royal Museum of Ontario) which 'represents the collections of all the Museum's curatorial departments - in both art and archaeology and science field' (Freeman, 1989: 1). Similarly, there could have been a way to link the contents of *Discovering Japan* to the museums' collections.

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<sup>5</sup> Occasionally, *Discovering Japan* was hosted by other institutions than museums or galleries (for example. schools). However, here, I focus my discussion on the cases when it was hosted by a museum.

## Chapter 5

### What did children discover about Japan?

#### Presentation of findings and commentary on the data from pre-visit and post-visit questionnaires

This chapter presents the kinds of perceptions, understanding, and interests pupils 'discovered' at *Discovering Japan*. I define 'discovery' as: 'the finding out or bringing to light of that which was previously unknown' (The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, 1983: 563). The data is summarised to answer the research questions. Further commentary and discussion on the findings are presented in chapter 7. I will present the findings in the following order: '5.1 About the data', '5.2 Pupils' experience of Japan', '5.3 Pupils' perceptions of Japan' and '5.4 Pupils' understanding of Japan'.

#### **5.1 About the data**

Pre and post-visit questionnaires were collected from 111 pupils.

##### **Pupils' gender and school type**

The distribution of gender and school type is uneven, with 25% of responses from boys, and 74 % girls. The majority of those pupils (65%) were from secondary schools, and 35% of them were primary school pupils. More than half of the answers come from secondary school girls; this is attributable to the data given from an all-girls' secondary school, which successfully collected most of the questionnaires before and after the visit. It is, therefore, difficult to draw generalised conclusions from the results as they are biased towards the answers from secondary school girls. Nevertheless, my purpose in this research is not to generalise the outcomes, but to examine the impact of the exhibition to pupils' perception and understanding.

The main emphasis therefore is placed on the content analysis and comparison of the two

answers from the same pupil. Thus, the distribution of the gender and school types is not an issue.

## 5.2 Pupils' perceptions of Japan before the visit

### 5.2.1 Visiting Japan

Few had visited Japan; **'Have you ever been to Japan? (PRE<sup>1</sup>-Q1)** shows that 96% of the pupils have not been to Japan; only 4 % answered 'Yes'. Generally, Japan is too far from Britain as a holiday destination, and far more expensive than other countries nearby. According to the *Report of Immigration Control* (2001) published by the Immigration Bureau of Japan, 5,272,950 foreigners visited Japan in 2001. Among them, 198,675 (3.8%) were British citizens, who are the fifth largest visiting nationality group. Comparatively, in 1991, 17,818,590 Japanese people left Japan, of which 401,844 went to the U.K. - twice as many as British visitors to Japan. The U.K. is ranked as the eleventh most popular destination for Japanese travellers.

Therefore, the response to **'Have you ever been to Japan? (PRE-Q1)** shows that the answers in the pre-visit questionnaire are largely based on pupils' indirect experience of Japan. As Hinton argues, the source of information on 'other' people can derive from 'chatting to a neighbour, reading a newspaper or a book or watching television' (2000: 26). This applies to children as well; 'Children learn an enormous amount through their parents, teachers and friends, which they are not able to experience themselves' (*ibid*).

Of the 4% of pupils who answered 'Yes' to the question, two had family relations in Japan. Another pupil said he stayed in Japan for three days when he was three. Because he was very young at that time, I treated him as having no direct experience of Japan. The other pupil who answered 'Yes' did not give any details of her visit.

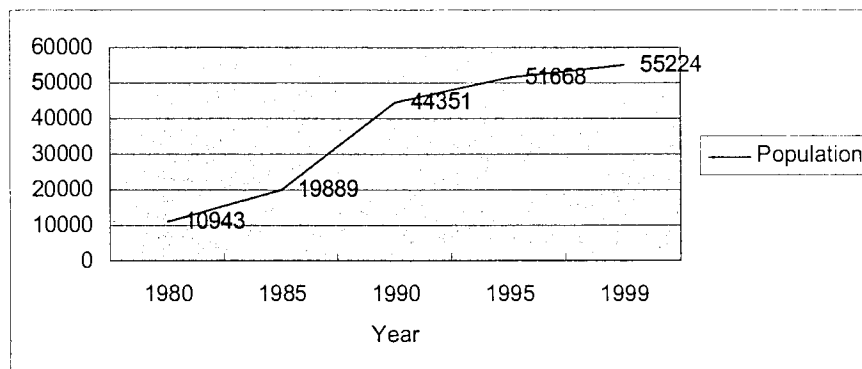
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<sup>1</sup> PRE stands for 'pre-visit questionnaire' and POST stands for 'post-visit questionnaire'. Q stands for Question. (for example. PRE-Q1 will mean Question number 1 from the pre-visit questionnaire).

### 5.2.2 Pupils' indirect experiences of Japan

Pupils can have indirect experiences of Japan in the U.K., such as meeting Japanese people or studying about Japan in school. Pupils were asked 'Have you met any Japanese people?' (PRE-Q4), since pupils' perception may differ between those who have met Japanese people and those who have not (see 5.4).

Figure 5.1 Populations of Japanese Nationals in the UK



According to the *Population Statistics of Japanese Nationals in the UK* (Embassy of Japan, 1999), 55,224 Japanese people are living here (figure 5.1). Nearly half of them live in the London area (24,550). This data is based on the number of Japanese nationals who registered with the embassy. Because this registration is not compulsory, it is assumed that a larger number of Japanese people are actually living in the U.K. Therefore, it is highly likely that pupils living in London will meet Japanese people.

When asked, 'Have you met Japanese people before?' (PRE-04), 79% of pupils answered 'Yes', and 19% answered 'No'. However, this result indicates that nearly 80% of the pupils 'believe' they have met Japanese people before. There is a question of validity here, because this question requires pupils to distinguish Japanese people from other East Asian people. As discussed in 2.4.5, children older than three are capable of distinguishing racial groups (Aboud, 1988). However, it is assumed to be difficult for younger pupils, as it is for adults (even for Japanese people themselves). Therefore, 'Yes' answers here may include pupils seeing an 'Oriental looking man walking in the neighbourhood', and assumed him to be Japanese without evidence.

### 5.2.3 Learning about Japan in schools

Another occasion for pupils to have some knowledge of Japan is through school lessons. In my data, 56% of pupils learned about Japan in schools. The proportion of 'Yes' answers differed between schools but, it was possible to conclude that four schools out of five taught about Japan prior to the visit.

As a result, 88% of primary school pupils learned about Japan in schools, whereas only 43% of secondary school pupils did. This implies that primary school pupils' information and views of Japan tend to reflect knowledge from school lessons. More than half of secondary pupils' views on Japan, developed from a combination of school-based knowledge and personal experience.

I asked the pupils who answered 'Yes' what they learned. Most primary school pupils from HH answered that they learned about the population, climate, letters, words, songs, origami, and simple greetings. Pupils in school BG answered: geography, safety, numbers, basic greetings and weather/seasons. At the primary school level, pupils rarely study the history of Japan, wars, or popular culture.

Secondary school pupils learn about Japan in greater detail. Pupils in School IB mentioned, art (for example Hokusai and Hiroshige: Ukiyoe woodblock prints), history and war (for example Pearl Harbour, WW2), and population. Interestingly, nobody mentioned geographic aspects of Japan. Secondary pupils from schools where geography teachers arranged the museum visit did not mention art and culture. Compared to the answers from primary school pupils, no language, greetings, songs or origami were mentioned by secondary school pupils. There is a distinctive difference in the content of what pupils learn about foreign countries in schools. The content and level of information depends on the type of school, the subject, and on what teachers teach about Japan according to the National Curriculum. From these facts, I discuss the adequacy of teaching materials on Japan used in Britain (see 7.1.2).

### 5.3 Pupils' perceptions after the visit: a comparison

#### 5.3.1 Pupils' impression of *Discovering Japan*

Pupils' general impressions of *Discovering Japan* were analysed from the data collected after the visit. I asked 'How did you like the exhibits?' (PST-Q3) after asking them to circle the name of sections they had experienced: 'exciting' scored 3, 'OK' scored 2 and 'boring' 1. All the scores for each section were averaged.

Figure 5.2 How did you like the exhibits? (PST-Q3) (n=111)

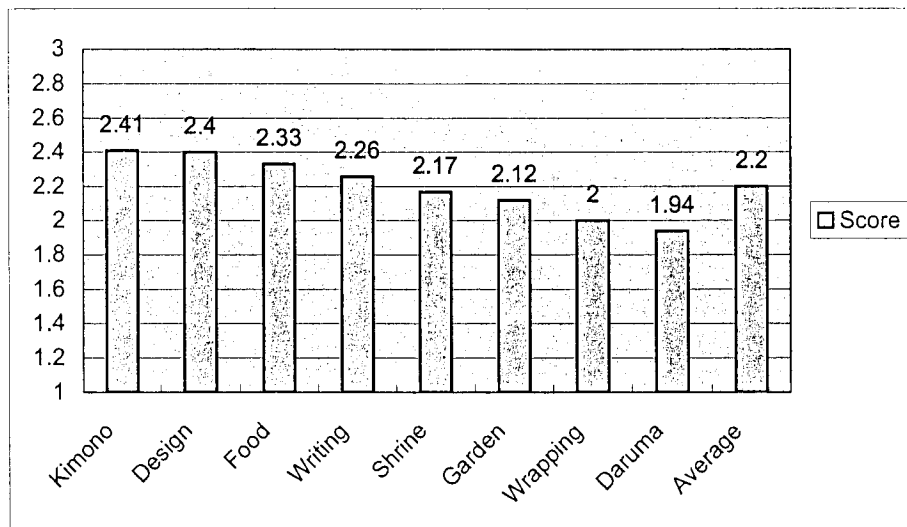


Figure 5.2 shows that the average score for the entire exhibition was 2.2, slightly higher than the 'OK' level. It also demonstrates that the pupils found the 'kimono' section most exciting, as it scored 2.41. This perhaps echoes the number of girls who, from my observation, were more engaged in this section than the boys. The next popular section was the 'design' which scored 2.4, almost as high as the kimonos. These two sections were widely appreciated.

Both the 'kimono' and 'design' sections provided activities for all group members. In the kimono section, there were four kimonos and several pairs of special sandals available. Reading materials about the cultural background of kimono were also provided. In other sections, however, similar materials were not provided for pupils to look at while waiting their turn to try the activities. The pupils' high satisfaction of kimono section may also be due to the interaction with the assistants, one of whom was always in attendance and ready to help when necessary.



### 5.3.2 Pupils' perceptions of Japan and Japanese people

Pupils are living in and growing up in a society where there is a constant flow of new information which carries a variety of images of different cultures. Among them, there is a wealth of information and visual images of 'Japanese culture' that are created from a British viewpoint (see 2.4). Pupils encounter these images and perceive them as one aspect of Japan.

To identify pupils' perceptions of Japan, I will analyse their answers to the following questions in both questionnaires: **'What do you think of when you hear the word 'Japan'?** (PRE-Q3 & PST-Q4) and **'What do you think Japanese people are like? Circle the words as many as you want and answer 'why'.** (PRE & PST Q12). The former question was open-ended, and pupils answered in lists, sentences, or in some cases with drawings. The latter question asked them to choose adjectives which seem to describe Japanese people and to give reasons for choosing them. The principle focus is on the ways pupils' perceptions were influenced after visiting *Discovering Japan*.

#### Pupils' image from the word 'Japan'

Pupils' responses to the question **'What do you think when you hear the word 'Japan'?** demonstrates their initial perceptions. By following the 'content analysis method' explained by Robson (2002), I conducted a systematic analysis to these responses. After reviewing their answers, I labelled the most frequent key terms as 'categories', as a result of which I created nine categories. Table 5.1 ranks the categories accordingly to the number of responses.

**Table 5.1 What do you think when you hear the word 'Japan'? (n=111)**

Pre-visit	rank	Post-visit	change
1 Geography (n=37)	↑	1 Food (n=39)	+2
2 Food (n=34)	↑	2 Clothes (n=28)	+13
3 People (n=32)	↓	3 Geography (n=24)	-13
4 Clothes (n=15)	↓	4 People (n=20)	-12
4 Language (n=15)	↓	5 Language (n=19)	+4
7 Chopsticks (n=12)		7 Technology (n=7)	-7
7 Technology (n=12)		7 Chopsticks (n=4)	-8
8 Martial arts (n=8)		7 Martial arts (n=4)	-4

Table 5.1 shows that, before the visit, many answers concentrated on geographical information (n=37), food (n=34) and people (n=32) (for example sumo-wrestlers). The frequency of geography was not surprising because three schools were teaching about Japan in geography lessons. In the Geography category, I included terms such as mountains, earthquakes, volcanoes, skyscrapers, the climate, and names of cities (Tokyo, Kobe etc). Many pupils, especially those from primary schools answered by giving physical geographic information on Japan. Most of these geographic features are not found in the UK, so they seem to have made a strong impression on pupils. This is confirmed by the response of several pupils who mentioned the Kobe earthquake of 1995.

According to table 5.1, the second largest category is 'food'. The food category includes answers such as sushi, rice, raw fish, and vegetables. It is noteworthy to identify food as representative of a different culture; it can also contribute to making a different culture accessible. However, it can also lead to incorrect generalisations. One primary school pupil answered:

I think that Japan is a peaceful country and that everything is raw like most seafood are[sic].

This child believes that Japanese food is always consumed 'raw'. This kind of misunderstanding may have arisen because this child only knew about sushi, and applied the 'raw' element to all Japanese food. Such misunderstanding can easily transform into stereotyping (see 2.3). Of those who answered food, 16 pupils recalled sushi, whilst 12 pupils mentioned chopsticks. If I had included chopsticks in the food category, food would have been the most popular image of Japan.

As I will explain later, the 'people' category contained some stereotyped images such as sumo-wrestlers and geisha. Among 15 of those who mentioned 'Clothes', 7 pupils recalled kimono. Language (n=15) was also a frequently mentioned category.

For the post-visit questionnaire, food became the most popular answer (n=39). Then came clothes (n=28) which nearly doubled the number from the pre-visit. Both geography (n=24) and people (n=20) however decreased. Language (pre:15 to post:19) increased slightly after the visit, though its ranking dropped overall. All the increased groups (food, clothes, language) were topics featured in *Discovering Japan*, and those sections were also the most popular among pupils (see 5.3.1). This suggests that pupils' experience at the museum did influence their image of 'Japan'. It is remarkable to find a major decrease in geography (-13), people (-12) and chopsticks (-8). In fact, none of those were presented as a major theme at the exhibition. The chopsticks response dropped dramatically from 12 to 4, despite the fact that they were available at the food section. Why did the response decline? A plausible explanation is that their images and understanding of Japan significantly expanded through the visit, rendering chopsticks relatively less important.

### **Positive influence**

There were three indications that pupils' perceptions of Japan expanded after the museum visit. First, they expressed richly varied images. Five more pupils mentioned origami (from 1 to 6 pupils), five more religion (from 1 to 6), and three Anime (Japanese cartoons) (from 0 to 3). Origami was introduced at the 'design' section, and some pupils folded origami models with an artist. Religion was another topic introduced at the 'shrine' section. It is probable that those new images were stimulated by *Discovering Japan*.

Second, more pupils were able to describe their perceptions verbally. Before the visit, 5 primary pupils described their images only in drawings. After the visit, only 2 of them described Japan in drawings alone.

Third, pupils' verbal answers became more informative, suggesting their perceptions had become more refined (see 7.3.1. This is apparent in the following example.

Pre-visit: When I hear Japan I think of Japan.

Post-visit: When I hear Japan, I think of people wearing kimono and talking Japanese. (Primary school, boy)

Another example is from a 13 year old girl.

Pre-visit: a country

Post-visit: I think of the Japanese people and the thing they wear. I also think about the food

Her answers indicate 'clothes' and 'food', which were major topics of the exhibition; this suggests that her exhibition experience deepened her perceptions of Japan.

Among the answers to this question pre-visit, there were several stereotypical images such as sumo (n=5), geisha (n=3), and triangular hats (n=2). However, post-visit, those images decreased dramatically. Sumo decreased to only one response and geisha disappeared.

Triangular hats became only one response. The following answer is from a secondary girl:

Pre-visit: I think of writing and the fans. I also think of kites.

Post-visit: origame [sic], the writing and buddism[sic]

Before the visit, she reveals her knowledge about Japan from her personal experience. After the visit, she seems to have learnt more about cultural aspects of the country. Many pupils developed a clearer image and understanding after the visit; this seemed to make the stereotypical images less dominant (see 7.3.1).

Other answers revealed that pupils had gained positive perceptions of Japan post-visit. For example,

Pre-visit: I think of the city! I think of clothes that they wear! The murders, it is not safe.

Post-visit: The lovely clothes, the wrapping, the makings of toys and of paper, the food they eat! (Secondary school, girl)

After the visit, she does not mention murder. In fact, she was the only pupil who mentioned a contemporary pre-occupation with the murder of a British female in Japan, and she raised this as a reason for her unwillingness to visit the country. Post-visit, however, her perceptions became more positive as apparent in the above statement. Furthermore, she wanted to visit Japan and 'do everything' there.

These responses suggest that museum exhibitions can play a role in changing pupils' impression of different country into a positive one. *Discovering Japan* has succeeded in this from the above examples. However, this did not apply to all pupils.

### **No influence**

There were pupils who did not change their views after the visit. At least 12% of the pupils showed no influence in their answers.

Pre-visit: It's a hot country'

Post-visit: It was a hot country (Secondary school, Girl)

This case demonstrates that pupils' understanding was neither influenced nor expanded. It seems her perception was simply confirmed, and she left without any apparent changes to her image of 'Japan'; this was the case in around 10% of pupils. Teachers and educators need to be aware of this phenomenon (see 7.3 and 7.4).

### **Clarification of misunderstandings**

What happened to those pupils who demonstrated misunderstandings about Japan? Did the exhibition offer pupils an opportunity to rectify these misunderstanding?

A primary school girl's answer was as follows:

Pre-visit: When I hear the word Japan: Hong Kong, Hokkaido, Meatball, Noodles, chopsticks, Tokyo.

Post-visit: I think of all the 4 islands and all of the words, robes and sashes and the busy Tokyo city

Before the visit, she wrote some words she learnt at school, and confused Japan with Hong Kong. Meatballs are not generally associated with Japan. After the visit, she did not mention either of these, instead writing about the clothing that appealed to her. Another secondary schoolgirl's responses were:

Pre-visit: I thought it was part of America before the visit.

Post-visit: It is a country and Japan has lots of antiquities

Her post-visit answer implies that she understood Japan was an independent country with its own culture and history. These two examples suggest that they abandoned their misunderstandings.

Another example shows where pupils' wrong perceptions were unchanged. A secondary school boy wrote:

Pre-visit: Kung-fu

Post-visit: Kung-fu, Art.

In his case, his understanding of Kung-fu as a Japanese sport did not disappear. Although Kung fu originated and is practised mainly in China, this information did not reach him. This strong impression is likely to have come from Hollywood or Hong Kong action movies featuring Kung-fu, or possibly from computer games.

Some pupils, therefore, recognised their misunderstanding and acquired accurate information, whilst others retained them. This suggests that unless those misunderstandings are directly pointed out or countered by new information, pupils will continue to believe them.

#### **Other types of perceptions and influence**

There were three minor cases where pupils possessed negative images which did not match the content of the exhibition. This happened to only 2% of pupils, so it is uncertain if this results from the exhibition experience. One secondary school girl responded to the word 'Japan' as:

Pre-visit: crazy, weird, strange place

Post-visit: a different culture

Pre-visit, she revealed negative perceptions of Japan. Her other answer to the Japanese food 'sushi: crap' confirms this. Post-visit, her answer became neutral. However, she answered 'No' to the other post-visit questions which asked about interest and motivation in knowing more about Japan. Her negative image of Japan pre-visit did not dissipate post-visit, although it was more moderately expressed.

Finding negative influences in pupils' answers was a rare occurrence. In fact, we cannot conclude that these responses directly link to the exhibition. However, it is necessary for teachers and educators to be aware that pupils may leave the exhibition with unexpected or even inappropriate understanding. This suggests the need of follow up sessions in classrooms,

or with learning opportunities from online/published materials after the visit (see 7.2.3.).

### 5.3.3 Pupils' perceptions of Japanese people

What do pupils imagine Japanese people are like? If they do express specific images, where do those images come from? To answer these questions, I asked the pupils the following question: **'What do you think Japanese people are like? Circle the words as many as you want and answer 'Why.'** (PRE&PST-Q12). Here, I will focus on the influences found in the answers after the visit. Firstly, I will present the figures for each term. Then, I will analyse the data by answering the following three questions: 1) *Were there any significant changes in the frequencies of each term?*; 2) *Did the reasons change after the visit?*; 3) *In what way were the images of Japanese people influenced?*

Figure 5.3 What do you think Japanese people are like? (n=111)

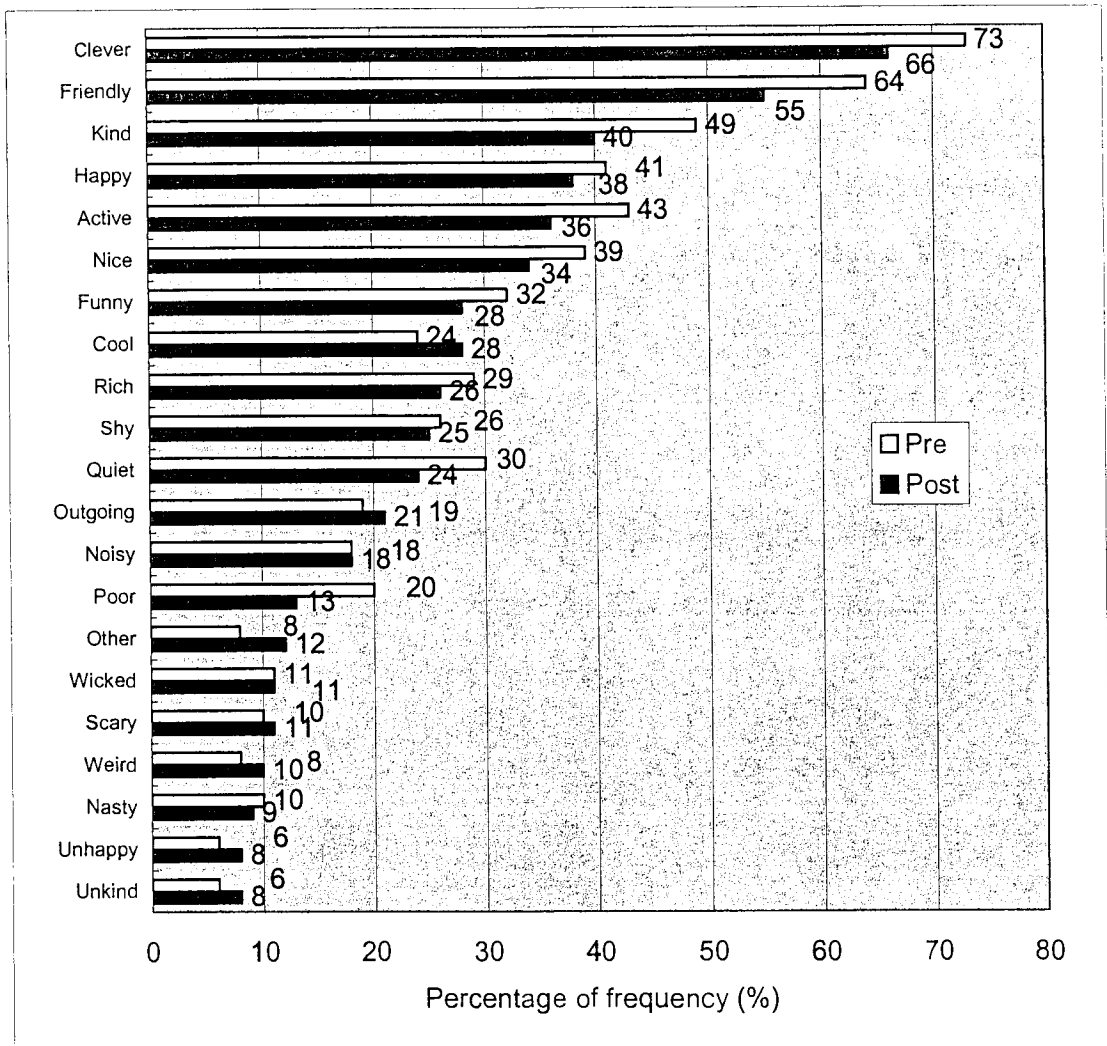


Figure 5.3 presents the frequencies of each term before and after the visit. The most selected six terms, 'clever', 'friendly', 'kind', 'happy', 'active' and 'nice', did not show any major change. All of them were positive terms (refer to appreciation scores in 3.4.5). After the visit, fewer pupils agreed on positive terms such as 'clever' and 'friendly'. This is partly because the total number of circles after the visit decreased (Pre: 634 circles, Post: 582 circles). However, when we look at the average number of circles per pupil, it decreased only to 5.2 from 5.7 circles. This means that pupils were more or less circling the adjectives in the same manner. The reason for finding larger numbers of pupils choosing different terms implies that their perceptions towards Japanese people have broadened and diversified (see 7.3).

I will examine the changes for each term. Because the sample size is small, I consider the terms that have changed by more than 5% (5 points) reflect a reaction based on the museum experience. It shows that there is a definite change between the answers collected pre and post-visit.

**Increased terms:** There were no terms which showed an increase of more than 5%. In fact, there were only 'cool' (+4%), 'Outgoing', 'Unhappy', 'Unkind' (+2%) and 'Scary' (+1%). 'Cool' was the only term gaining +4%. Others, at the 1 to 2 % level, are too low to be meaningful. This kind of slight change may occur without any museum experience. Therefore, the result shows that there were no significant increases among the terms after the visit.

**Decreased terms:** There were several terms showing a considerable decrease post-visit. Those were: 'friendly' and 'kind' (-9%); 'clever', 'active', and 'poor' (-7%); 'quiet' (-6%); 'nice' (-5%); 'funny' (-4%); 'happy' and 'rich' (-3%); and 'shy' and 'nasty' (-1%). We can thus see that 4 terms decreased by more than 5%. Among the 8 terms, 5 were positive (friendly, kind, clever, active, nice) describing personal characteristics. It seems that positive images of Japanese people had decreased. This may be because there was no section dealing directly with people at the exhibition. In addition, when pupils study Japan in school they often lack personal interaction with the people they learn about, as emphasis is laid on geographic or industrial



information. The term 'poor' showed a significant decrease. It is likely that more pupils thought that Japanese people are not poor, by having seen aspects of Japanese life and art at the exhibition. Fewer pupils associated Japan with a 'quiet' image after the visit. Unfortunately, I cannot examine the reasons why these terms above were not chosen after the visit. This is because the 'Why?' sub-question was intended to be answered only for the 'circled' terms. A different format of questionnaire, or a different method is necessary in order to look at the reasons why pupils did not circle certain terms.

**No change:** Only the term, 'noisy' did not change its frequency. In both surveys, 18% of the pupils circled this term. Those terms showing minor change at lower than 5% level can be interpreted as 'no change' since it is a matter of only 1 to 4 pupils in the range. Therefore, the following terms were 'stable' terms: 'cool' (+4%), 'Outgoing' (+2%), 'Unhappy', 'Unkind' (+2%) and 'Scary' (+1%) 'nice' (-5%), 'funny' (-4%), 'happy' and 'rich' (-3%), 'shy' and 'nasty' (-1%).

**Influence on the perceptions**

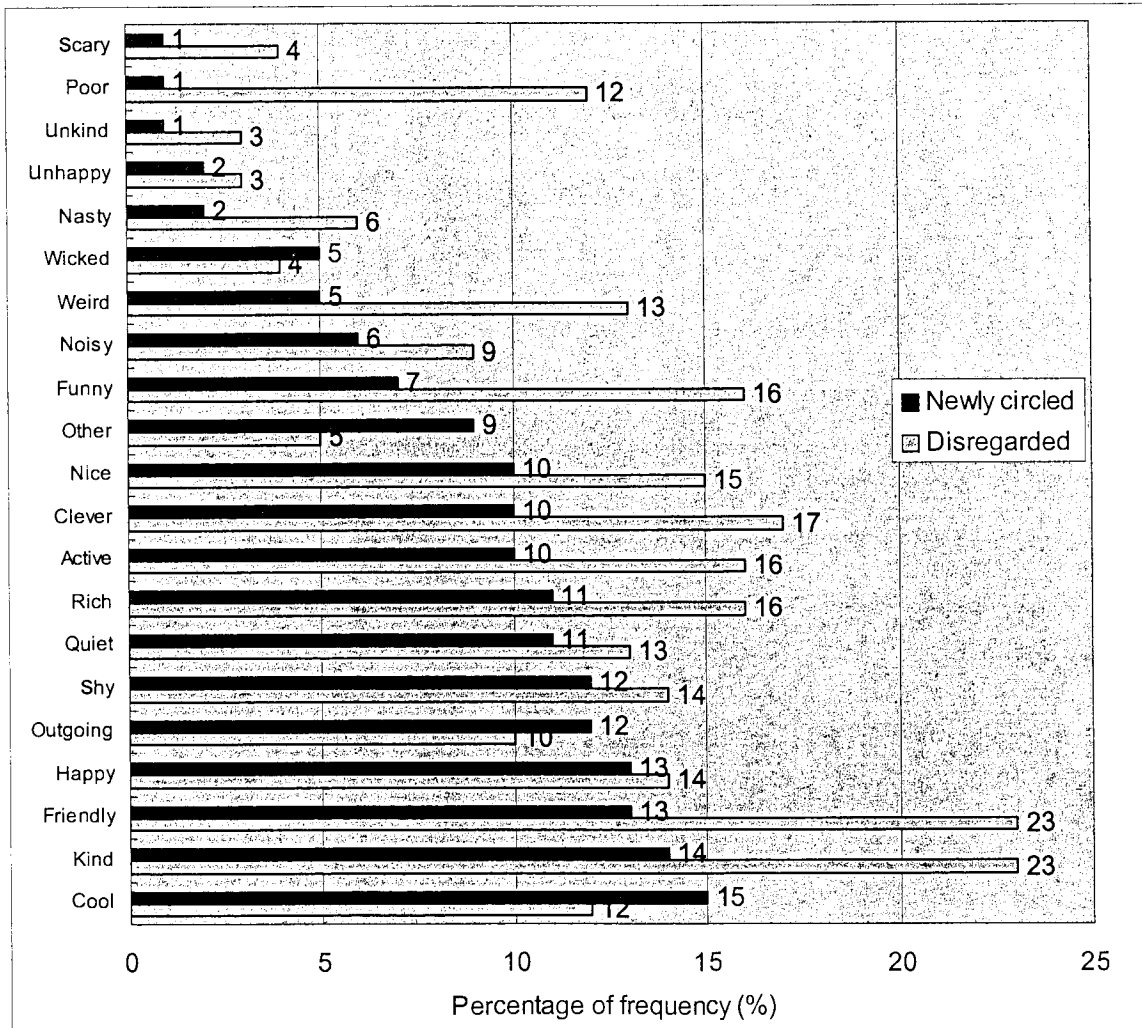


Figure 5.4 Newly circled and disregarded terms after the visit (n=101)

Total number figures only show how many pupils circled the term, but not how many of them continuously chose them, or stopped circling the term post-visit. To examine the influences on pupils' perceptions, I conducted a cross-tabulation analysis. This shows how pupils responded to each term pre and post-visit.

Figure 5.4 ranked the order of frequency of newly circled terms. The bar at the bottom shows the frequency for 'cool'. This means that among the total number of 'cool' answers, 15% of the pupils newly circled this post-visit. 12% of all pupils who had circled 'cool' before did not circle it afterwards. First, I focus on the newly circled figures, and examine pupils' reasons for circling them after the visit. Second, I will discuss the figures for disregarded terms. As the data does not provide reasons for pupils not circling these terms, I will suggest possible explanations for the disregarded ones.

**Newly circled terms:** The highest frequency of newly circled term was 'cool', 15% of the pupils chose it after the visit. The reasons for those who circled it after the visit were:

They wear nice clothes. (Primary school, boy),

They invented so many things (Secondary school, girl)

Because they can make loads of things out of paper. (Secondary school, girl)

These reasons suggest a high degree of influence from their experience at *Discovering Japan*, as they refer to the kimono section, and also to origami in the design section. Pupils reflected upon their hands-on experience at the exhibition, and related those images to Japanese people. On the other hand, the 12% of pupils who did not circle 'cool' as they did previously, indicates that pupils with a similar exhibition experience developed a different impression.

The reasons for choosing 'kind' and 'friendly' did not refer to the museum experience, hence I will not discuss these. However, in the answers to the 'happy' image, a pupil said:

Because they're mostly smiling in pictures. (Primary school, Girl)

The pupil referred to pictures with Japanese people smiling, which were to be found in the kimono and shrine section. Although she did not specify which pictures she referred to, she has

gained a perception of 'happy' looking people. This demonstrates how visual images, especially photographs, in exhibition displays can successfully create emotive impressions of a people.

'Outgoing', which 12% of pupils circled after the visit, is a good example of the strong impact on perceptions from visual resources.

*They were really confident when we saw the video. (Primary, Girl)*

This pupil mentioned the 'introduction video' which she saw at school before the visit. This suggests that images acquired from a video are sustained for several weeks and can be clearly recollected. This also shows that her previous perception exists parallel to her exhibition experience (see 7.2).

'Active', 'clever', and 'nice' were newly chosen by 10% more of pupils post-visit. The reason for choosing 'active' were:

*Because I think they can do everything fast. (Primary school, Girl)*

*They are good at sport. (Secondary school, Girl)*

*Because they always move around and fight. (Primary school, Boy)*

Many of the pupils wrote 'sports' as the reason for describing the people 'active'. However, most pupils did not refer to the exhibition experience, except for one girl who wrote 'because of their food', the people seem active. The first girl thought that the physical movements of Japanese people were fast. She did not explain the source of these images. The second pupil wrote 'sports' as the reason. Sporty images of Japan may have increased as a result of the FIFA World Cup campaign of 2002 in Japan and Korea. The last boy wrote 'always moving and fighting' as the source of an 'active' image. He did not specify how this image was formed, but he may have developed it from video games or films featuring martial arts. Strongly held images do not diminish post-visit; 'fighting' persists as a characteristic, despite the fact that information about Japanese culture both in school and the museum does not highlight this (refer to 7.2).

I will analyse what are termed negative values. Negative responses are an unexpected outcome from this exhibition, as museum educators, curators, and teachers plan educational visits to be a positive experience. However, contrary to expectations, some pupils revealed newly acquired negative perceptions of Japan. For example, 6% of the pupils circled 'noisy' and 5% of them answered 'weird'. Other negative terms were chosen only by 1%- 2% of pupils. The majority of the pupils did not, therefore, develop a negative impression.

I will examine why some pupils thought of Japanese people as '**noisy**' and '**weird**'. According to Collins Dictionary (1998): 'A noisy person or thing makes a lot of loud or unpleasant noise. This implies some unpleasant impression with that person in mind'; weird: 'If you describe something or someone as weird, you mean that they are strange' (1998). However, according to the appreciation score (see 3.4.5), both 'noisy' and 'weird' are ranked as score '3: Don't mind', which means that noisy or weird people are not disliked by pupils. Therefore, they do not necessarily imply negative perceptions.

Those pupils who newly circled '**noisy**' post-visit gave the following reasons:

*Because at night they are noisy. (Primary school, Boy)*

*Always shouting. (Secondary school, Girl)*

*Because they speak at the same time (Secondary school, Girl)*

As demonstrated in the first answer, several pupils related the noisy image to the industrial side of Japan. Some primary school pupils seemed to have gained the impression that Tokyo is noisy even at night. Although this is common to big cities anywhere in the world, the idea of Japan being noisy attracted the pupils. The others answered that the Japanese speech sounded 'noisy' because Japanese people shouted and spoke simultaneously. This relates to the study of impressions from speakers of an unfamiliar language. Durkin and Judge (2001) assessed how Australian children responded to a video of people speaking in an unrecognisable language. They queried whether children negatively perceive people who speak a different language in the media. They found that young children, up until age 6, seem to perceive unrecognisable language speakers negatively, but older children carefully consider the

context and body language. Durkin and Judge concluded that 'the results indicated bias against foreign speakers in the 6- and 8-year-old groups, but not in the 10-year-olds' (2001: 1). In my study, all pupils are older than 8, so they are unlikely to express a negative bias because of usage of a different language. Although pupils do not refer to their experience at *Discovering Japan*, it is likely that the 'noisy' image was formed during this period.

Why did some pupils choose '**weird**'? A primary school boy said:

Because their eyes are different from us.

This suggests that his impression of Japanese people derived from the different physical appearance. He particularly referred to the 'eyes'. This child's drawings confirm his impression. (see 6.3). Different shaped eyes are noticed by pupils and contribute to a 'weird' impression.

Furthermore, one secondary school girl answered:

They eat strange things.

She did not refer to what she had experienced at the exhibition, but it is likely to be associated with the food section. The food section displayed the ingredients of Japanese cooking and those may appear 'weird' to pupils. This raises the question of why only the ingredients of Japanese food and some dried snacks were chosen to represent 'food' from Japan. Does this food section contribute to the 'weird' image of Japanese food? If some pupils with 'fishy' image towards the food see dried fish at the section, it is highly likely that this will reconfirm their impression (see 7.2).

**Disregarded terms:** Figure 5.4 shows that disregarded responses are spread over both positive and negative terms. As mentioned, the reasons for disregarding these terms were not collected from the pupils, so we cannot investigate the reasons. These results do not necessarily imply that pupils gained negative perceptions towards Japanese people, as this is not supported by the data of the appreciation scores. We cannot therefore conclude that the decrease of positive terms correlates to a rise in negative perceptions.

## 5.4 Pupils' understanding of Japan

I examined pupils' interest and appreciation of Japan as the main basis of international understanding.

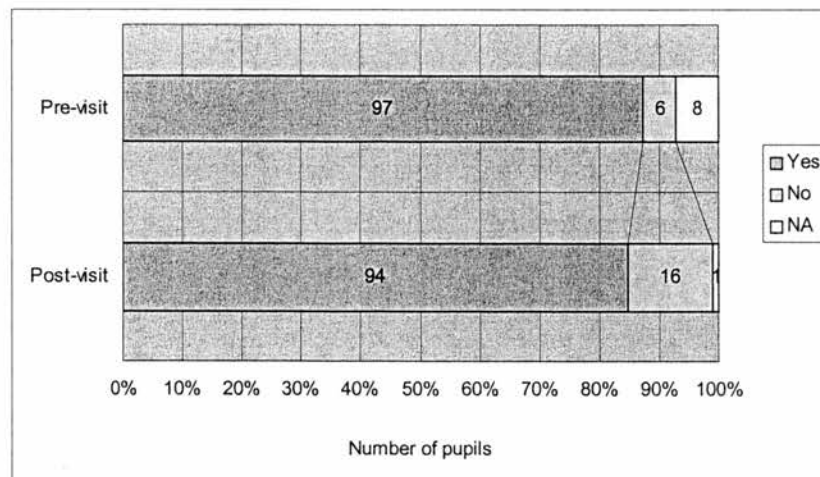
### 5.4.1 Pupils' interest in Japan

In what ways did pupils' interest in Japan change after the visit? Are they more keen to learn about the culture? Or did they feel they had enough and were unwilling to pursue this topic?

Pupils' interest is analysed by examining the results from the following two questions. 1) **Would you like to know more about Japan?** (PRE-Q10&PST-Q9), 2) **Would you like to visit Japan in the future?** (PRE&PST-Q13).

#### Would you like to know more about Japan?

The answer to question 1) is presented in figure 5.5.



**Figure 5.5 Would you like to know more about Japan? (n=111)**

According to the above, the majority of pupils still wanted to learn more about Japan after the visit. Of those who answered 'Yes' in the post-visit questionnaire, they were asked a sub-question 'Why?' and pupils gave the following reasons:

*Because I don't know enough! (Primary school, Girl)*

*I feel there is so much to know about this wonderful culture. It sounds a great place and so do the people. (Secondary school, Girl)*

Many of the pupils answered 'because it's interesting' and expressed that they wanted to know more. Some of them also mentioned that they wanted to know more about the culture, writing,

and food. As described by a secondary school boy, many pupils also believed the place to be 'nice' and 'fun'.

Some pupils answered 'No' or did not answer (NA) before the visit, but changed their answers to 'Yes' afterwards. Among those 6 pupils who answered 'No' before the visit, 3 of them changed their answer to 'Yes'. One secondary school girl said:

Pre-visit: Because it is confusing enough learning about Britain, France and other nearby countries.

Post-visit: Because the origami is exciting.

Before the visit, she seems overwhelmed by the amount of information. She did not want to know about distant countries, including Japan. After the visit, however, she changed her mind, referring to her experience at the 'design' section with origami. In this case, hands-on experience such as making origami positively influenced her negative attitude towards learning about a different country.

There is, however, a significant increase in the number of 'No' answers to the question, '**Would you like to know more about Japan?**'. Pre-visit, 6 pupils (5%) did not want to know more and afterwards, this figure increased to 16 pupils (14%), more than double the first figure. Out of those 16 pupils, 3 pupils answered 'No' before and after the visit; their lack of interest in Japan was sustained.

The findings demonstrate that there are pupils who did not overcome their reluctance to learn more about Japan before and after the visit. This suggests that the museum experience is ineffective in changing initial negative attitudes for some of those pupils who already showed hesitation about the subject beforehand (see 7.3 for further discussion).

Now, I will consider 11 pupils who changed their minds from 'Yes' to 'No' after the visit: 3 primary school pupils and 8 secondary school pupils. The majority are secondary school pupils. One primary school girl answered 'No' to the question '**Would you like to know more about**

Japan?’ and she responded to the question ‘Why?’ as:

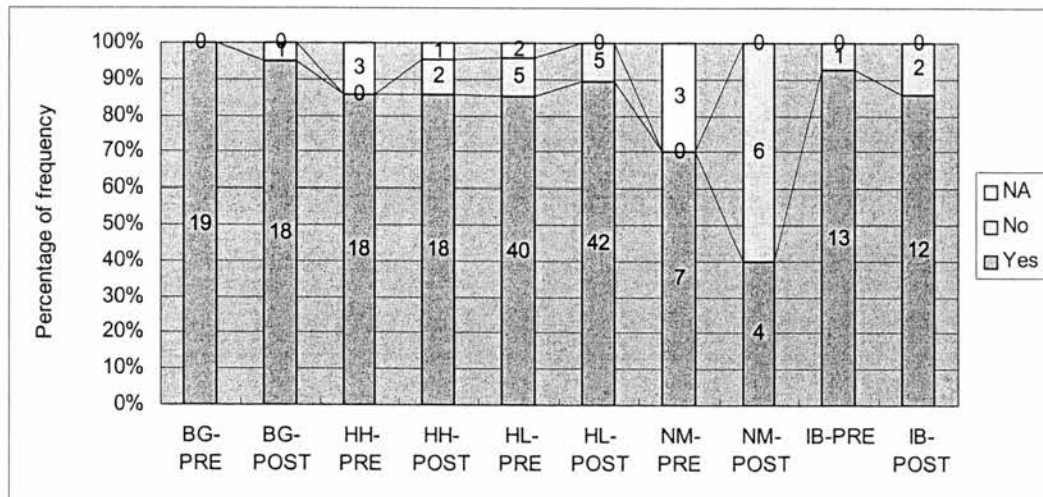
Pre-visit: Yes.      Everything’  
 Post-visit: No.      Because I know loads of Funky stuff already.

A primary boy said:

Pre-visit: Yes.      I would like to know Japanese language  
 Post-visit: No.      I don’t want to learn Japan any more because it is boring.

These answers indicate that after their visit, some pupils felt they already knew enough, whilst others found the subject boring (see 7.3). It is important to recognise that the specific reasons for those pupils, who changed their minds after the visit, are very different from those who continuously answered ‘No’ to this question. Pupils are not referring to their previous experience or appreciation, but simply find that they have had enough. This suggests that the museum visit had a negative influence on motivation for some.

Figure 5.6 Would you like to know more about Japan? (school) (n=111)



I will compare the change of interest from the pre-visit answers. Figure 5.6 shows results from pre-visit and post-visit questionnaire. It shows clearly that the school NM presents a large decrease of ‘Yes’ answers and increase of ‘No’. Except for NM, all other schools had more than 80% of pupils interested in Japan before and after the visit, indicating that the majority of the pupils sustained high interest in Japan. Although an interesting issue, it is beyond my research to investigate the reason for a different response from a particular school.

**Meeting a Japanese person**

To investigate appreciation of Japanese people, I asked ‘Q11: Would you like to meet



**Japanese people?** in the post-visit questionnaire. This question was slightly different in the pre-visit, as previously this was only asked to those who answered they had not met a Japanese person before. Before the visit, 87% of those answered 'Yes' they would like to. How did other pupils respond to this question after the visit? The assumption is, if pupils enjoyed the exhibit and it stimulated their interest, they would be eager to meet the people.

We cannot compare the figure from the pre-visit (Yes: 87%, No: 13%) in the same way, but it seems that the ratio of 'Yes' answers has decreased. Let us examine the reasons which are given to the sub-question **'Why?'**

For those who answered 'Yes', the reasons were as follows:

so I can see how they look (Primary school, Boy)

because I think that Japanese people are very interesting from what I have learnt (Secondary school, Girl).

'Interesting', 'different' and 'how they do things' were mentioned frequently. Many pupils also wanted to learn the Japanese language, culture and see how Japanese people live. Several pupils referred to their Japanese friends, for example: 'I have met a few and like their kindness and hospitality. They are also very nice people.' (Secondary school, Girl). Some answered in a defiant appreciation by saying 'Because I'm not racist and exclude from whom I meet [by] individual race.' (Secondary school, Boy). Overall, post-visit, the majority of pupils showed an interest in meeting Japanese people, and wanted to learn about them and the culture through direct experience.

For those 16% who answered No to this question, their reasons were as follows:

because I already know Japanese people (Secondary school, Girl)

I wouldn't want to meet Japanese people because they wouldn't speak my language. (Primary school, Boy)

The two main reasons were having Japanese acquaintances already, and not speaking the same language. The latter - the language barrier - is thought provoking, because pupils seem to strongly believe that Japanese people are unable to speak English. Among those who

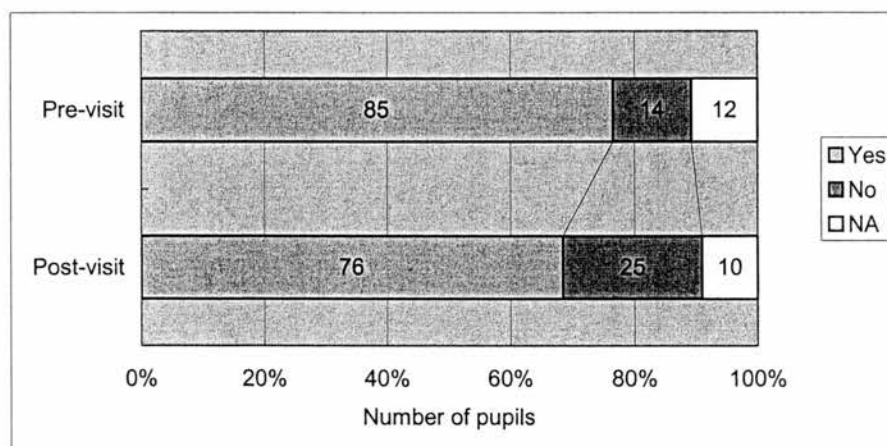
mentioned the communication issue, some negative statements were found such as: 'Because some people are not nice to talk to because they don't speak English.' (Secondary school, Girl). This pupil shows a negative attitude to those who do not speak the same language as her.

The third reason is based on difference in appearance: a primary school boy answered: 'Because they got eyes different and they look scary.' But why did he take the external difference as scary? It implies that facial features have an effect on the appreciation of others. This supports conducting a drawing analysis.

Crucially, of the above reasons for not wanting to meet Japanese people, none were directly attributed to the museum experience.

### Would you like to visit Japan?

Were pupils interested in visiting Japan? It is assumed that if pupils are interested in the country, they will wish to visit. Did their response change after the museum visit? If so, in what way?



**Figure 5.7 Would you like to visit Japan? (n=111)**

Figure 5.7 shows that 77% (pre-visit) and 68% (post-visit) of pupils wished to actually visit

Japan. Before the visit, the main reasons for the 'Yes' answers were:

eat the food and meet the people (Primary school, Girl)

explore and make friends (Secondary school, Girl)

I would like to find out how they sleep and learn. (Primary school, Boy)

After the visit, 68% of pupils answered 'Yes' to this question. The answers to what they would

like to do in Japan were:

I would like to meet people, see the places and learn about the culture.

(Secondary school, Girl)

visit tourist attraction and the peaceful side of Japan (Secondary school, Girl)

speak Japanese and eat Japanese food. (Primary school, Girl).

For the 'No' answers, the number increased significantly from 14 to 25 pupils. Before the visit, the reasons given for not wanting to go were:

because lots of wars go on there (Primary school, Girl)

I don't think it has anything I really would like to see/do (Secondary school, Girl)

because I don't like Japan much (Secondary school, Girl)

In addition, 3 out of 8 pupils stated that they were afraid because of war, earthquakes, and the news of a British woman murdered in Japan. We can see that historical information (for example Second World War), geography and the media affected pupils' appreciation of Japan. The first girl was mistakenly under the impression that Japan was currently at war.

After visiting the exhibition, 25 pupils did not want to visit Japan. Out of those 25, 8 pupils circled 'No' both before and after the visit, giving the following reasons:

We will learn a lot about them in school and we live far away (Secondary school, Girl)

It is not a fun place (Secondary school, Girl)

I don't know any language about Japan. (Primary school, Boy)

These 8 pupils did not change their minds. This may be due to the fact that there was no information which specifically countered perceptions that were already held, such as the primary school girl's belief that Japan is at war. Again, the result indicates that the museum experience does not always influence pupils' appreciation in a positive way.

Out of 17 pupils, 12 pupils answered 'Yes' pre-visit, but changed their mind to 'No' post visit. Of those 12 pupils, 7 were from the same primary school in a Bangladeshi community. There is further discussion on the influence of pupils' backgrounds in chapter 7.2.4.

#### 5.4.2 Pupils' appreciation of Japanese people

Here, I present the answers to 'What do you think Japanese people are like? Circle the words as many as you want and answer 'Why?' (PRE&PST-Q12). In order to quantitatively

analyse the results, I converted pupils' answers into figures defined as 'appreciation scores' (see 3.4.5).

**Figure 5.8 What do you think Japanese people are like? [PRE] (n=106)**

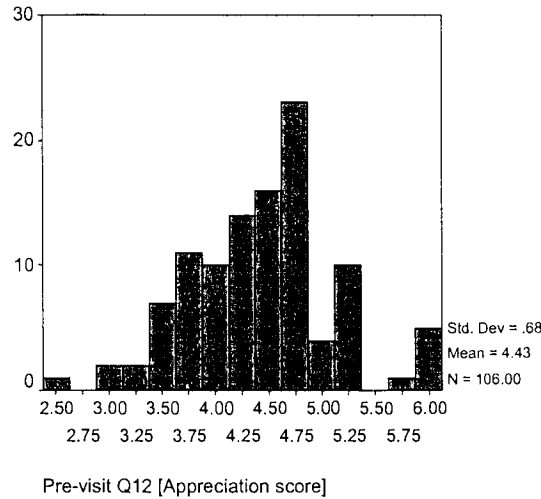
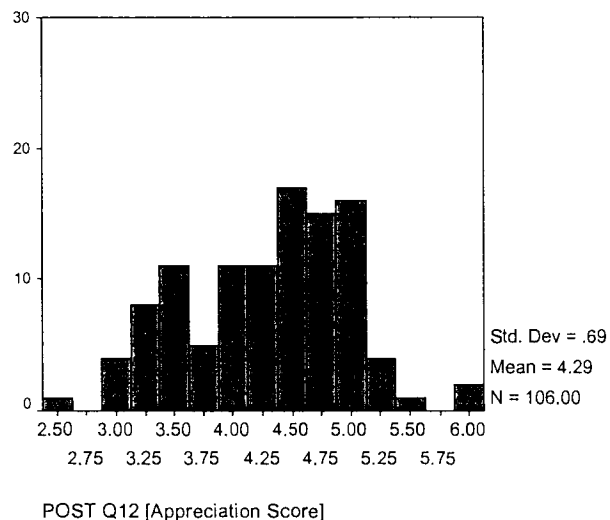


Figure 5.8 shows that 98% of pupils showed appreciation of Japanese people before their visit. The average score is 4.43 (min: 2.43; max: 6.0), which is fairly high. Moreover, 15% of the pupils scored higher than 5.0, demonstrating a strong positive appreciation. These results imply that it is very rare to find pupils with negative perceptions of Japanese people. This result is supported by Tames (1978) and Thurley (1978). In what ways did pupils' appreciation of Japanese people change after the visit?

**Figure 5.9 What do you think Japanese people are like? [POST] (n=106)**

Figure 5.9 shows that the majority (99%) of pupils showed appreciation towards Japanese people. The mean score is 4.29, which is slightly lower than pre-visit. The most



frequent score range became 4.38 – 4.63 which counted up to 18 pupils (17%). It seems a significant number of pupils showed lower appreciation of Japanese people after the visit. This

decrease of mean is statistically significant ( $t=1.98$ ,  $df=101$ ,  $p<0.05$ ).

### **A change in appreciation: before and after the visit**

It is assumed that if pupils' appreciation score grew higher, it would indicate that their view towards Japanese people had become more favourable following the visit. If the score decreased, it means the opposite. I have compared the appreciation scores collected for Q12 from pre-visit and post-visit data. For example, if a primary pupil who scored 4.8 before the visit, scored 5.2 afterwards, the change is defined as +0.4.

The data showed that 41% have changed positively (increased the score), 39% have changed negatively, 9% did not change, and 11% did not provide either score. It is encouraging to find that 41% of the pupils increased their appreciation. But, there are 39% of them who show lower appreciation after the visit.

The data suggests that it is unrealistic to expect one museum visit to encourage the development of positive appreciation towards the people in focus. My data shows that while developing some positive responses, there are pupils who developed negative responses as well. This should be acknowledged by educators and teachers. Further discussion in chapter 7.3.

### **5.4.3 The association with other questions and appreciation scores**

In an attempt to find the association between pupils' appreciation and their responses to other questions, I analysed both their scores and answers by using the Independent-Samples T-tests. The data suggests that an experience of meeting the people before visiting the museum has a positive effect on pupils' appreciation towards them. The result shows that those that had met Japanese people showed higher appreciation than those who did not ( $t=2.877$ ,  $df=26.702$ ,  $p<0.01$ ). The mean appreciation score for those who answered Yes to PRE-Q4 '**Have you met**

any Japanese people?' was 2.58, whereas those who answered 'No' scored 2.31.

Will those who have had a previous personal experience keep their positive appreciation post-visit? There is a possibility that their positive appreciation may be influenced by the exhibition. To examine the results, I compared the answers from PRE-Q4 and the appreciation scores after the visit. The data shows that there is a statistically significant association between the answers to PRE-Q4 and the post-visit appreciation score ( $t=2.107$ ,  $df=28.042$ ,  $p<0.05$ ). Pupils who answered 'Yes' scored 2.59 and those who answered 'No' scored 2.38. Therefore, the experience of meeting people does seem to affect pupils' appreciation of Japanese people; their positive appreciation was consistently held post-visit (see 7.3).

Another factor which influenced the appreciation score was the experience of learning about Japan in school. The data shows that pupils who had learned about Japan in school had a higher mean appreciation score pre-visit (see PRE-Q9 and PRE-Q12 answers). Pupils who answered Yes to 'Have you learned anything about Japan in school?' (PRE-Q9) scored 2.57, showing a continuously higher mean score post-visit, whilst 'No' scored 2.42 ( $t=2.144$ ,  $df=82.445$ ,  $p<0.05$ ). This indicates that what pupils learn about in schools has a positive effect on most of their perceptions of the chosen topic.

**Table 5.2 Learning in schools and its effect on appreciation (n=111)**

Questions	Yes		No	
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Have you met Japanese people before?	2.57	2.59	2.33	2.38
Did you learn anything about Japan in school?	2.57	2.56	2.42	<b>2.51</b>
Would you like to know more about Japan?	2.51	2.53	2.31	<b>2.43</b>
Would you like to visit Japan in the future?	2.52	2.58	2.51	2.33

This result suggests two crucial factors in relation to museum education in general.

*\*First: learning about the topic before the visit initiates a positive and favourable appreciation towards it.*

The first impression of Japan acquired in school arguably influences pupils' perceptions for a considerable time (Thurley, 1978; Hogg and Vaughan, 2002), and can work to sustain a positive

image. It is important to recognise, however, that if first impressions are negative ones, these will likewise be held for a considerable time. It is therefore important for teachers and educators to be aware of what pupils learned pre-visit; as Rowe says, 'What children learn is not what adults tell them, but how they interpret what the adults have said' (2004). If we replace 'adult' with 'exhibitions', the meaning fulfils the context here.

*\*Second: most pupils who showed a low interest in the subject increased their appreciation scores.*

This appears in the table 5.2 on the right column where you find the changes of appreciation scores for the 'No' respondents in the pre-visit questionnaire. Except for one question, 'Would you like to visit Japan in the future?', pupils increased their scores. This indicates that their museum experience had a positive effect on their perceptions and understanding. However, we cannot dismiss the fact that those who did not want to visit Japan before and after the visit dramatically dropped their appreciation score (from 2.51 to 2.33). Further analysis is necessary to understand this negative attitude.

From the above findings, I emphasise that prior experience to the visit has a short and long term effect on the development of pupils' appreciation towards people from different countries.

#### **5.4.4 The satisfaction of the exhibition and pupils' perception of Japan**

In this section, I look closely at the impact of *Discovering Japan* in terms of raising pupils' interest in Japan. In order to clarify its impact on pupils' interest, I conducted an Independent T-test and compared the mean of response scores according to the answers for other questions.

There are four statistically significant differences between the two mean scores of Yes/No answer groups of each question. These results suggest the impact of the exhibition on pupils' perception of Japan. I analyse the data by answering the following questions:

- 1) Does pupils' previous experience influence the satisfaction score of the exhibition?
- 2) Were there differences in the satisfaction score according to the Yes/No answers to other questions after the visit?

In response to question 1), I conducted a statistical analysis by comparing the mean of the response score divided by the Yes/No answer group to each questions. The result shows that only Yes/No answers to the question '**Would you like to visit Japan in the future?**'(PRE-Q13) showed a significant difference in the response score ( $t=2.375$ ,  $df=19.243$ ,  $p<0.05$ ). The data shows that pupils wanting to visit Japan before the visit seemed to have enjoyed the exhibition more. The 'Yes' group scored 2.29, whereas, the 'No' group scored 2.07. There was a significant difference between these two mean scores. This is unsurprising to a certain extent, because the exhibition provided opportunities for pupils to 'experience Japan' without going there. Thus, those who wanted to visit the country had a 'trial' experience of Japan which proved enjoyable.

Other previous experiences, such as meeting Japanese people and knowledge of some Japanese words and food had no impact on pupils' satisfaction with *Discovering Japan*.

#### **Pupils' satisfaction and perception of Japan after the visit**

In order to answer question 2) 'Were there differences in the satisfaction score according to the Yes/No answers to other questions after the visit?' I analysed the mean scores for each Yes/No answer groups for the post-visit questions. I found that the satisfaction scores changed significantly in relation to how the following questions were answered.

I now focus on the question: '**Did your images of Japanese culture change after visiting *Discovering Japan?***'(PST-Q5). Those who answered 'Yes' to this question scored 2.34; those who answered 'No' scored 2.15, a statistically significant difference ( $t=2.650$ ,  $df=103.316$ ,  $p<0.01$ ). This implies that pupils who found the exhibition 'exciting' changed their image of Japanese culture. I will examine the pupils' descriptions which showed a high satisfaction score and answered 'Yes' to this question. To the sub-question, 'If Yes, how did it change?' they



answered:

Because I think Japanese life is fun. (Primary school, Girl), score 2.57)

I thought it was boring and weird and now I really want to see what it is like for real and visit Japan. (Secondary school, Girl, score 2.57)

These pupils' voices represent a positive view of Japanese culture. These examples suggest that those who were highly satisfied with the exhibition, expanded their knowledge, found the lifestyle interesting and fun and, in some cases changed their perception of Japan positively. This is supported by the fact that no one who answered the sub-question wrote a negative comment.

The last result comes from the question '**Would you like to meet Japanese people?**' (PST-Q11). Those who answered 'Yes' scored 2.27, whereas the 'No' group scored 2.01. The difference between these two scores ( $t=2.096$ ,  $df=19.119$ ,  $p<0.05$ ) is statistically significant. This suggests that those who enjoyed the visit more showed higher interest in meeting the people in the future. The following comments are from pupils who had a high satisfaction score and wrote the reasons for answering 'Yes'.

Because Japanese people are so clever and complicated. They can do [sic] different letters and speak Japanese language. (Primary school, Girl, score 2.83)

Because I want to know their everyday life. (Secondary school, Girl, score 2.57)

These comments reflect the pupils' awareness of differences between Japanese people and themselves. The third girl's view suggests that she did not learn about everyday life at the exhibition, although she enjoyed it very much.

\*The findings presented in this chapter are further discussed in chapter 7.

# Chapter 6

## Findings and analysis of pupils' drawings of a Japanese boy or a girl

### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the human figure drawings made by those pupils who submitted both pre-visit and post-visit questionnaires. The purpose is to identify the differences between a own-figure, and a drawing of a Japanese boy or girl. Analysis of the nature of pupils' expressions through drawings of their self-image and their image of Japanese people allows a number of questions to be addressed. Particular attention was paid to the expressive materialisation of stereotypes; to any apparent emphasis; and to any change attributable to the museum experience.

First, I will briefly present the overall information gleaned from the drawings. I will then present my findings in the following order and then move on to the discussion: 6.2 About the data, 6.3 Differences in drawings before the visit, 6.4 Significant changes found in post-visit drawings, and 6.5 Discussion.

### 6.2 About the data

One of the questions required pupils to draw two human figures. Two blank boxes were provided. The question says 'Please draw' (PRE-Q6&PST-Q7). The left box said 'You' at the top; pupils were expected to draw themselves. The top right box said 'Japanese boy or Japanese girl, Tick the one you draw' with two small tick boxes next to the terms boy/girl. The format of this question was identical in both pre-visit and post-visit questionnaires.

There were no other specific instructions for the drawing, other than asking teachers not to let pupils look at each other's work while answering to avoid copying. Malchiodi (1998) argues that drawings come out differently according to the materials used (e.g. pencil, crayons, on colour paper etc) and the environment of the setting. In my case, these factors are not so crucial as they were for Malchiodi. Her purpose in collecting children's drawing is for art therapy, where children need to feel relaxed and safe. However, in my research, the purpose is to see how pupils express images of different people. Therefore, a pencil or a pen is sufficient for drawing and the classroom setting is suitable. These conditions were fulfilled, with the exception of one school where pupils answered on the transport bus. Most drawings were in good condition with clear lines.

I analysed drawings by pupils from whom both pre- and post-visit questionnaire were obtained. As in chapter 5.1, there were 111 questionnaires which matched. Of those, 85 pupils (77%) provided drawings. Two reasons will account for the 23%, who did not answer the drawing question. The first, practical reason could be that they did not have enough time to answer. Alternatively, they may have skipped the question and did not return to it. The second reason may be that pupils with personal issues such as worry, mistrust or depression avoided drawing (Malchiodi, 1998). This psychological issue draws us to a different aspect of analysis, and did not fall within the scope of my research.

Of the 85 pupils who provided drawings in both questionnaires, 25% were boys and 75% girls. Primary pupils accounted for 45% of the total and secondary pupils, 55%.

### **6.3 Drawings before the visit**

First, pupils were asked to draw themselves under the heading 'You'. Most pupils had no difficulty in understanding the instructions. From the format of this question, it was assumed that pupils would draw themselves first and then move on to the drawing of a Japanese child.

Interestingly, not all 85 pupils provided two drawings before the visit. Of these, 6% provided only a drawing of him/herself leaving a blank where the Japanese counterpart should be. Other pupils had enough time to draw two pictures, so it may be assumed that these pupils deliberately drew only one. This may be because they could not imagine what a Japanese boy or girl would look like.

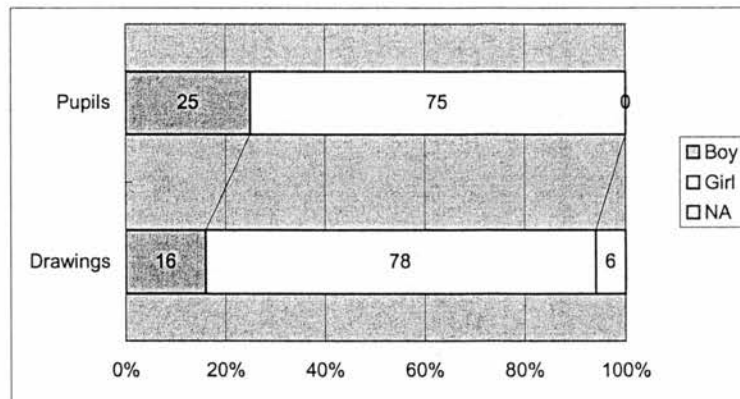
**6.3.1 Location of the differences**

I will discuss the findings in the order of 'gender' and 'body descriptions'.

**Gender differences**

There were 25% of boys and 75% of girls who made the drawings before the visit. The gender of the figure in the drawing is presented in figure 6.1.

**Figure: 6.1 The gender of the drawing figure of a Japanese counterpart (n=85)**



As documented in figure 6.1, some boys attempted to draw a Japanese girl instead of a Japanese boy. Let us look at the results from the cross tabulation to see the details.

**Table 6.1 The gender of pupils and their drawings (n=80\*)**

		Gender of the drawings		Total
		Boy	Girl	
Pupils' gender	Boy	11 61%	7 39%	18 23%
	Girl	3 5%	59 95%	62 77%
Total		14 18%	66 82%	80 100%

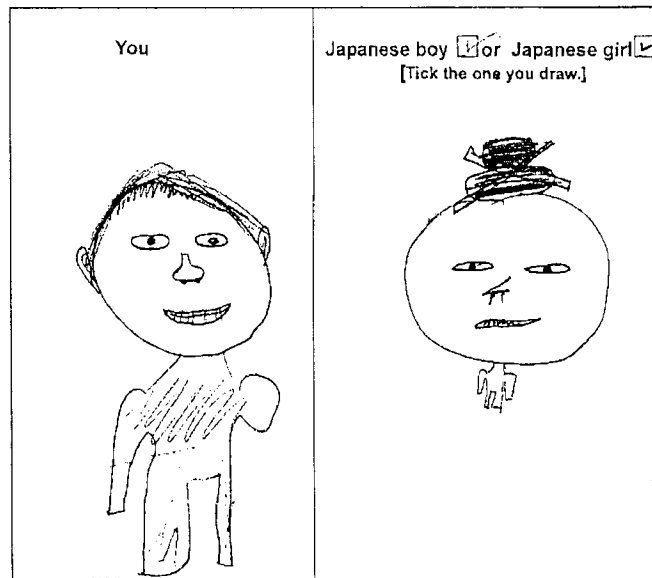
\*The NA answers were omitted in table 6.1.

There is a statistically significant association between the self gender and the gender of the

subject of their drawings ( $\chi^2=30.597$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p<0.01$ ); boys tend to draw boys, and girls tend to draw girls. This supports the findings from past studies (Cox, 1992).

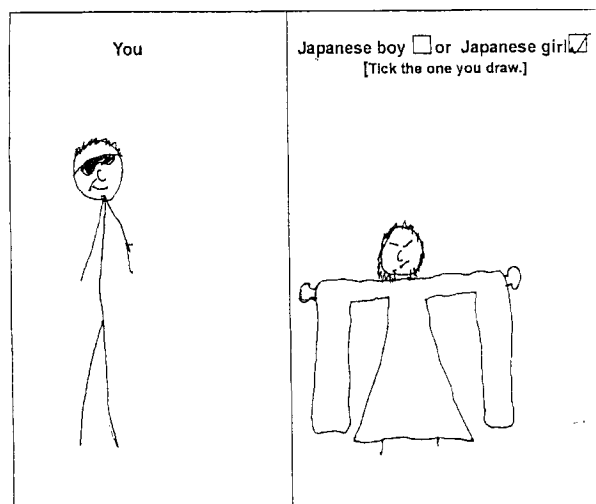
However, 39% of boys drew Japanese girls instead of Japanese boys. In contrast, 95% of girls concentrated on their own gender. Speculatively, it is assumed that British boys thought it would be easier to represent the differences by drawing a Japanese girl, as the perception of 'difference' arguably is more obvious in women's clothes and hairstyle. The following drawings by a primary school boy show a clear distinction between himself and the Japanese girl who has a bun and slit eyes (figure 6.2).

**Figure 6.2 Primary school boy's drawing before the visit (HH26)**



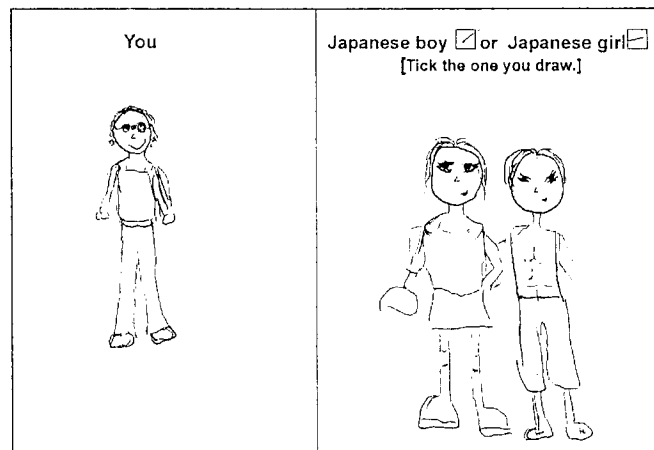
Another example shows the girl's clothes, eyes and mouth differently from his own (figure 6.3).

**Figure 6.3 Secondary school boy's drawing before the visit (NM07)**



This finding implies that, first, pupils will consider which points will best allow them to show the differences in the drawing and then decide which gender to draw. As in the examples, if a boy associated a bun hairstyle with Japanese girls, he will draw a female figure in keeping with the bun (figure 6.2). The same thing happened in the second example where a boy wanted to draw a kimono-like dress (figure 6.3). On the other hand, three girls drew Japanese boys. These were all secondary pupils. One pupil attempted to draw both boy and a girl, in this case the significant difference lies in the clothing (skirt and trousers) (figure 6.4).

Figure 6.4 Secondary school girl's drawing before the visit (HL14)



Differences in body parts

Figure 6.5 shows the most frequently found differences between the two drawings by pupils.

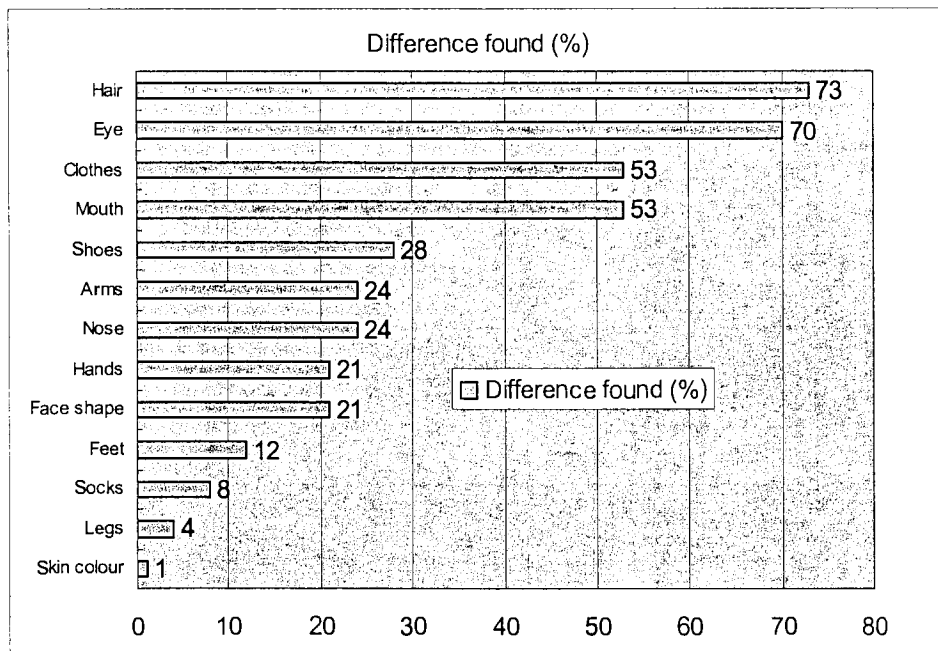


Figure 6.5 Most frequent differences between own-figure and Japanese figures (n=80)

Figure 6.5 shows that the most frequently changed body item is 'hair' (73%). The following item is 'eyes' which 70% of the pupils drew differently. The next most frequent items are clothes and mouth, both with 53% responses. Other items do not appear to be significant, although more than 20% of the pupils placed an emphasis on shoes, arms, nose, hands and face shape. Feet (12%), socks (8%), legs (4%) and skin colour (1%) did not show any significant difference between the two figures.

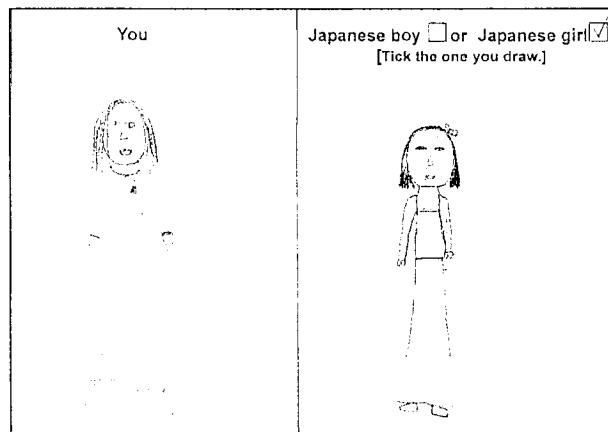
Previous studies show that the youngest children (4 years old) placed their emphasis on the drawing of eyes and mouth when they are asked to draw 'feelings' and 'emotions' in face drawing activities. Action research by Linda Cadmore demonstrated many of her nursery children made an intense scrutiny of the expressions of the eyes and mouth when they were asked their impressions of artists' drawings of humans and masks from Africa. For example, when a child commented on his own prints, he responded that the face looks: 'Grumpy. The mouth is thin. The eyes are thin too. He's painted them lines on him[sic]' (Cadmore, 1996: 127). Many other children refer to the eyes and the mouth in order to make sense of the emotion in the drawings and masks. Out of 14 of her children, two used names of ethnic groups in order to explain the details of their prints. One example was Ryan, who said 'A Chinese face – It was a bit mad and angry. His mouth is mad. He kicks'. Another child, Emma, said 'An Indian face. He's happy in his mouth[sic]' (Cadmore, 1996: 127). Here, Ryan seems to have a negative perception towards 'Chinese faces', whereas Emma does not associate Indians with negative feelings. Cadmore does not make reference to the stereotyped images in the comments. However, this example shows that children use the name of ethnic groups as a means to express their understanding of certain expressions in human faces.

Sitton and Light also argue that children from about five years of age can 'evidently begin to grapple with the task of shaping their drawings so as to convey particular kinds of information to an audience' (1992: 32). Therefore, all pupils in my research who are above age 5 are

considered to be capable of differentiation in their drawings, although the level of drawing skills will differ.

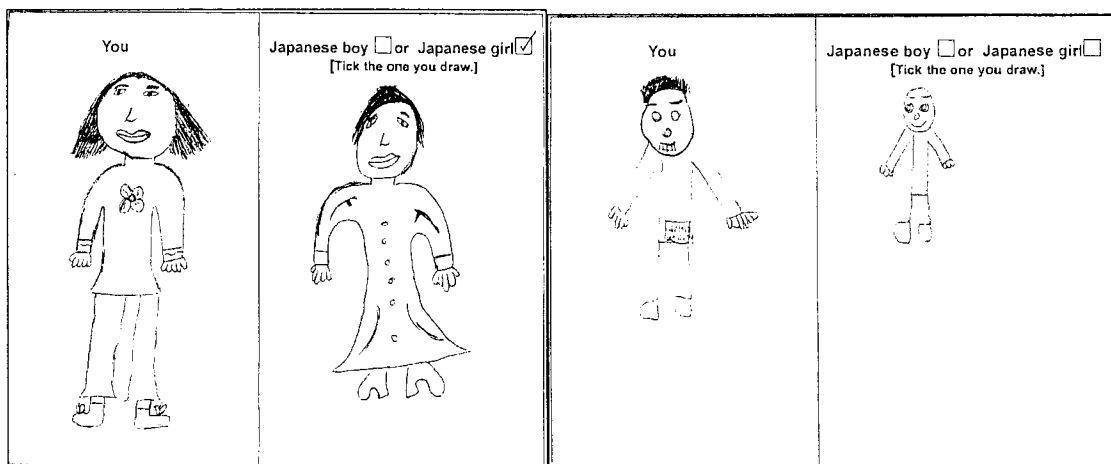
Changing the skin shade is one distinctive way to draw people from different ethnic backgrounds. In this research, pupils were provided with questionnaires on coloured paper (pre-visit: yellow, post-visit: green), and did not use colouring materials (e.g. crayons, coloured pens etc). The only method available to express colour difference is to 'shade' the figure. One pupil applied shading to the skin on a Japanese figure (figure 6.6).

**Figure 6.6 Secondary school girl's drawings before the visit (HL33)**



Some pupils in the sample had dark skin (Bangladeshi-British pupils), but they did not shade themselves in (figure 6.7).

**Figure 6.7 Primary school girl and boy's drawings before the visit (BG 04,07)**



This has resonance in other research findings (Haward and Roland, 1954; Dennis, 1966). Haward and Roland collected drawings of human figures from 30 Nigerians and analysed them by using Goodenough's scoring system. The examples of picture by Nigerians in their research



did not show any shading of the skin colour.

The infrequency of differences in skin colour may be due to the materials provided. At the same time, it also implies that pupils did not consider skin colour to be a major difference between themselves and Japanese people.

### **6.3.2 Presentation of findings**

I will focus on the five areas which showed differences most frequently in pupils' drawings: Hair, Eye, Clothes, Mouth and Shoes.

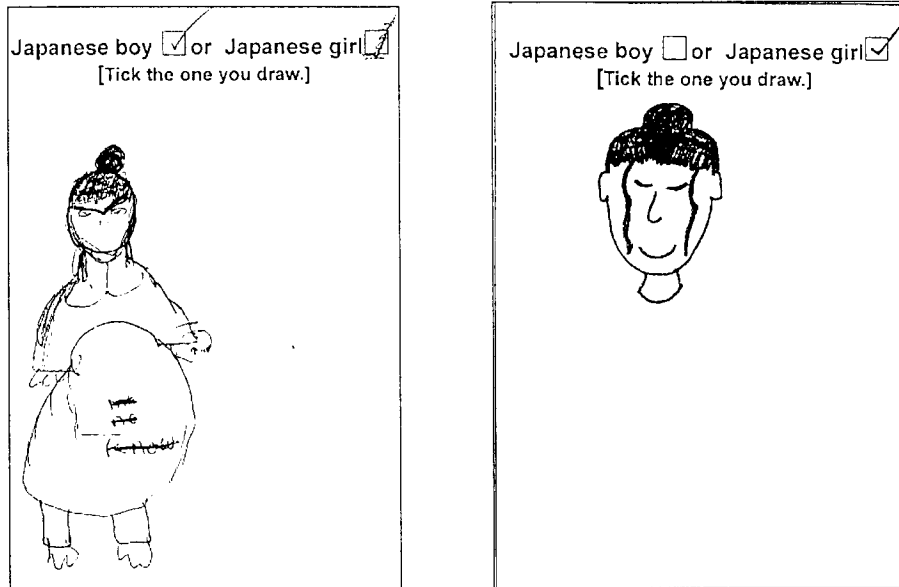
#### **Hair**

Hair was the most significant body item in terms of where pupils depicted differences in their drawings. Cox (1992) points out that very young children mainly use hairstyle and hair length to differentiate their figures. Sitton and Light also claim that 'the commonest ways of noting a female figure are long hair and/or simple triangular skirts' (1992: 30). For example, curly hair or long hair is used for females and bald or short hair for males (Arazos and Davies, 1989; Sitton and Light, 1992). This indicates that pupils choose items in which it is relatively easy to show differences; pupils can draw hairstyles relatively easily in a wide variety of ways. They can change not only the hairstyle, but also the length, shade and the use of hair accessories.

#### **Hairstyle**

The most frequently observed hairstyle was medium length. This was found in 35% of the own-figure, and in 33% of the Japanese figure. The second most frequent style for own-figure was a short hairstyle (29%), but for a Japanese person, it was the bun style (19%). The bun was found in both drawings of a Japanese boy and a girl (figure 6.8).

Figure 6.8 Drawings by primary school boy and a secondary school girl before visit (BG02, HL02)



For many pupils, the bun was the easiest way to illustrate a distinctive difference between themselves and Japanese people. This is supported by the fact that no pupils drew themselves with a bun, a style that frequently appears in illustrations of Japanese people in magazines or books

The third largest group for own-figure is long length (26%), and short length (17%) for the Japanese. There was no significant difference in the 'tied' hairstyle (e.g. pony tails etc). Below is an example of how pupils drew the hairstyles differently. This drawing is by a primary girl (aged 11) (figure 6.9).

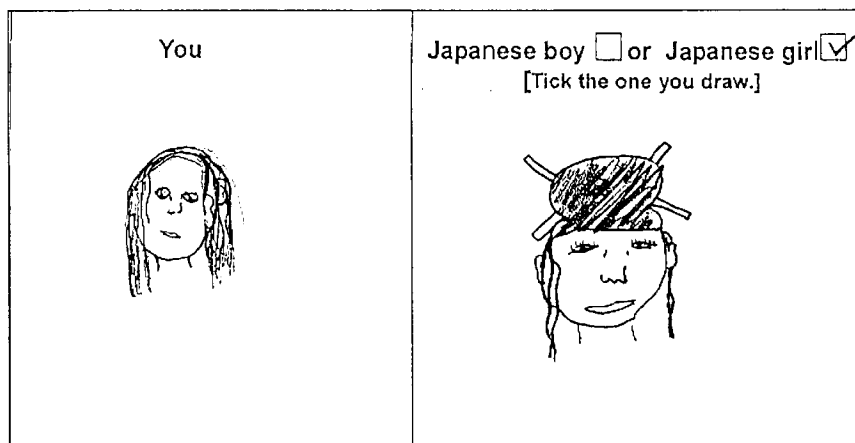


Figure 6.9 Primary school girl's drawings before the visit (HH27)

In her head drawings, this pupil expressed the differences in the hairstyle and the shape of the eyes. Her own-figure has medium length hair, while the Japanese girl has a bun with two stick-like accessories. Also, her own-figure has almond shaped eyes, whereas the Japanese girl has slit, straight eyes with eyelashes. Even without depicting clothes, therefore, pupils can highlight differences by drawing two kinds of hairstyles.

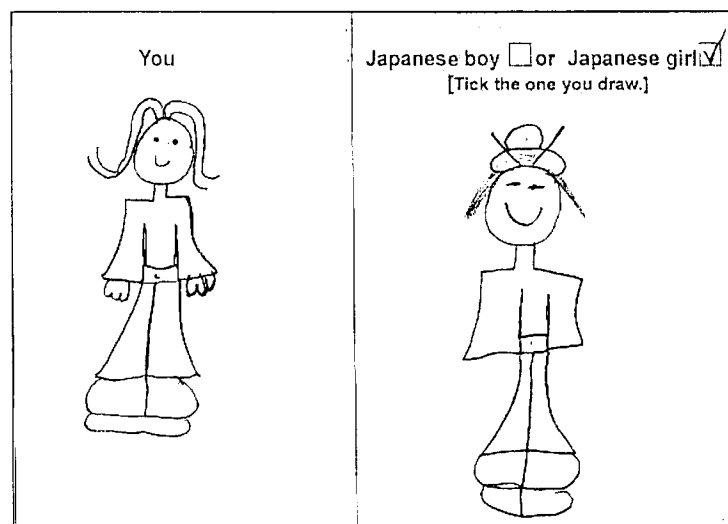
### Hair accessories

Close analysis of pupils' drawings of hair revealed that a significant number of pupils incorporated hair accessories into the hairstyle. I further analysed the kind of accessories that appeared in their drawings.

Few pupils drew accessories for themselves (5%) whereas 22% drew them for the Japanese drawings. This indicates that the presence or absence of hair accessories is another initial means to show explicit ethnic differences in drawings. Of the Japanese figure drawings with accessories, 13% had stick-like hair pins, 1% had ribbons and 8% showed other types of ornaments. In both countries, in Japan and in the U.K., hair accessories are generally associated with girls; this is reflected in the drawing. None of the drawings of a Japanese boy included hair accessories.

One example of stick hairpins is drawn by a primary school girl (figure 6.10).

**Figure 6.10 Drawings by primary school girl before the visit (HH09)**



This girl drew a bun and two stick-looking ornaments in the forehead of the figure. The idea of two sticks seems to have made a strong impression on a number of pupils, as seven others also showed this. Interestingly, they all come from the same primary school, which may suggest that they were sitting close together and were able to look at each other's drawings.

However, there was one example of the stick hairpins motif from a secondary school girl. Her drawing shows not just two, but four stick hairpins. In her case, more details are drawn as we can see some ornaments on the end of each pin.

I reviewed the differences appearing in drawings of hair. Pupils used a variety of techniques to describe the differences: changing the hairstyle, length, shade and the use of accessories. This exercise also revealed that before the visit, 13 to 19% of the pupils hold a stereotyped image of Japanese girls in a bun hairstyle, with stick-like accessories. This image had doubtlessly been derived from encountering Japanese images as presented on TV, magazines, games and other available sources.

### **Eyes**

In the West, when children start to draw forms of human figures, they start with a tadpole like schema (Cox, 1992). This tendency occurs between the ages of four to six years and it has been shown to comprise of a rudimentary head (a circle), often two legs, and less frequently with arms. The head sometimes has facial features; eyes, nose and mouth (Malchiodi, 1998). Eyes are one of the most important facial features in human drawings done by children, frequently used to express emotions. When children reach the 'schematic stage', they can 'depict more recognisable images of emotions' (Malchiodi, 1998: 112). Malchiodi gives an example of a series of drawings by a nine year old, who was asked to draw a pictures of faces showing 'tired', 'happy' and 'sad'. Her three faces show large differences in the eyes and mouth, whereas the hairstyle, shape of the face and nose remain constant. Her tired face has curved eyes with a round mouth shaded inside with a caption 'yawn' next to it. The happy face has

almond-shaped eyes, with an up-turned mouth with a caption 'I'm happy'. The sad face has eyes tightly closed, with a large frowning mouth drawn in a downward curve. Emotions are thus largely communicated through the eyes and mouth.

For many children, representation of the eyes in one of the most crucial ways used to depict differences in their drawings. This is supported by my data, where 70% of the pupils drew the eyes differently in the two figures. Examination of the eye features in the drawings revealed a wide variation in pupils' representations, and indicated the need to analyse this in more detail. I created 'Eye shape' as a sub category.

**Eyeshape**

Generally, when pupils draw faces of human figures, may omit eyebrow and eyelashes, but eyes are indispensable.

**Figure 6.11 Frequency of differences in eyeshapes (n=85)**

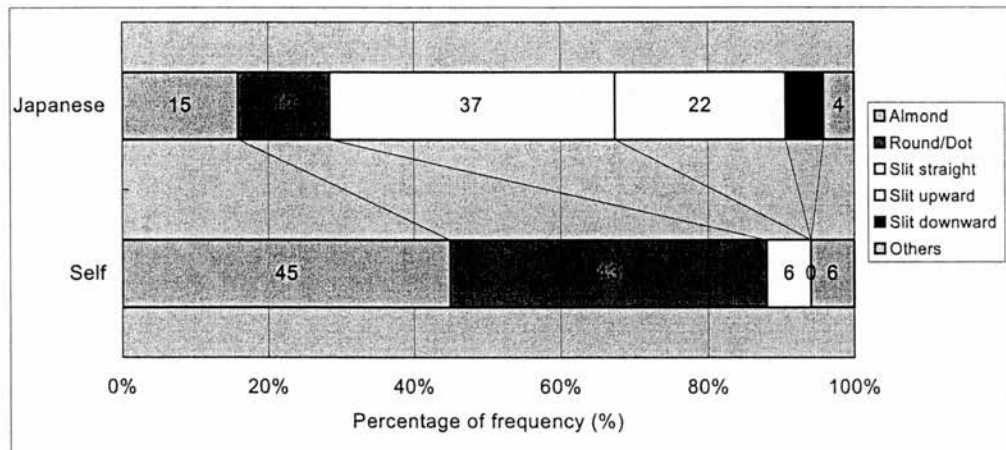
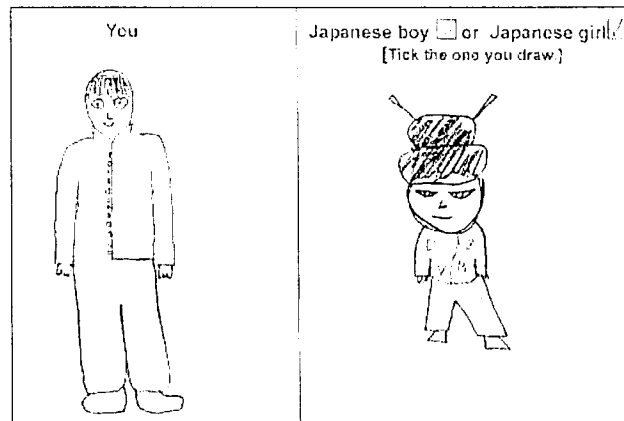


Figure 6.11 shows that in the 71% of drawings in which differences of eyes could be identified; 45% of the own-figure had almond shaped eyes, whereas only 15% of the Japanese drawings had them. The third category, 'slit eyes in straight direction', accounted for 6% of own-figure and 37% of Japanese figures. 'Slit eyes pointing upwards' were absent in own-figures, but accounted for 22% of Japanese drawings. 'Slit eyes pointing downwards' were only found in drawings of Japanese figures (5%).

There is an acute difference in the shape of eyes between the two figures. The majority of

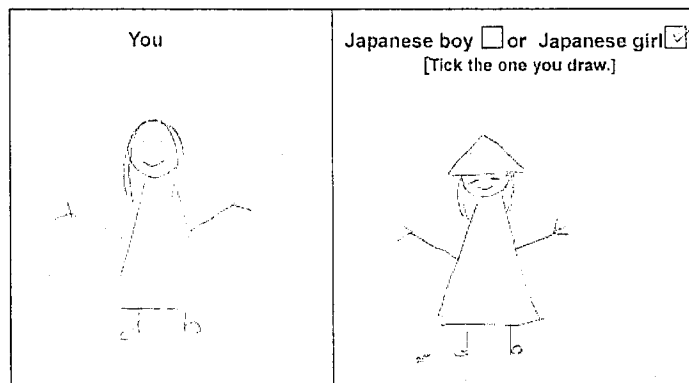
own-figures (88%) had eyes shaped like almonds or round/dots, and few (6%) had slit straight eyes. In contrast, the dominant shape of eye for the Japanese figure was slit straight eyes (37%). If we group these with the second dominant shape 'slit upwards eyes' (22%) and the other 'slit downwards' group (5%), the total is 64%. Thus, more than half of the pupils drew Japanese eyes with simple straight lines.

**Figure 6.12 Drawings by primary school boy before the visit (HH06)**



The first example is drawn by a 9 year old primary school boy. He drew two drawings, himself and a Japanese girl. The differences are in hairstyle, clothing, mouths, and eye shapes. He drew his own eyes as almost circular with dots inside to denote pupils (categorised as 'round/dots'). The Japanese girl has upside down triangular shaped eyes, with non-shaded pupils (categorised as 'slit-straight'). We can see that he emphasised the different looks of the eyes between the two figures. The impressions you receive from these two faces are quite different. The own-figure appearance pleasant with a smile on his face, but the Japanese girl has a sharp staring look with no smile. One might ask whether this indicates a negative perception towards Japanese people. The second example is from a 15-year-old secondary girl.

**Figure 6.13 Drawings by secondary school girl before the visit (IB04)**



Even in these simplistic drawings of human figures, the differences between the artist and a Japanese girl are clearly expressed by the triangular hat and the eye shapes. Her own eyes are dots, whereas the Japanese girl has slit, straight ones. This exemplifies the crucial importance of eyes in expressing differences. The triangular hat (or coolie) is a stereotyped image which is shared by some pupils in the U.K. (Thurley, 1978).

These findings suggest that pupils acquire stereotyped images of 'slit eyes' from various sources, which are subsequently depicted as a major difference in human figure drawings. Further discussion on this issue is in 6.5.

### **Clothes**

The third most frequent category showing difference is 'clothes'. Several studies have pointed out that pupils make use of clothes in differentiating the gender of the drawings (Cox, 1992; Arazos and Davies, 1989; Sitton and Light, 1992). From the present study, the data suggests that clothing is effectively used in emphasising differences between the own-figure and Japanese drawing. The percentage is significant, with more than half of the drawings (53%) showing different clothing between the two drawings. It is important to bear in mind that when speaking of 'differences in clothing', we include instances where different designs of clothing were used to illustrate 'gender' difference. In other words, some pupils used clothing to show the opposite gender to their own (e.g. a girl will draw a skirt for herself and trousers for her counterpart boy figure). Therefore, the total number of drawings showing differences in clothing includes those which chose another item to illustrate gender, and not necessarily a particular difference between themselves and Japanese people.

There are three sub categories for clothing. The first sub category is 'Western clothes' which includes shirts, skirts, trousers and any other ordinary clothing in UK. The second sub category is 'Japanese clothes', specifically, kimonos. I made flexible decisions in grouping this sub category, as many pupils' drawings were not accurate in representing the details of kimonos.

Where the drawing showed a clear attempt to draw a kimono, it was included in this group. The third sub category is 'other clothing'. This includes clothing that cannot be grouped as either 'Western' or 'Japanese'.

Figure 6.14 Sub categories in 'clothes' (n=85)

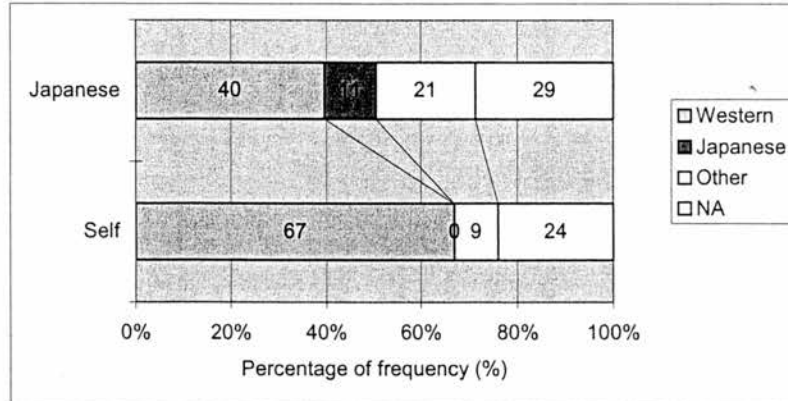
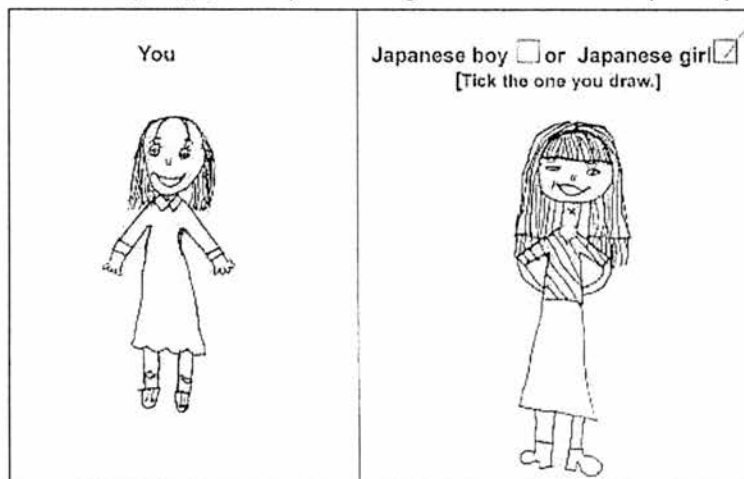


Figure 6.14 shows that nearly 70% of the own-figures were in Western clothes throughout; whilst only 40% of Japanese figures wore western clothes. We can see the largest gap in this first group. Japanese clothing was found in 11% of the drawings: fewer than might have been expected. One might assume that only a limited number of pupils were aware of the kimono before the visit. Instances of 'other clothing' made up 9% of own-figures and 21% of Japanese. It therefore seems likely that there were attempts to draw clothing differently for the Japanese drawings. It is notable that 24% and 29% of the pupils did not draw clothes. This will be in cases where the body part itself was omitted, as well as cases where pupils simply did not draw clothing.

The first example is by a primary girl aged 9.

Figure 6.15 Drawings by primary school girl before the visit (BG18)

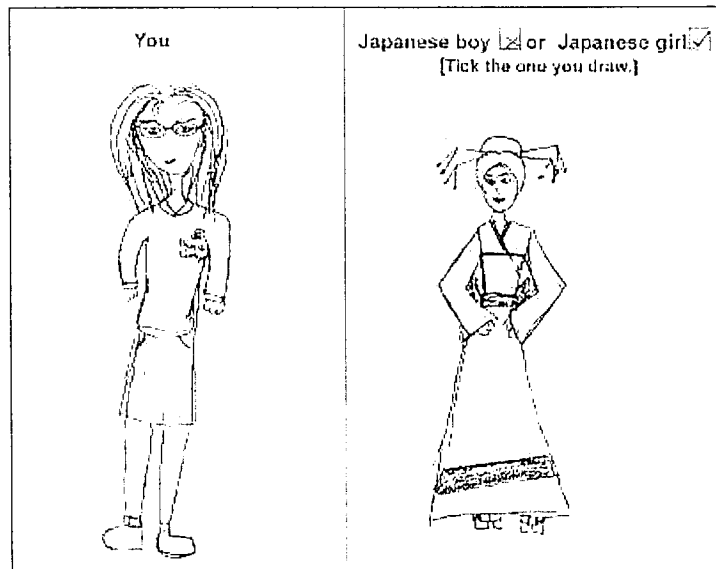




This girl drew western clothes for herself and also for the Japanese girl. She wears a plain dress with collars and cuffs. On the other hand, the Japanese girl is wearing a striped shirt and a skirt. In this case, western casual clothes were drawn for both girls. This suggests that she did not picture any large differences in the clothing of Japanese girls.

The second example shows the own-figure in western clothes (school uniform) and the Japanese figure in traditional dress. This was drawn by a secondary school girl.

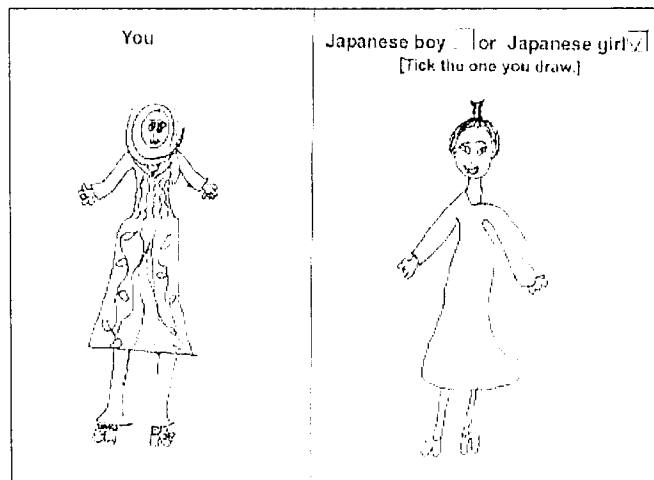
**Figure 6.16 Drawings by secondary school girl before the visit (HL01)**



Her own-figure is wearing a shirt, school jumper and a skirt with two pockets. She also drew the school logo on her chest. On the other hand, her Japanese girl figure is wearing an East Asian style dress, an attempt at drawing a kimono with a sash around her waist. The shaded parts between her bent elbows seem to depict the tied ribbon on the back, with a stripe at the hem of the dress. It is likely that this pupil had previously seen a picture of a woman wearing a kimono. Her detailed drawing shows that she was aware of differences. Her attention to detail is apparent in the hairstyle, in a bun with decorated pins, and in the footwear, of raised bottom sandals. This drawing was the only example showing hairpins with decorations.

The third drawing is by a primary school girl (aged 9) who drew herself in traditional dress and the Japanese girl in 'other non-western' clothing.

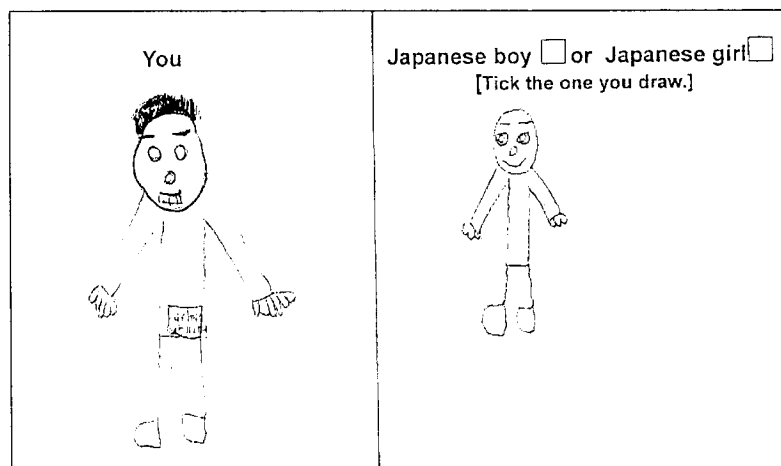
Figure 6.17 Drawings by primary school girl before the visit (BG10)



Her self-figure has a shawl around her head, and she is wearing Asian traditional girl's clothing, with a knee-length dress and trousers underneath. She drew detailed embroidery and flower motifs on the dress, showing an awareness of her clothing. In sharp contrast, the Japanese girl is wearing a plain long dress without trousers. It is interesting to note how plain the Japanese girl's dress is, compared to her own. The hairstyle and the shape of eyes strongly project her image of a Japanese girl.

It is widely known that boys draw less details of clothing, compared to girls' human figure drawings (Cox, 1992). The last example is from a primary school boy, aged 9.

Figure 6.18 Drawings by a primary school boy before the visit (BG07)



The clothing is simple with little detail, in both the own-figure and in the Japanese figure

(although the gender is unspecified I have assumed it to be a boy). However, other boys drew the clothing in greater detail. According to my survey, therefore, it is far too simplistic to generalise that boys draw clothes in less detail.

### **Mouth**

Children, as young as three often include a mouth as an essential body part. Cox (1992) reports from her 133 samples of young children's drawings that the most frequently found body parts were 'eyes 131 (98.5%), mouth 111 (83.5%), nose 78 (58.7%), hair/hat 75 (56.4%), arms 69 (51.9%)' (p. 24). She explains that the relative popularity of different body parts is fairly consistent across the cited literature. In her data, the mouth is ranked second, following the eyes, which is the most popular body parts for children to represent. More than 80% of young children draw a mouth in their drawing of a human figure which suggests the importance of a mouth in Human Figure Drawings. One reason is that the mouth is frequently used to express the emotions of the drawn figure, as noted above in Malchiodi's example (1998: 113). A study by Melike Sayd also shows that children show a preference for the mouth to reflect emotion in faces (2001). Sayd's research demonstrated that when comparing mouth and eyebrows as initial indicators in presenting emotions in drawings (happy, sad, angry, surprised), children (from 4 to 8 year olds) 'drew mouths more successfully than the eyebrows on all emotions (except happy) and at all ages' (2001: 493). The mouth is therefore an important indicator of emotions identified in children's drawings.

In my data, 93% of the drawings depicted a mouth. Of these, differences in shapes were identified in 53% of the drawings. In more than half, the mouth shape was drawn differently in the own-figure from that of the Japanese figure.

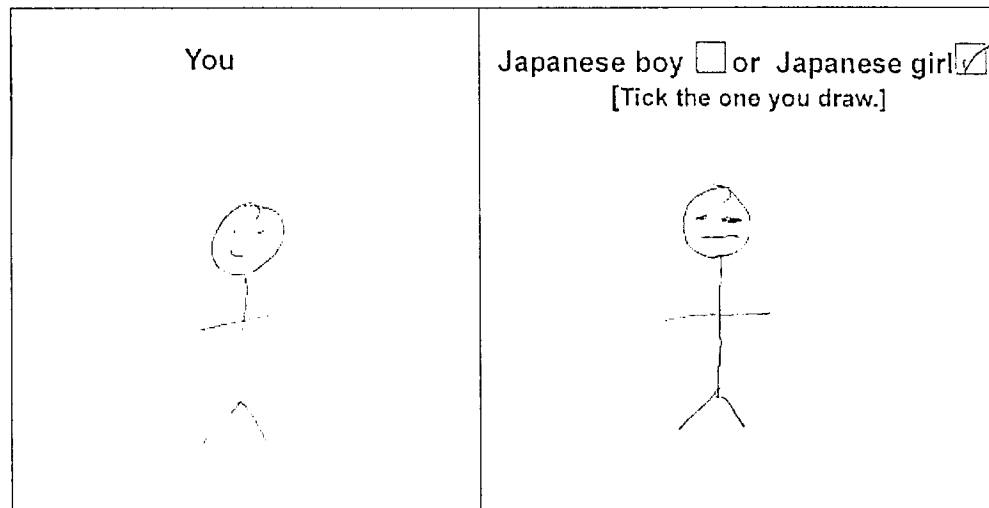
I divided the shape of the mouth into four sub categories. 'Corners upwards' (Upwards: with corners of either the upper or lower lips/lines turning upward), 'Plain' (straight line), 'Corners downwards' (Downwards: with corners of the lips/lines turning downward) and 'Others'. I have refined Dennis' (1966) rule on smiles as his definition excludes semicircular mouths which are

also a clear depiction of a smile.

I found that 61% of the self and 51% of the Japanese faces contained a smile. Using the above scheme, the second largest group is 'Plain' where a simple straight line was drawn as a mouth. This was found in 29% of the own figure drawings and 34% of the Japanese figure drawings. Although the numbers are not large, 5% of pupils drew Japanese faces with a mouth in which the corners were turned downwards, and 7% without mouths. Below are three examples which demonstrate how mouths were drawn by pupils.

The first example shows a marked difference between the styles of mouths.

**Figure 6.23 Drawings by secondary school boy before the visit (NM03)**



The images above were by a 13 year old secondary school boy. He drew himself with a medium size mouth with a smile, whilst the Japanese girl has a straight line and a plain facial expression. The drawings are simplified stick figures, and the difference between himself and a Japanese girl is expressed through the shape of eyes and the mouth alone.

### Shoes

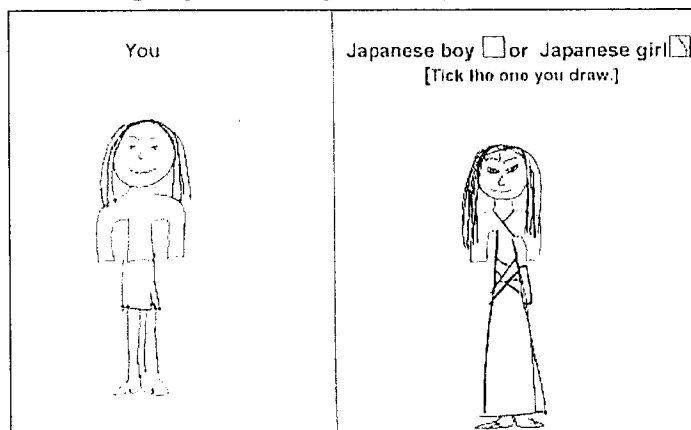
In many studies, shoes are not regarded as a separate category; Koppitz does not include 'shoes' in her 30 developmental items (1968), neither does Klepsch and Logie (1982), or Cox (1992) and Malchiodi (1998). This may be because they used children's drawings as 'measures of intellectual maturity' or 'indicators of children's personality and emotional adjustment' (Cox,

1992: 67, 77). However, my focus is to identify how children draw people from another cultural background. I found a number of cases where children attempted to draw shoes differently. Therefore, I examined not only the direction of the feet (Koppitz, 1968) but the kind of shoes the figures are wearing. In 28% of pupils' drawings there were clear differences in the style of shoes.

In total, 45% of the pupils drew shoes. Of these, 28% showed differences in the style or the shape of shoes between the own-figure and the Japanese figure. The remaining 17% drew the same kind of shoes. More than half of the pupils (55%) did not illustrate shoes at all. No gender or age influence was identified in the inclusion of shoes. Let us examine the sub categories of the shoes.

The data shows that shoes appeared more in own-figures than in Japanese ones (Own: 45% and Japanese: 38%). Of those, 37% of own-figures were wearing western shoes, as were 22% of Japanese figures. Own-figures are likely to wear western shoes when they are depicted (+15%). On the other hand, 8% of the Japanese figures were wearing a traditional type of Japanese sandals with high heels. No own-figure was wearing such footwear. Other types of shoes which had details but did not look like typical western shoes for pupils (e.g. trainers) were included in the 'other' group (Own: 7%, Japanese: 2%). The following example shows a pupil attempting to draw a Japanese sandal.

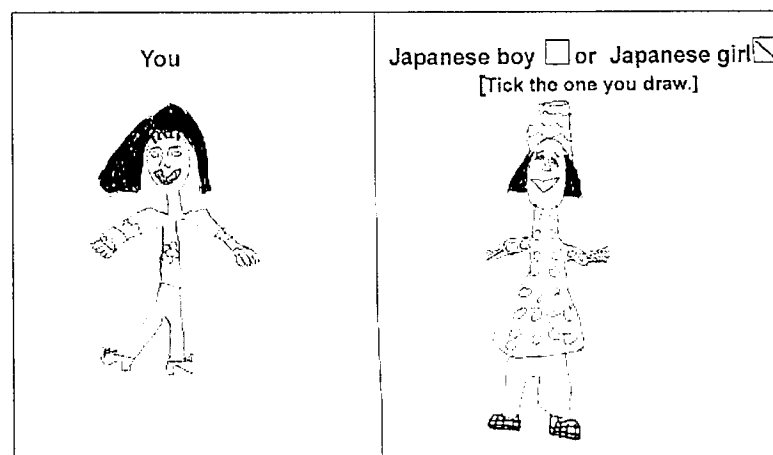
**Figure 6.19 Drawings by secondary school girl before the visit (IB08)**



This 15 year old secondary school girl drew similar sized drawings. Major differences are found in the shape of the eyes, clothing and shoes. Her own-figure has dotted eyes whereas the Japanese figure has slit eyes pointing upwards. The own-figure wears a top with a short skirt, while the Japanese girl is wearing a kimono-like dress. Finally, the own figure drawing is wearing shoes with heels. In contrast, the Japanese girl is wearing sandals with a crossed string design. Where pupils used different clothing in their attempt to distinguish between the figures, it is notable that some made an effort to draw appropriate footwear.

Other differences were identified in the design or type of shoes, though not necessarily without making a distinction between western and non-western. For example, a 9 year old primary school girl drew the following pictures.

**Figure 6.20 Drawings by primary school girl before the visit (BG09)**



The major differences in her drawing are in the hairstyle, a hat for a Japanese girl, eye shape, mouth shape, hands, clothing and shoes. Her own-figure appears to be wearing western clothing, a flower printed shirt and trousers. The Japanese girl is wearing a long dress with spots and trousers, neither of which seem to be typical western clothes. The shoes also look different. Her own-figure drawing is wearing shoes with heels and a ribbon, whereas the Japanese girl is depicted wearing shoes with a check pattern, reiterating the distinctly different clothing.

As mentioned earlier, mental tests such as those devised by Koppitz include clothing as a

measure, although footwear is not specifically scored (1968). Koppitz's focus was on the number of clothing items found in a drawing, which was scored accordingly; the greater the number of clothing items depicted in detail, the greater the score for mental maturity. Cox also argues that 'increasing with age, both boys and girls differentiate their drawings with gender-appropriate clothing and other adornments' (1992: 99). Shoes are included within 'other adornments'. My data shows that there was no correlation between the complexity of clothing and age ( $\chi^2=1.185$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p=0.388$ ). Older pupils did not necessarily illustrate more clothing items in their drawings.

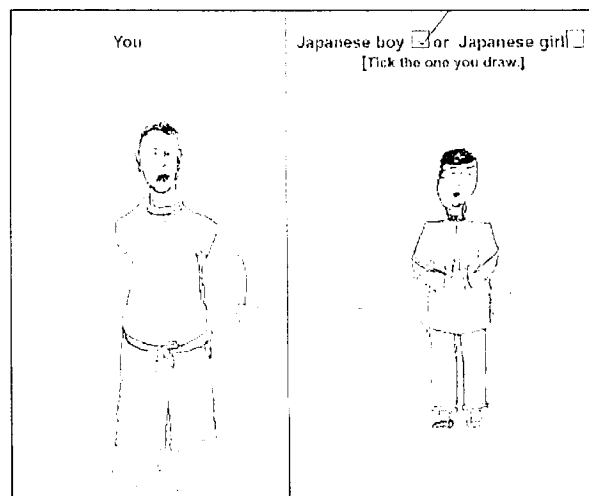
### **Arms**

A stereotyped gesture associated with Japanese people is greeting others by bowing with hands held at chest height, palms facing. This seems to be a widely held image, as some pupils greeted me with this gesture when I visited primary schools. No Japanese people bow like this, except perhaps when praying at shrines or temples. This misconception may stem from an understanding that Japanese people bow to each other, combined with an experience of seeing East Asian-looking people bowing in this way.

I examined how pupils depicted arms in their drawing, especially in the drawings of Japanese people. The above 'bowing with hands together' image may not appear in their verbal responses, but could appear in their drawings.

I found that 24% of the drawings depict differences in the arms, 55% showed no difference and 21% omitted either the arms or the torso. Arms are ranked in the 6<sup>th</sup> group in identifying differences between the own-figure and the Japanese one. Not many of them depicted differences in arms apart from the shape and direction. However, there is one notable example by a secondary boy.

Figure 6.21 Drawings by secondary school boy before the visit (IB11)



These drawings by a 15-year-old secondary school boy, include the stereotyped gesture mentioned above. The major differences appear in the hairstyle, size of the mouth, clothing, shoes and the shape of the arms. He drew bent arms held at some distance from the body, while the counterpart Japanese boy has folded arms showing the palms together. Although he did not mention this gesture in his verbal descriptions, the drawings are evidence of his knowledge of the gesture.

Although differences in arms appeared in only 24% of the drawings, this example convincingly demonstrates that pupils successfully use human figure drawings as a means to convey their visual perception of 'other' people. The shape of the arms, though just one part of the drawing, is crucial in revealing pupils' perceptions of Japanese people. In order to fully capture pupils' understanding of other people, it is therefore essential to collect visual data (Statham, 1993). Although only pupils with good drawing skills can provide finer details, drawing is nevertheless a useful device when examining pupils' use of perceptions, stereotypes and broader understanding of other ethnic groups.



**6.4 Comparison between pre-visit and post-visit drawings of human figures**

I will present the findings from comparing pupils' pre-visit and post-visit drawings. Changes, if any, in the general style or detail of the drawings are analysed. I examine the evidence for changes resulting directly from the visit.

**Gender**

I found that there is no significant difference in the gender of forms drawn before and after the visit. There are more drawings of girls than boys. Although 25% of the participants were boys, only 16% (pre-visit) and 15% (post-visit) of the drawings depicted male figures; it can be surmised that boys tend to draw girls when asked to draw a Japanese person. This result is consistent to those from before the visit (see 6.3). Let us examine the relationship between the gender of the individual and the gender of the subject.

**Figure 6.22 Gender of self-figure and Japanese figure (n=85)**

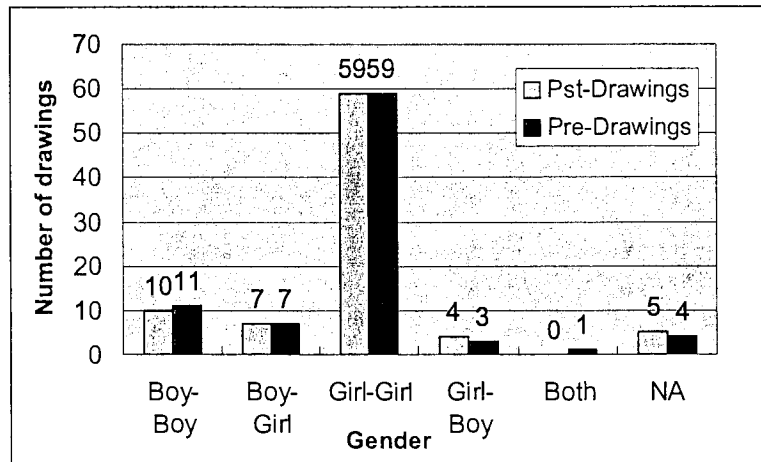


Figure 6.22 indicates that there is no significant change in the gender of drawings after the visit. It shows that most pupils made the same choice as before the visit. Boys apparently find it easier to portray ethnic differences by drawing Japanese girls rather than boys. With a girl figure, they can clearly illustrate differences in hair and clothing from British school girls. A primary school boy demonstrates this: both before and after the visit his Japanese girl has a bun hairstyle. After the visit, he adds decorations to her dress, indicating a new awareness of kimonos. It may be that fewer Japanese boys were drawn as the majority of British pupils are unaware of what they look like. This implies that visual information about Japanese people

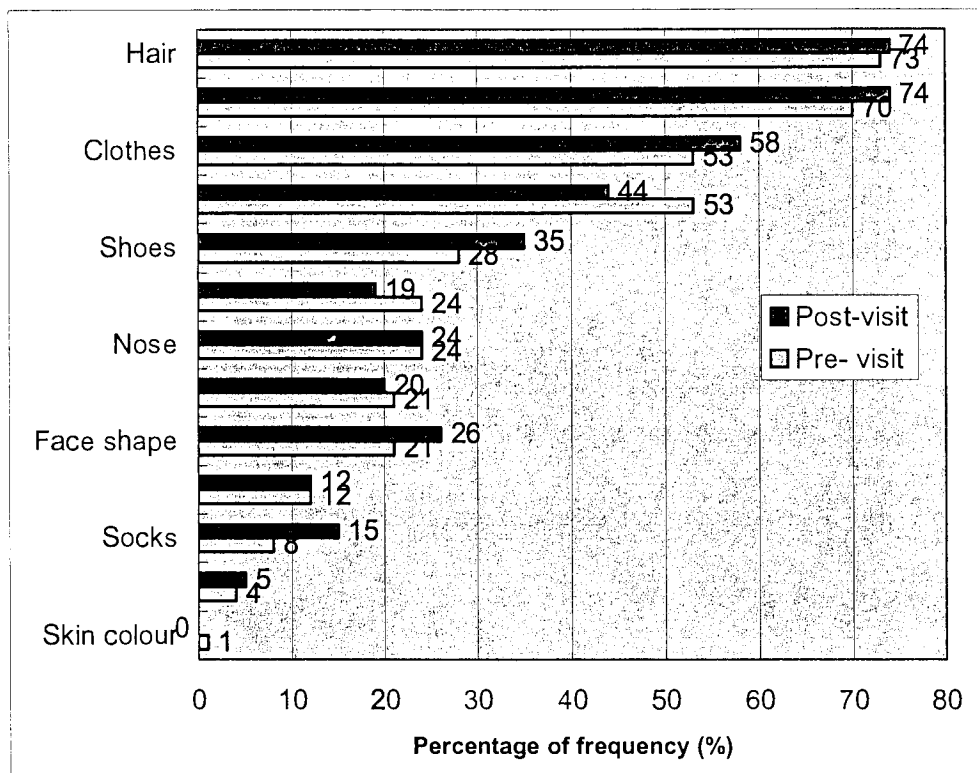
gleaned from images of women or girls rather than men. This is common in tourist advertisements, which often make use of attractive female models smiling coyly in their traditional costumes. This issue of the overexposure of Oriental women in Western society relates to the discussion on exoticness, Orientalism, and gender (see 2.4.3).

Interestingly, 7 pupils changed the gender of their post-visit drawings. Of those, 5 pupils changed from girl to boy and 2 pupils from boy to girl. However, this only accounts for 8.2% of the sample. From this, we can conclude that pupils tend not to change the gender of their counterpart figures, even after some period of time.

**Differences in body items**

Figure 6.23 shows the frequency of identified differences between the own-figure and a Japanese figure. The two bars compare the results from pre-visit and post-visit questionnaires.

**Figure 6.23 Frequency of identified differences between the human figure drawings (n=85)**



From figure 6.23, we can see that there were several changes in the instances of difference between the figures. The data shows which items had been drawn differently on the two figures

on two occasions. Let us examine first the items where the number of differences increased.

**Table 6.2 Increased items after the visit (n=85)**

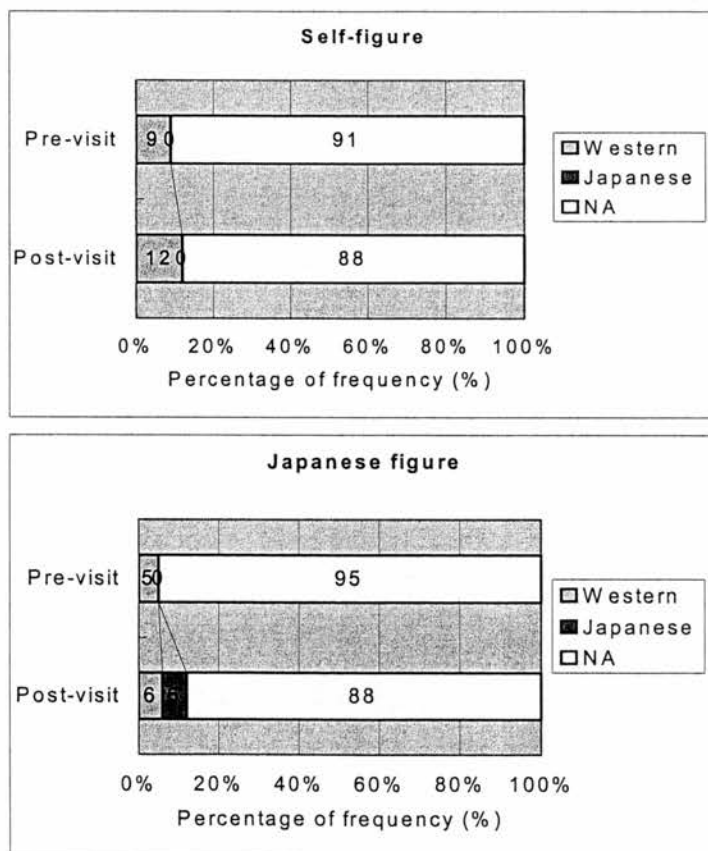
<b>Major increase (+5% and over)</b>	<b>Socks (+7%)</b>
	<b>Shoes (+7%)</b>
	<b>Clothes (+5%)</b>
	<b>Face shape (+5%)</b>
<b>Minor increase (less than 4%)</b>	<b>Eyes (+4%)</b>
	<b>Hair (+1%)</b>
	<b>Legs (+1%)</b>

These results suggest that pupils were paying more attention to the socks, shoes, shape of the face and clothing in their post-visit Japanese figures. The significant increase in the number of footwear details seems to derive from the strong impression made by the kimono section, which displayed special socks called 'tabi' and sandals called 'zori'. Some pupils tried this footwear on, whilst waiting for their turn to try on the kimono.

**Socks and shoes**

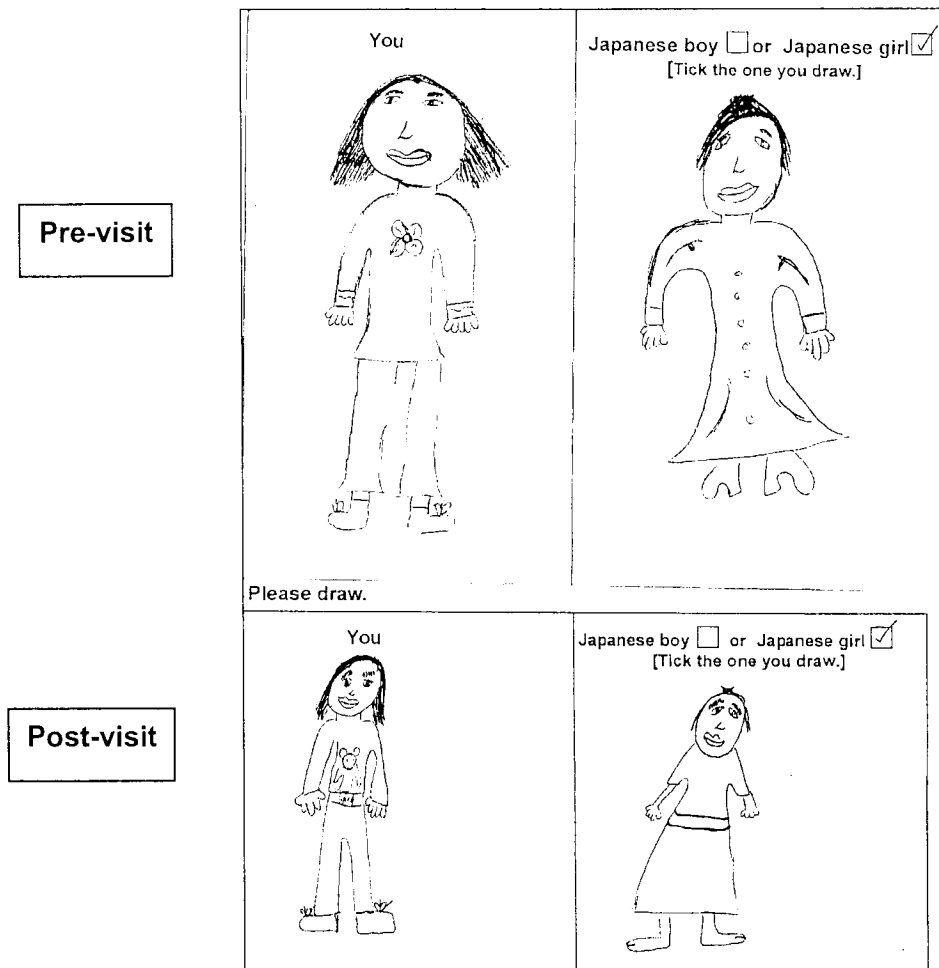
The most significant difference was found in the pupils' depiction of socks and shoes after the visit. Although the majority of pupils did not draw socks either before or after their visit (88%), those pupils who did include socks made a distinction in the type of sock after the visit.

**Figure 6.24 Differences in socks before and after the visit (n=85)**



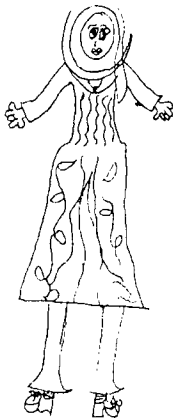



Let us examine some examples of their drawings. The first drawing is from a 9 year old primary school girl (figure 6.25).

Figure 6.25 Drawings by a primary school girl (BG04)



When we look at the above post-visit drawing of the Japanese girl, it is clear that the pupil has drawn 'tabi' socks. The distinctive feature of 'tabi' socks is one split between the toes, which allow them to be worn with the 'zori' sandals. Zori sandals are specially designed thonged footwear which is worn when dressed in kimono. When we compare her drawings, we can see that while her self-figure does not show major differences, the Japanese-figure has changed considerably. Her post-visit Japanese-figure not only has the detailed feature of the socks, but the hairstyle and clothing have also been transformed. The hairstyle is now clearly a bun, and the clothing seems to imitate the design of a kimono with a sash around the waist. The socks are also drawn in detail. This suggests that the 9 year old pupil remembers what she has seen at the exhibition, and accurately draws what she recalls from her experience there.

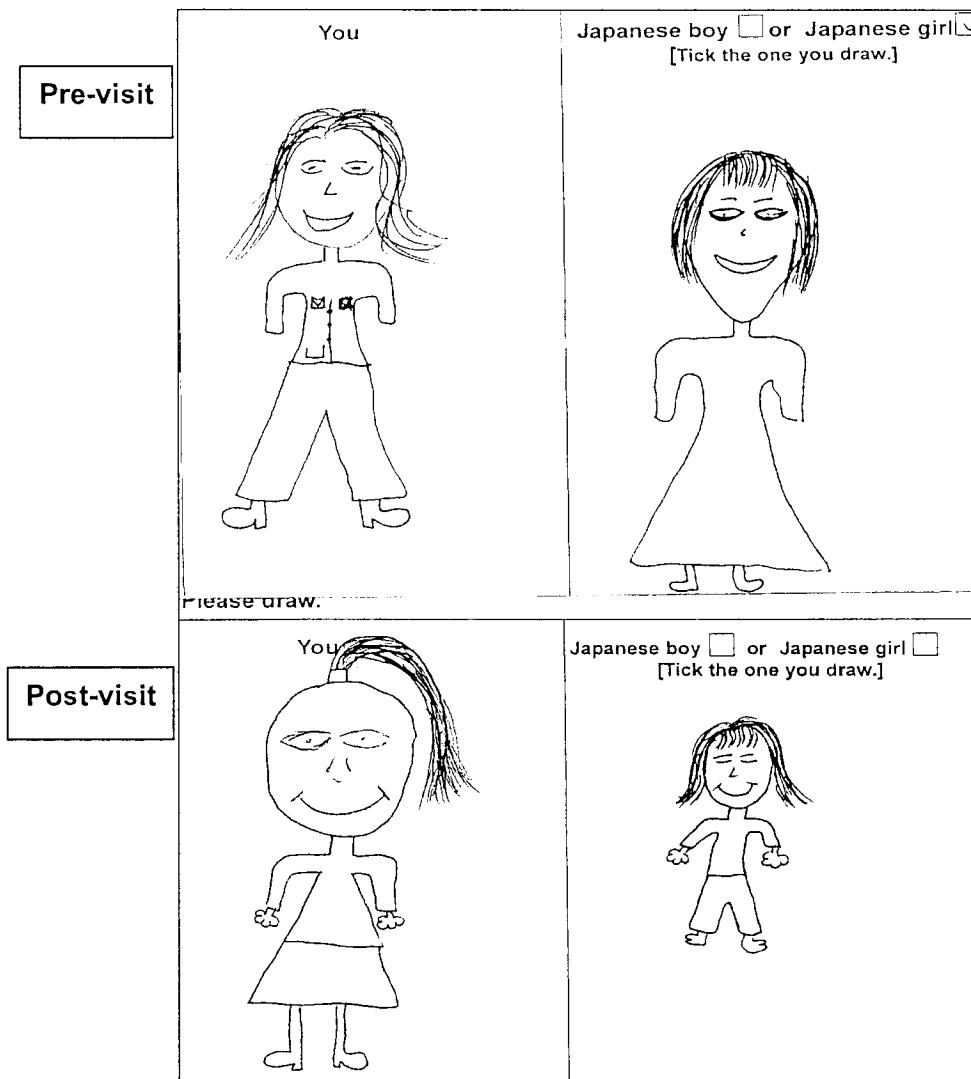
Figure 6.26 Drawings by a primary school girl (BG10)

Pre-visit	<p>You</p> 	<p>Japanese boy <input type="checkbox"/> or Japanese girl <input checked="" type="checkbox"/></p> <p>[Tick the one you draw.]</p> 
	7. Please draw.	
Post-visit	<p>You</p> 	<p>Japanese boy <input type="checkbox"/> or Japanese girl <input checked="" type="checkbox"/></p> <p>[Tick the one you draw.]</p> 

The above is also by a 9 year old. A number of differences are found in her drawings. The own figure drawing is drawn differently; the shape of eyes, clothing and shoes have changed. Comparatively, there are few major differences in her Japanese figures. There is, however, some differentiation in the design of socks, shoes and part of the clothing. The shoes worn by the Japanese girl post-visit are shown in great detail, successfully depicting the design of the socks and the sandals. Since her pre-visit Japanese girl does not wear these socks or shoes, we can infer that she learned about these at the exhibition. For her school group, the accompanying teacher asked the attendants to talk about the kimono before they started to engage in activities in small groups. The attendants also explained about the footwear. When referring to the 'tabi', some pupils giggled and whispered 'Teletubbies', because they found the

'tubby' sound familiar. It is noteworthy that a 9 year old child can draw what she learned at the exhibition; moreover, this visual information did not appear in written responses. Thus, it is crucial to consider several methods of data collection in order to assess understanding from a museum experience. Although the pupil did not draw a kimono, she shows awareness of the sash. She was unsure as to where and how the sash is used, so it is drawn across from the shoulder, but this is an item that did not appear in her previous drawing.

Figure 6.27 Drawings by a secondary school girl (HL31)

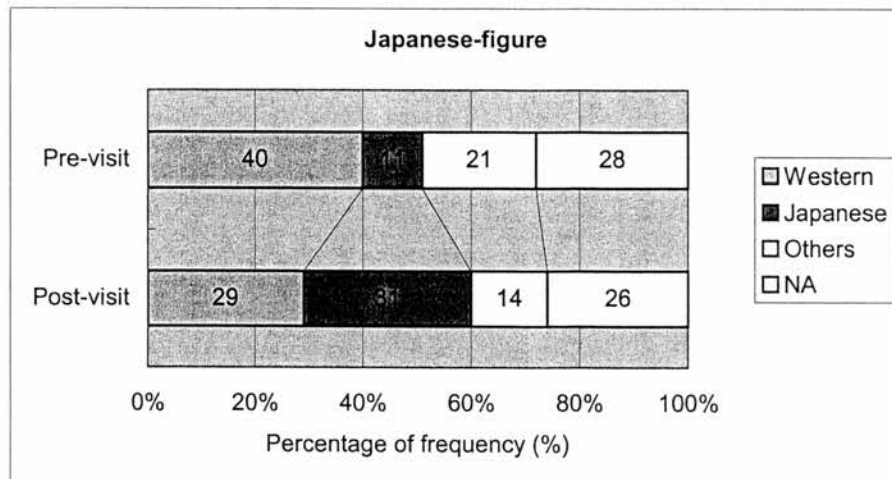


The third example is from a 14 year old secondary girl. The major changes between her pre-visit and post-visit figures are identified as the hairstyle, shape of the eyes, mouth, nose and clothing. The Japanese figure was drawn smaller than her self-figure after the visit. Her drawing implies that pupils draw human figures differently when they are asked to perform the same task at

different times. In her case, her self-figure has a different hairstyle, nose, mouth and clothing. Her counterpart Japanese-figure has also changed. The post-visit Japanese girl has different eyes, mouth and clothing to her previous figure. She does not wear any shoes, but we can see that she is wearing tabi socks. However,, instead of matching the socks with a kimono, she shows the girl wearing a shirt and trousers, when in fact tabi socks are never worn with western clothing. This implies that she did not understand their context, but they had made a sufficiently big impression on her to be reproduced in her drawing.

**Clothes**

There were several drawings which included information on Japanese clothing. In total, 5% more of the pupils demonstrated differentiation in this area between the two post-visit human figures.



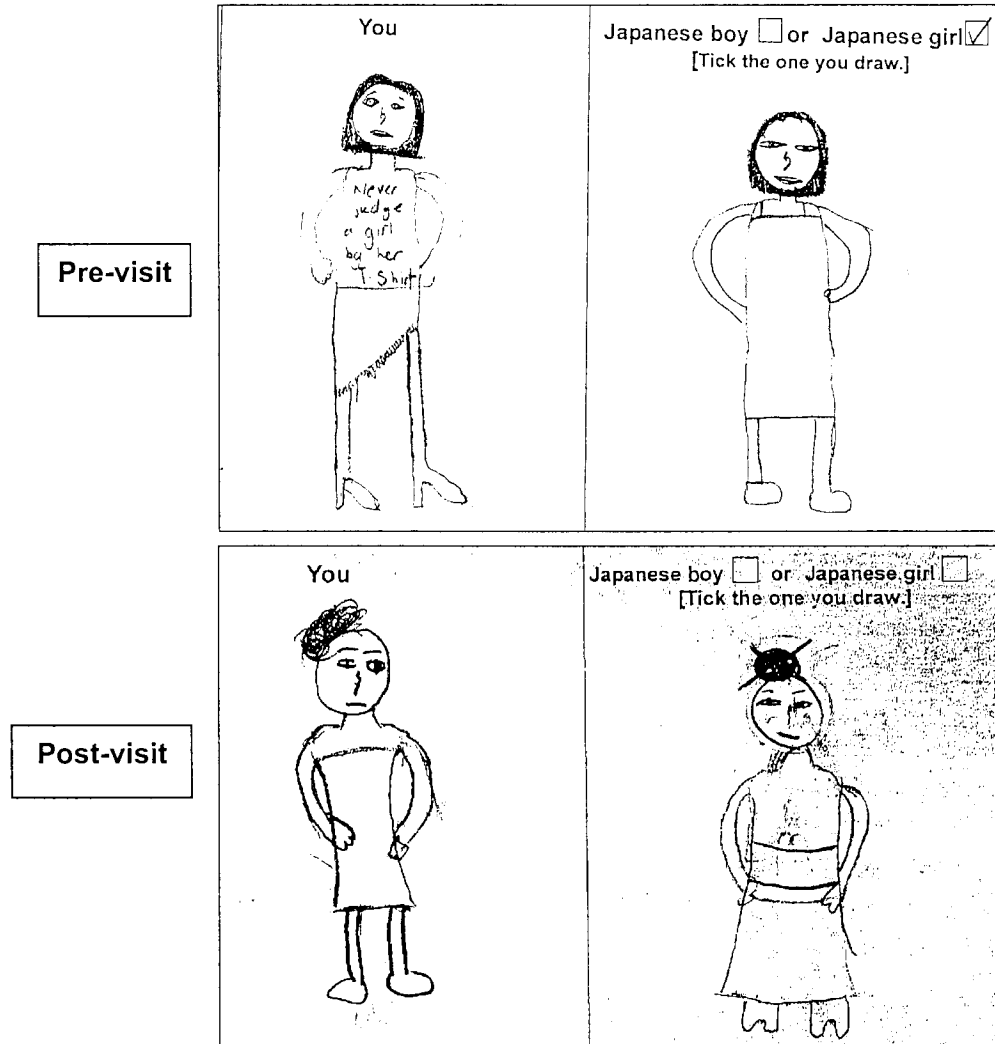
**Figure 6.28 Differences in clothing in Japanese figures (n=85)**

Figure 6.28 demonstrates that there are several significant differences between the pre-visit and post-visit drawings of Japanese boys and girls. This is remarkable, as pupils did not draw their own clothing differently after the visit. Pupils drew fewer Japanese figures in western clothes (-11%) and more in Japanese clothes (+20%); those who dressed the Japanese figures in other types of clothing also decreased by 7%. The number of those who did not draw any clothing (including cases where no body parts were drawn) was relatively stable (-2%). These results show that pupils' awareness of Japanese clothing increased significantly after their visit. It can

be inferred that they absorbed not only the designs of kimonos, but also something of the context in which they are worn today, on special occasions.

The following drawings show post-visit drawings with Japanese clothing..

**Figure 6.29 Drawings by a secondary school girl (HL19)**



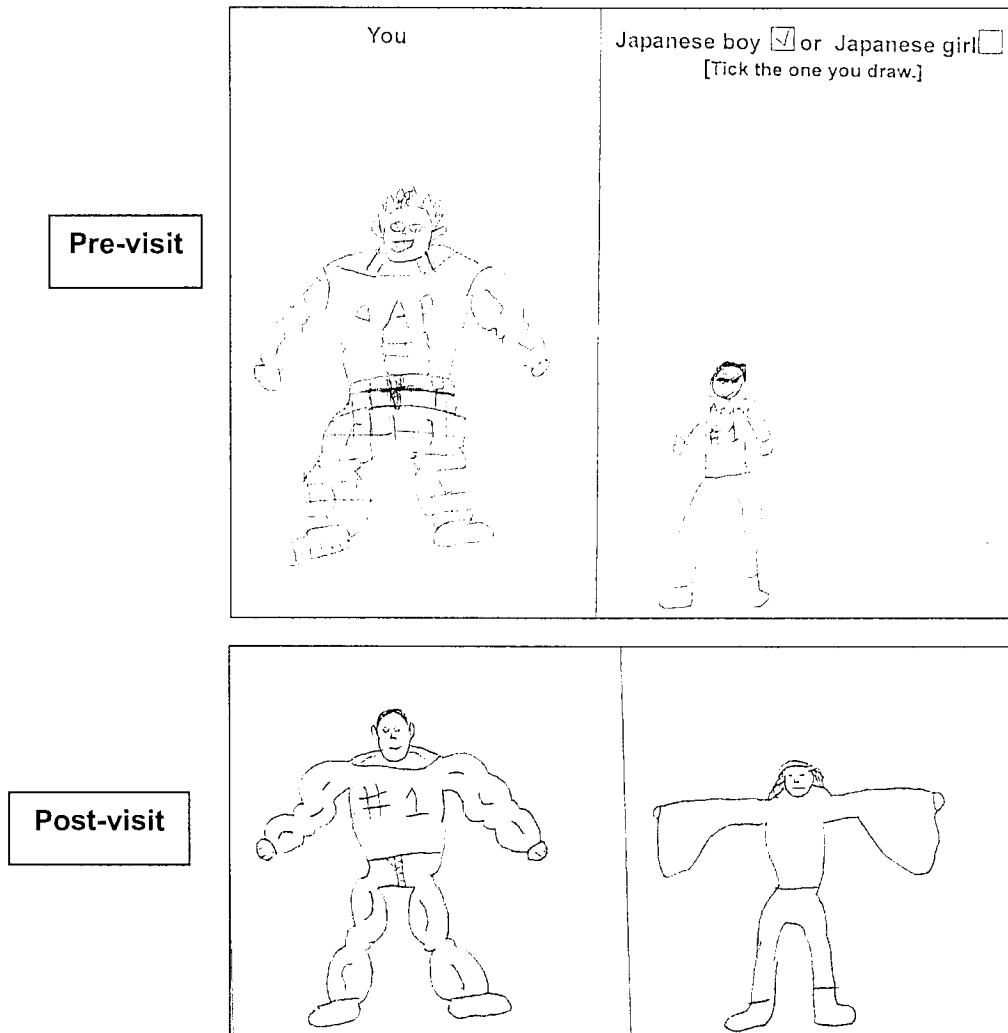
This example is from an 11 year old secondary school girl. Her pre-visit figures showed differences in the shape of the eyes, clothes and shoes. For herself, she drew downward turning eyebrows and almond shaped eyes. The Japanese girl has straight, slit eyes. The clothes are also different; her self-figure wears a T-shirt -'never judge a girl by her T-shirt' - , a skirt with a diagonal hem, and high heels. By contrast, the Japanese girl wears a long, shapeless dress; judging from the details in the clothing, this pupil seems very interested in fashion.

After the visit, she drew herself with a different hairstyle and dress. The major differences



between the post-visit figures are in the hairstyle, eye shape, mouth, clothes and shoes. Her self-figure has straight eyebrows, oval shaped eyes and a straight mouth. She is wearing a knee length simple dress with no shoes. On the other hand, the Japanese girl has a bun accessorized by sticks, short eyebrows, straight slit eyes and a slightly tilted linear mouth. She seems to be dressed in kimono, although the only indication of this is the sash around her waist. The distinctive split toe form of the shoes/sandals can also be identified.

Figure 6.30 Drawings by a secondary school boy (NM02)



The second example is by a 13 year old boy. In his pre-visit drawings, the major differences lie in the size, hairstyle, eyebrows, eyes, mouth, clothes and the figure. The most obvious factor is in the extreme muscular form of his self-figure, compared to which the Japanese boy is small and underdeveloped. On the shirt, his self-figure has three letters which seem to be a design, but the Japanese boy wears a shirt with 'Anime #1', indicating his knowledge of Japanese

anime (cartoon). It is interesting to find that some pupils incorporate their knowledge of the culture into their drawings.

Post-visit, this boy draws a Japanese girl instead of a Japanese boy. The major differences are in the hairstyle, eyes, mouth, clothing and body build. Again, his self-figure is impressively muscled. This time the Japanese girl wears an outfit with long sleeves, which suggests a kimono, yet she also has trousers on. The artist was aware of traditional Japanese clothing for girls, but only remembered the different shape of sleeves. The drawings demonstrate how far pupils have understood the topics and objects at the exhibition: although a real kimono was available to look at and try on, the drawings reveal that some pupils did not capture its design in detail.

Overall, the post-visit drawings of Japanese figures demonstrated pupils' expansion of knowledge in kimonos. This is not a surprising outcome, as the kimono section was most popular, evident in the pupils' satisfaction scores (see 5.3). The depiction of the kimonos in pupils' drawings can be taken as evidence of their deeper understanding of these garments, which was arguably acquired at the exhibition.

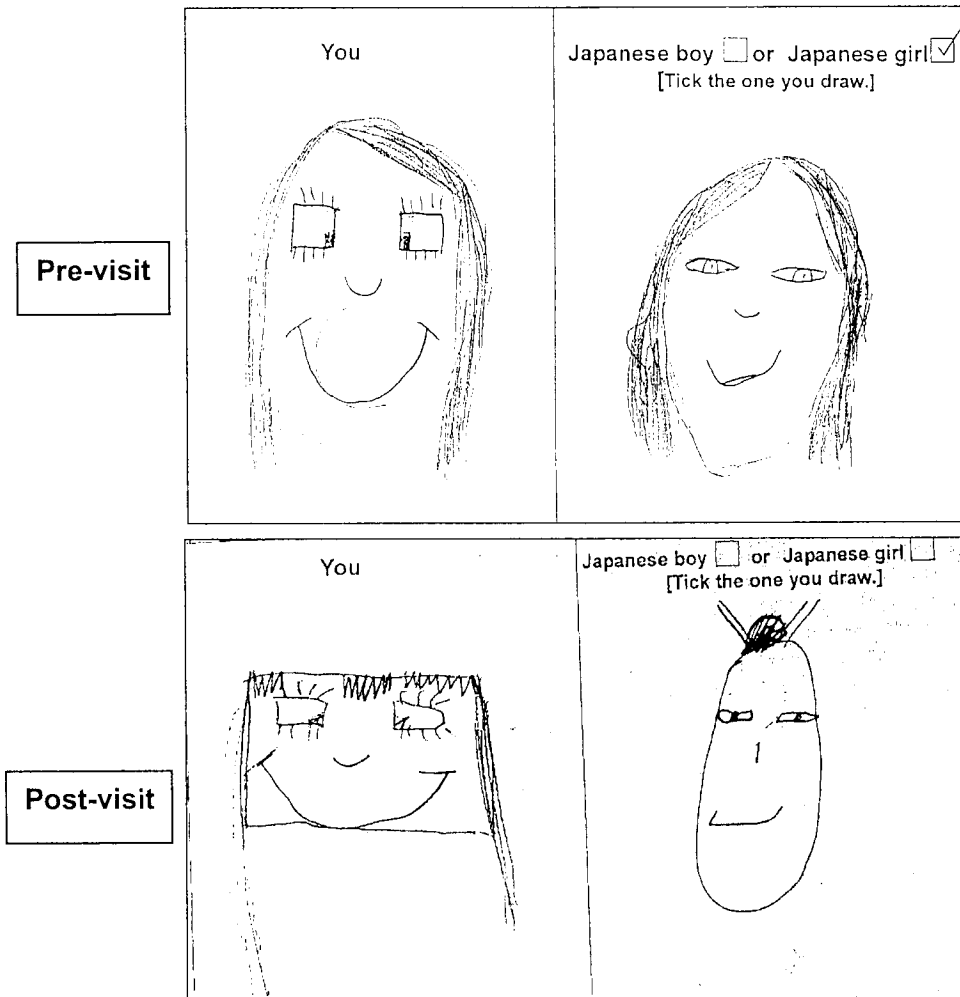
### **Face shape**

A 5% increase was also found in the differences of the face shape between the human figures. The data show a slight change in the post-visit depiction of their own faces. A small number of pupils drew their face as a square (2%) and some others as an irregular shape (3%). Although no major change was found for the types of clothes they choose for themselves, some pupils chose to change their face shape after the visit.

Moreover, after the visit, fewer pupils drew Japanese figures with an oval face (-11%), and more a round face (+8%) or other shapes (+3%). These results suggest that pupils perceived Japanese people as having round rather than oval faces, an impression possibly gained from

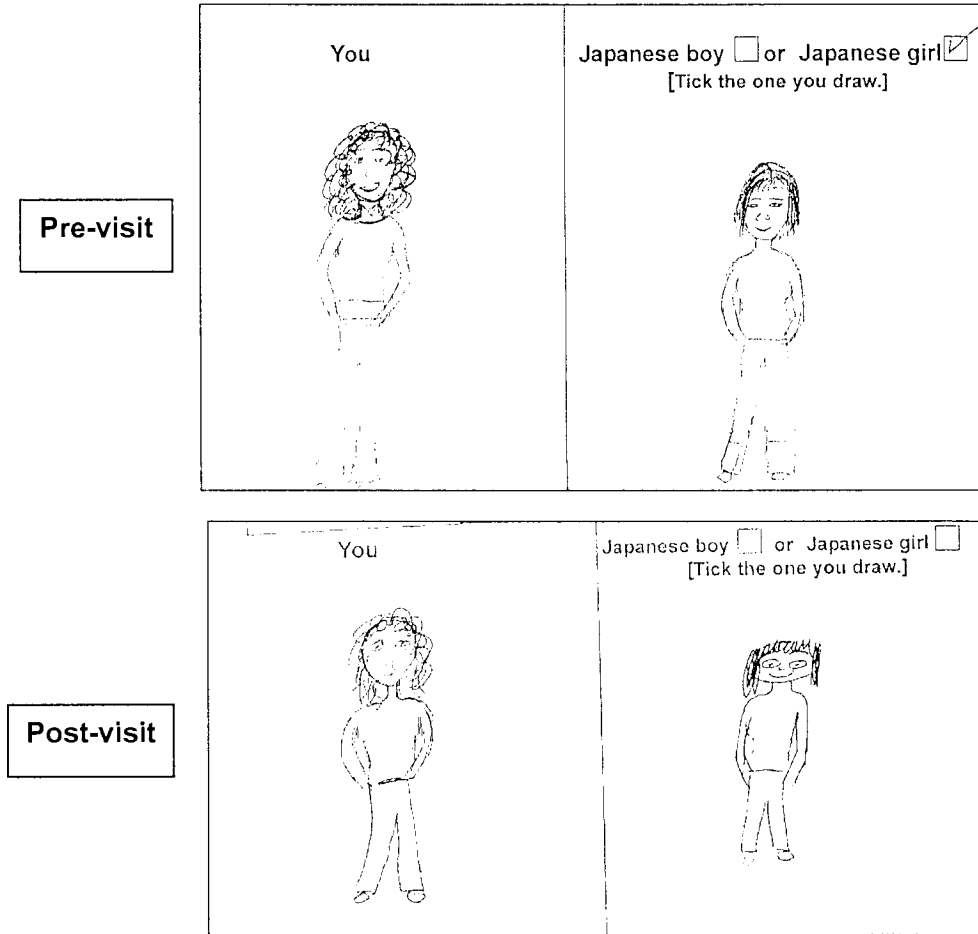
looking at photographs of Japanese people at the exhibition. This analysis is an assumption based on pupils' drawings, as the exhibition does not explicitly introduce the 'people' of Japan.

Figure 6.31 Drawings by a primary school girl (HH23)



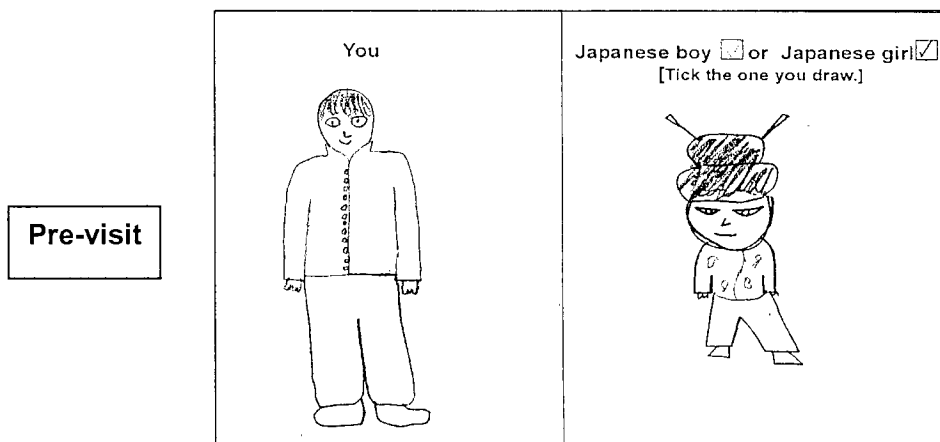
A distinctive example is by an 11 year old primary school girl (HH23). In her pre-visit drawings, she drew the hairstyle, eyes and mouth differently between the two figures. The shape of the face, an oval, was the same for both. However, post-visit her self-figure is drawn with a strikingly square face, with square eyes and eyelashes (same as pre-visit). The post-visit Japanese girl's face has become elongated, and her hairstyle has changed into an accessorized bun. The nose is now a straight line, although the slit eyes remain the same. Her drawings do not reveal any direct influence of the exhibition experience, but show that pupils draw both figures in a significantly different manner. However, if we examine her understanding of Japanese people from her drawings, it seems that the perception of the slit eyes has not changed, and that this pupil thinks a bun hairstyle is a good way of illustrating a Japanese girl.

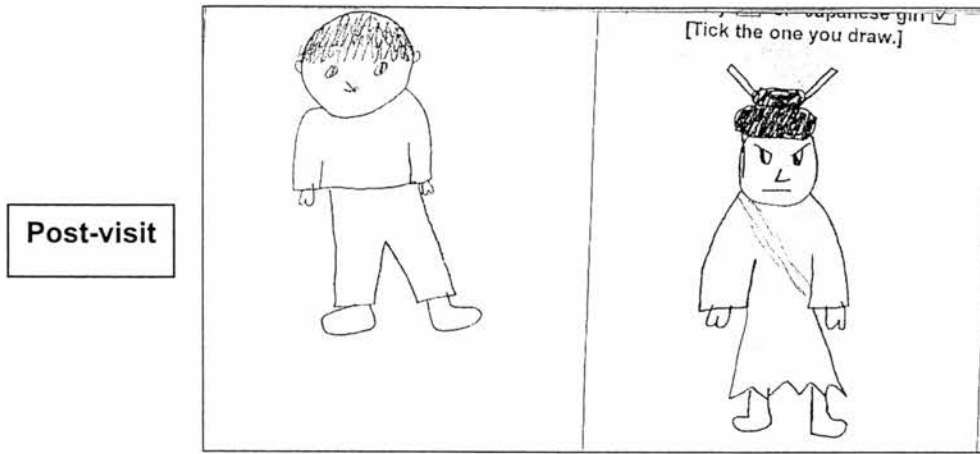
Figure 6.32 Drawings by a secondary school girl (HL12)



The above is by a 16 year old secondary school girl. In her pre-visit drawings, the major differences lie in the hairstyle, eyes, nose, and clothing. The face shape seems the same oval form in both figures. However, after the visit, the Japanese girl has a square face. Again, it is difficult to find a palpable link between the museum experience and the changes in face shape, but it is interesting to note how the differences appeared in the human figures after the visit.

Figure 6.33 Drawings by a primary school boy (HH06)





Some pupils drew the Japanese face shape consistently different from their own. For example, these drawings by a 9 year old primary school boy show that before the visit, he thought a Japanese girl would have a rounder face than his own, but post-visit, the circle changed into a square. His own face was oval pre-visit, and afterwards, it became more rounded. In both cases, he tries to depict differences through the shape of the faces. Other major differentiations are in the shape of the eyes, nose, mouth, hairstyle and clothing. His drawings also show that he became aware of the kimono as clothing for girls, combining this with a bun. He affirms that he believes the shape of the faces, eyes and mouth of Japanese people are different from his own.

**Eyes**

After the visit, 74% of pupils drew their own eyes differently from those of the Japanese figure, an increase of 4%. More pupils, therefore, perceived that the eyes of Japanese people look different from their own. I will examine only the shape of the eyes, because this showed more distinctive differences than related items such as eyebrows and eyelashes.

**Figure 6.34 Differences in eye shape in self-figures (n=85)**

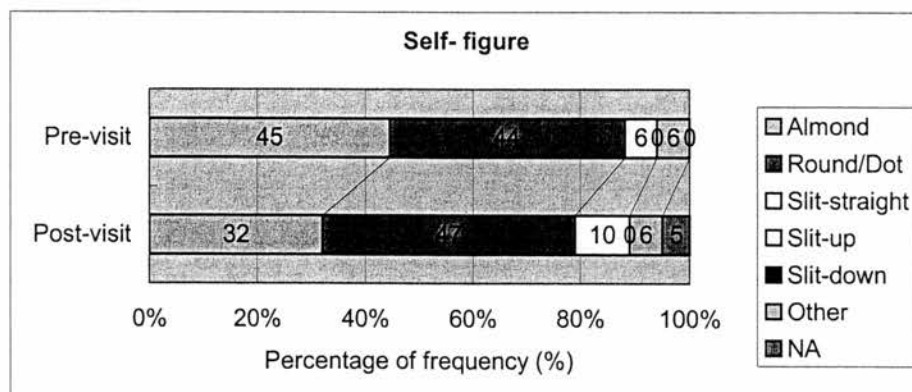


Figure 6.47 demonstrates that there was a slight change in the way pupils drew their own eye shapes after the visit. There was a large decrease in the number of almond shaped eyes (-13%), and an increase in round/dot shapes (+5%), as well as slit-straight eyes (+4%). However, it is apparent from both pre-visit and post-visit results that the majority of the self-figures have either almond or round/dot shaped eyes (Pre: 89%, Post: 79%).

As shown in 6.3, there is a strong tendency for pupils to draw the eyes of Japanese people differently to their own. Many drew the eyes with a straight line to convey the slit image of oriental peoples' eyes. This is a stereotyped image, where in many cases, oriental eyes are simplified into a short line, often pointing upwards.

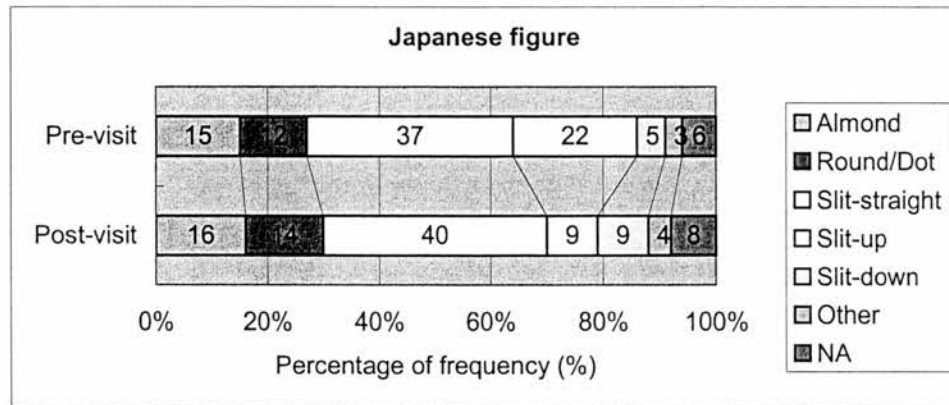


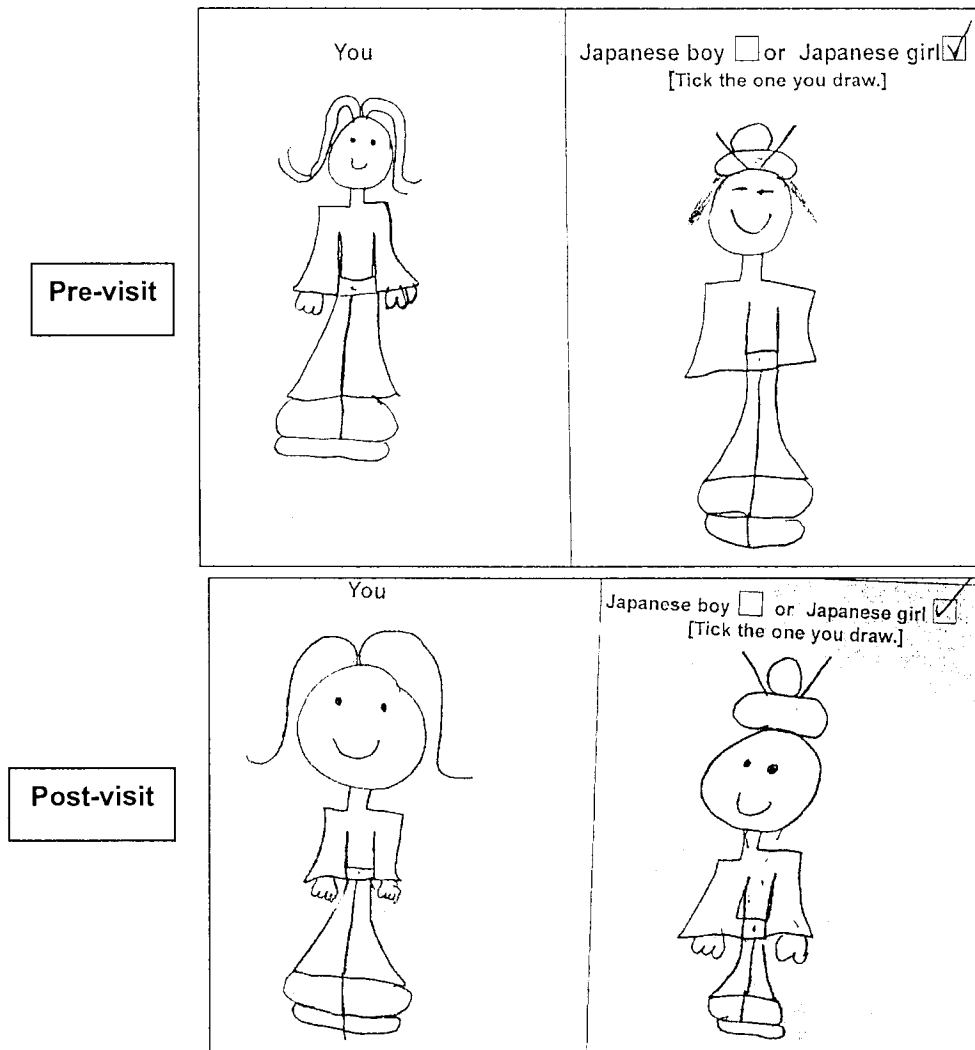
Figure 6.35 Differences in eye shape in Japanese figures (n=85)

In the post-visit Japanese figure drawings, there was no major change in the number of almond and round/dot eyes. Slit-straight eyes increased slightly by 3%. Interestingly, there was a significant decrease of 13% in the number of upwards-slit eye shapes. It appears that a considerable number of pupils no longer depicted the Japanese eyes in this style. It is important to bear in mind that Japanese pupils do not draw their own eyes with straight lines (that is. Cox and Koyasu *et al*, 2001; Dennis, 1966). This can be confirmed in their drawings and also in the comic books by Japanese artists, who rarely depict the Japanese eyes with slit lines like western illustrators do (that is. CLAMP, 1998; Fujiko, 1999, Hiragi, 2002). In fact, many of the Japanese characters in comic books have large or round eyes.

There are two predictable reasons for British pupils drawing Japanese eyes in straight lines are: first, because the eyes are the most notable difference in the face, and oriental eyes look thinner than other types; second, because pupils have seen illustrations of Japanese or other oriental people with slit eyes in TV games, books and Western comics. (see 2.4)

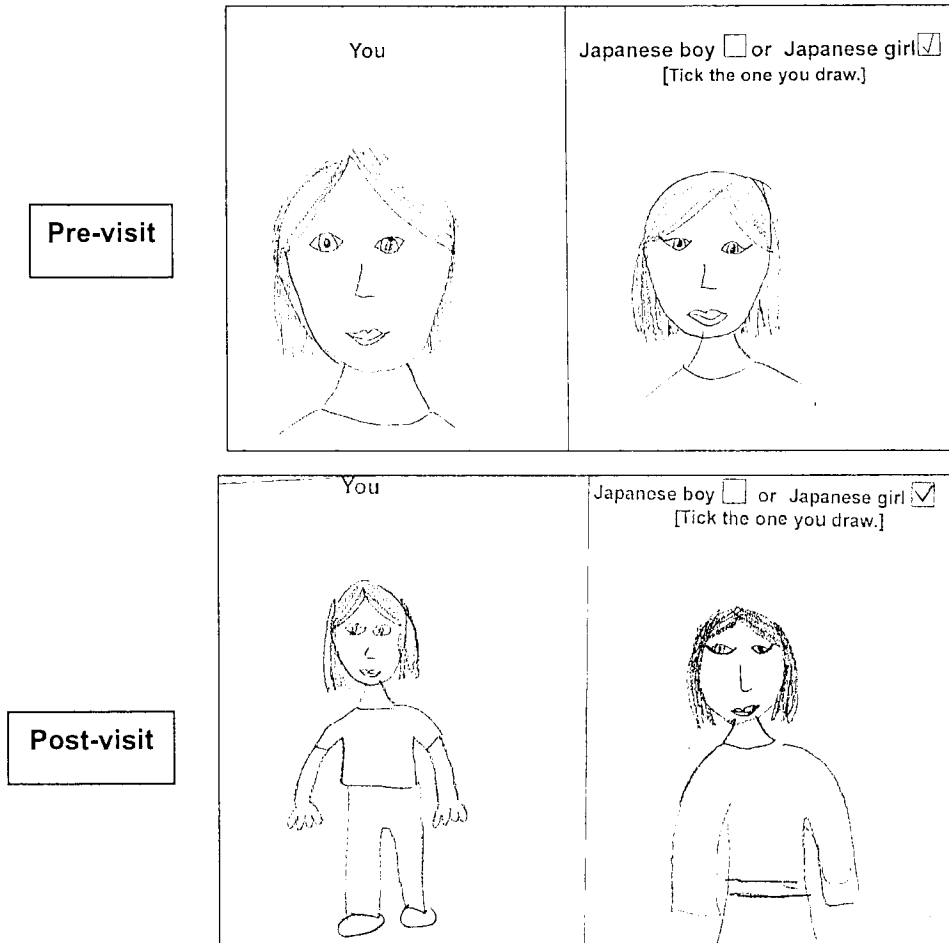
Now, let us examine the drawings by pupils who showed signs of differences in the eye shapes after the visit.

Figure 6.36 Drawings by a primary school girl (HH09)



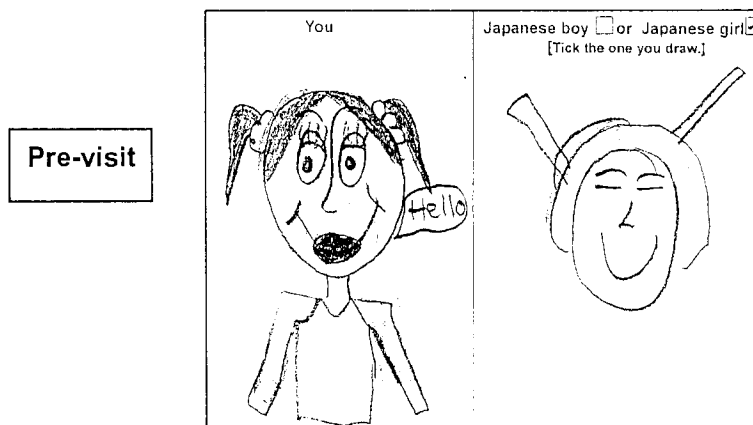
In her pre-visit drawings, the major differences are between the hairstyles and eye shapes. She has curly hair, whilst the Japanese girl has a bun with two stick accessories; their clothing is identical, consisting of Western style T-shirts and trousers. Post-visit, the only difference between the two figures is in the hairstyles. The eye shape of the Japanese girl has changed from stylized slits into dots, which she has used for own eyes in both pictures..

Figure 6.37 Drawings by a secondary school girl

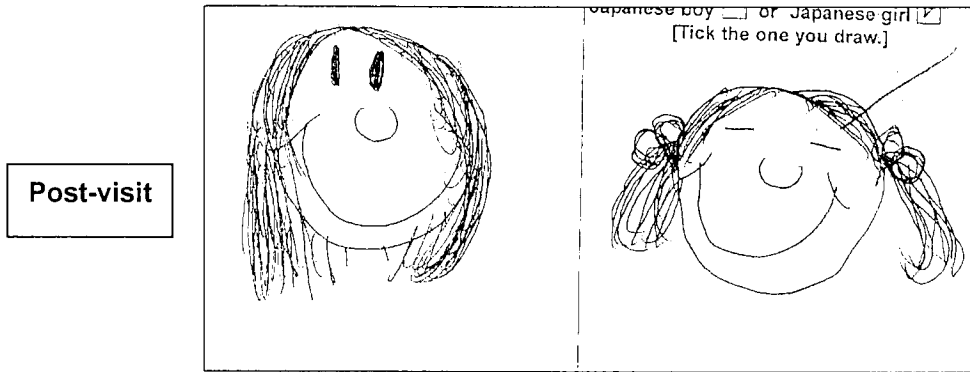


The second example is from an 11 year old secondary school girl. In her pre-visit drawings, the major differences lie in the shapes of the eyes and mouth. She drew both portraits with almond shaped eyes. As can be seen, however, she attempted to depict the different look of Japanese eyes by adding upward lines to the outer corners of the eyes. Post- visit, she was consistent in her drawing of the eyes. Her post-visit drawings show that she became aware of the kimono, but her perception of facial features remained largely unchanged.

Figure 6.38 Drawings by a primary school girl (HH25)







The third drawing is by an 11 year old primary school girl. The pupil drew oval shaped eyes for both her self-figures, and slit eyes for both the Japanese ones. In many cases where Japanese figures were drawn with slit eyes, the post-visit drawings follow the above example, demonstrating no change in eye shape..

Interestingly, there were no pupils who drew a Japanese figure with round eyes pre-visit to change them to slits post-visit. These present findings suggest that the experience at the exhibition did not deliver the 'slit eyes' image to pupils through pictures and other resources. However, of the nearly 40% of those who already had a slit eye image, many maintained that image and did not change their drawings.

## 6.5 Findings and discussion

In this section, I will summarise my findings according to the three main questions I posed at the beginning of this chapter, and discuss the implications in detail. The three questions I raised were:

- 1) *What are the significant patterns in the way pupils depict Japanese people in their drawings before the visit?*
- 2) *Did any stereotyped perceptions appear?*
- 3) *Did their visual perceptions made concrete in drawings changed as a result of the museum experience?*

### 6.5.1 What are the significant patterns in the way pupils depict Japanese people in their drawings before the visit?

The pre-visit drawings reflect how pupils imagine Japanese people's appearance from their

indirect experience of Japan. There were two aspects identified as factors of differentiation in their human figure drawings: first, the **gender of the figure**; and second, **certain body parts**.

First, pupils chose the gender of their figure to draw more easily the differences between themselves and Japanese people. Although past research has identified that children prefer to draw their own gender for human figures (Cox, 1982), the boys in my research preferred to draw Japanese girls (see 6.3). A possible interpretation is that British boys were aware of the special features of Japanese women, but not of Japanese men; even at the age of nine, pupils made a deliberate gender choice for a desirable outcome in their human figure drawings. This is arguably due to an unbalanced flow of information on Japanese people; the pupils seem to have received a gender biased visual image.. They are exposed to images of women with buns, dressed in kimonos, with little equivalent information on Japanese men. Any information that they do receive of Japanese men is not nearly as memorable (for example. business men, or men in Jeans, which is neither exotic nor distinctive). They will not, therefore, be likely to think of Japanese men/boys as a vehicle for expressing visual differences.

Second, pupils drew several body parts differently to their own self-figures in order to differentiate themselves from the Japanese figure. My findings show that more than half of the pupils identify differences in Japanese people by using their hairstyle (73%), eyes (70%), clothing (53%), and mouth (53%) (refer to 6.3).

Hairstyle as a distinguishing feature has been analysed as an essential tool for children to express gender differences in drawings (Cox, 1992; Klepsch and Logie, 1982). Research studies have also been conducted on how their own ethnic values are represented in pupils' drawings. Marvin Kelpsich's survey (1982) on cultural values of Canadian Cree Indian children (from kindergarden to 9<sup>th</sup> grade) is one such example. He found that of 122 Cree Indian children's drawings, 20% had traditional hairstyles, 41% modern styles, and 39% were impossible to score in either group (1982: 113). Not many Cree Indian children depicted their

own hairstyle in a traditional way. The crucial difference between Kelpsich's research and my research is that he asked Cree children to draw their self-portrait and examined how their traditional culture appeared visually in their drawings, whereas I focused on representations of another culture. Although our intentions are different, 20% of his drawings had traditional Cree Indian hairstyle, whilst, 17% of British pupils drew a bun hairstyle for the Japanese figures. These results suggest that traditional hairstyles are unlikely to become the majority in children's drawings.

According to my data, it appears that the vast majority of the pupils drew the hairstyle differently (73%: pre-visit) and this result was consistent after the visit (74%: post-visit, see 6.4). Hairstyle seems to make a strong impact on pupils' perception of different people, especially when they find the hairstyle unfamiliar to their own. I found that pupils remember such information for a long time, and express it as an initial characteristic in their drawings.

The strong impressions of 'differences' in appearance seem to be a crucial factor in the depiction of human figures. After the hairstyle, pupils found the appearance of eyes a key point. 70% of pupils drew the eyes of the Japanese figures differently from their own. It is known that children place emphasis on the shape of the eyes and the mouth when drawing emotions in faces (Malchiodi, 1998; Sayd, 2001). However, my research shows that eyes are not only used to distinguish emotions, but also to represent physical differences.

The third largest item utilised by pupils (53%) to demonstrate differences was clothing and mouth shape. 'Clothing' supports my argument that pupils depict the strong impressions they have of other people in their drawings. Pupils draw clothes based on what they have seen or learned about their subjects. It was unsurprising to find many pupils drawing kimono, due to its drastically different appearance from Western clothing.

There were also differences in the shape of the mouth. Japanese figures had 10% fewer smiles

and 5% more plain facial expressions. This implies that pupils imagined Japanese people's faces to convey less emotion than their own. According to Malchiodi, children about ages 9 through 12 are in the stage of artistic development where:

a period of concrete operations continues, and children continue to shift away from egocentric thinking...Generally, by the age of 9 or 10, children become very interested in depicting what they perceive to be realistic elements in their drawings. There is a movement away from schematic representation and increasing complexity in what is represented through line, shape, and detail (1998: 92).

The pupils in my research can thus be categorized as being at this stage of artistic development where they intend to depict 'reality' in their drawings. The plain mouth shape of Japanese people therefore reflects their perception of Japanese people as being relatively emotionless. These findings suggest that pupils express differentiation in human figure drawings by deliberately choosing the gender of the figure and the styles of certain body items such as hair, eye, clothes and mouth.

### **6.5.2 Did any stereotyped perceptions appear?**

It is reasonable to expect some pupils to draw a slit eyed, kimono clad figure, as this is a popular image in the U.K. (see 2.4). The stereotyped perceptions depicted in their drawings may not necessarily reveal prejudiced beliefs, but a simple description of what they perceive as differences. Therefore, I do not intend to consider the appearances of the 'generalised' image of Japanese people in drawings as evidence of pupils' prejudiced attitudes.

My results show that stereotyped images *did* appear in the drawings of Japanese figures. Moreover, the results reveal that the *stereotyped perceptions appear where the frequency of differentiated body parts is greater*. In other words, many pupils attempted to show differences that followed the stereotype. Within the highest ranked item, 'hairstyle' responses, 19% of the drawings included 'bun style' hair, a typically stereotyped image. In this case it is not only the bun, but also the two stick-like hair accessories with it. The same phenomenon is found in the shape of eyes, where 64% of the pupils drew the eyes in a 'slit' form exclusively for the

Japanese figures. This 'slit' eye image is strong enough to recur post-visit, where 58% of pupils redrew it (see 6.3). These results suggest that what pupils know and understand as Japanese features come from stereotyped resources, which emphasise women with slit eyes and buns.

Another commonly encountered stereotype is a gesture of greeting: putting the hands together in front, and bowing. Although this gesture was not recalled in the verbal responses, some pupils clearly depicted this image in their drawings before the visit (see 6.3). As mentioned before, this is an inaccurate image, because no Japanese person greets people using this gesture. There were two pupils who drew this before the visit, and none after the visit. It can be concluded that the exhibition did not reinforce this incorrect image to pupils.

Stereotyped perceptions mostly remained post-visit; the drawings showed only minor changes. However, there was a significant decrease in the number of 'slit upwards' shaped eyes. As mentioned before, it is difficult to interpret the direct influence from the exhibition of the change of pupils' stereotyped perceptions. However, it is relatively easy to identify from their drawings what pupils perceived from the exhibition.

### **6.5.3 Did their visual image in drawings change as a result of the museum experience?**

Drawing analysis revealed that significant changes were identified in the human figures. It is likely that the pupils' experience of trying on the kimono had a strong impact on shaping their perception of traditional clothes. However, with regard to Japanese facial features, the majority of pupils' stereotyped images remained apparent in their post-visit drawings. The experience at the exhibition did not, therefore, dispel pupils' images of the facial appearance of Japanese people; it did, however, alter their visual understanding of **socks/shoes, clothes** and **eyes**, which were significantly more likely to be differentiated post-visit.

One finding which suggests a significant change in pupils' perception of Japanese clothing is the **7% increase of drawings of socks and shoes after the visit**. This is remarkable, as generally socks and shoes are under-represented in human figure drawings (Cox, 1992). In fact, 88% of

pupils omitted them before the visit. The considerable increase in the number of socks drawn means that pupils were deliberately attentive to this item after the visit. Some pupils depicted the distinctive shape of the socks and the shoes (sandals). For most pupils, the exhibition was the only chance to touch and try these items on. This clearly made a strong impression on them, which they were able to recall in their drawings. It can be concluded that their illustration of Japanese socks and shoes is a direct outcome of their experiences at the exhibition.

Other evidence of pupils' perceptual change is in the increased number of kimonos drawn. After the visit, **20% more Japanese figures were in kimonos**; the total of Japanese figures wearing them reaches 31%. The number of drawings of kimono increased three times after the visit. There are at least two interpretations to be drawn from this: first, it could be seen a positive outcome, as it reveals that more pupils became aware of traditional clothing from the exhibition; and second, one could argue that the exhibition has reinforced a 'kimono=geisha' image of Japanese women, which already exists as a stereotype in the U.K., without contributing a further dimension to their understanding. This can be rejected if pupils understand that in general, Japanese people wear kimonos on special occasions. Further discussion on the reinforcement of stereotypes is in chapter 7.4.

The present outcome has demonstrated that the answer to the third question is 'Yes': there were distinctive features in drawings which indicated the impact of the exhibition, especially from the kimono section. This was the only section which relates to the image of Japanese people, hence it is highly congruent to identify its influence on pupils' human figure drawings.

From this outcome, it is pertinent to suggest that if more sections at *Discovering Japan* introduced people, more pupils' drawings may have changed. As part of my follow-up session, I attempted to change pupils' stereotypes of Japanese people's appearance (for example. slit eyes and bun hairstyles) which often appeared in their drawings (see 7.3).

**6.6 Summary**

The present analysis of pupils' human figure drawings has demonstrated that drawings revealed pupils' memory of and perceptions gained from the exhibition. However, drawings do not reveal the full extent to which the exhibition influenced the drawing; it is difficult to find a concrete explanation for a change (for example. decrease of slit upwards eyes) in the drawings. Even so, analyses of the human figure drawings indicated several interesting findings which do not appear in conventional verbal responses. Studart (2000) and Moussouri (1997) argued that drawing analysis is an effective means of evaluating the perception of a museum experience. This present study confirms their claim; further to that, my research shows that drawings can indicate how pupils' visual images of human figures change.

## Chapter 7

### Further analysis and discussion

Chapter 5 and 6 present the findings from the pre and post-visit questionnaires. In this chapter, I review these initial findings by answering the research questions, and develop further discussion.

The first research question 'How has Japan been represented at the British Museum and how does the "*Discovering Japan*" exhibition fit within this context?' has been answered chapter 4. In this chapter, I answer:

- '*What perceptions did British pupils have of Japanese culture and people, and in what ways did these perceptions change after the visit?*' - 7.1.
- '*What understandings (that is. appreciation, interest) did these pupils have of Japanese culture and people, and in what ways did this understandings change after the visit?*' - 7.3
- '*What lessons might be learned for future exhibitions about Japan?*' - 7.4

#### **7.1 What perceptions did British pupils have of Japanese culture and people, and in what ways did these perceptions change after the visit?**

##### **7.1.1 Did British pupils hold perceptions of Japanese culture and people before they visited *Discovering Japan*?**

As discussed in chapter 2, British pupils hold certain perceptions of Japanese culture and people prior to visiting exhibitions about Japan (Tames, 1978; Thurley, 1978; Wiegand, 1992; Inoue, 2002). Three findings support this claim.

First, nearly 80% of pupils *believed* that they had met Japanese people before. This figure needs careful attention as it includes meeting 'oriental' looking people in general. Nevertheless, although more than 95% of pupils have not been to Japan, the majority of pupils believed to have



had opportunities to meet Japanese people.

Second, nearly 60% of pupils studied Japan in their school prior to the visit. Primary school pupils studied simple Japanese phrases, geography, Japanese songs and origami (see 5.2). In one school, pupils were shown an introductory video about Japan, which vividly developed an active image of Japanese people. Secondary school pupils made a more in-depth study of Japanese geography and art (see 5.2). One secondary school used Japanese tourist guidebooks to derive artistic inspiration for their design projects. Thus, quite a few British pupils had gained certain perceptions of Japan in school. Furthermore, some pupils already had 'hands on' experience of Japanese culture (for example, eating Japanese food) before visiting *Discovering Japan*.

Third, pupils' pre-visit answers provide evidence of their previous perceptions. If pupils had had no perceptions of Japan, it would have been impossible for them to answer questions in the questionnaire. For example, many British pupils in this study were able to recall Japanese words such as *sushi* and *samurai*. They were also able to draw visual images of Japanese children (see 6.3), which shows that even primary school pupils in London are likely to hold certain perceptions of Japan.

These three findings support Beasley's claim that, in general, the British public's beliefs about Japan, are 'both accurate and inaccurate', derived from 'what is taught in schools, or performed in cinema and theatre, or contained in family reminiscences of Japan' (1982: 56). Beasley's comment was made more than 20 years ago and is less inclusive of popular media such as the internet, television and video games that strongly influence pupils' perceptions (Wiegand, 1992; Hinton, 2000; Hogg and Vaughan, 2002; Cullingford, 2000). What Beasley meant by 'family reminiscences of Japan' are more likely to be related to Second World War, rather than the mixed race marriages or business relations common today.

British pupils encounter Japanese issues in schools. Geography textbooks are an important source of information, hence 'geography' was the most popular pre-visit perception associated with the word Japan. British geography textbooks tend to associate natural hazards with Japan, using dramatic pictures of devastated areas (for example. Kobe earthquake of 1995). In my research, some pupils expressed an unwillingness to visit Japan because they feared these volcanoes and earthquakes (see 5.2.1). Thus, the influence of geography textbooks is confirmed in my research.

In addition to geography textbooks, illustrated Japanese folktales are another source of stereotypical visual perceptions. In my research, the data gleaned from the human figure drawings showed that pupils focus on the hairstyle (73%), eyes (70%), and clothes (53%) to depict Japanese children (see 6.3). In particular, triangular peasant hats and women wearing kimonos, with sticks in their hair, were prominent in the pupils' Japanese portraits. British pupils' depictions of Japanese 'children' are associated with their past images of Japanese adults. It is no coincidence that the same kind of human figure drawings which pupils drew are often found in illustrated Japanese folktales (see examples of illustration in 7.1.2). The direct and indirect influences of picture books should not be underestimated; this issue is explored in the next section.

### **7.1.2 Appropriateness of teaching materials**

Information about Japan taught in schools can be more accurate than that imparted by the media. In part, this is because mass media tends to ignore the cultural context, and picks up issues that will attract a large audience in the country (Ögren, 1966). Schoolteachers, in sharp contrast, tend to seek basic information about Japan from more reliable resources such as textbooks, travel guidebooks and official websites.

Teachers are inclined to focus on geographical aspects of Japan because they are easy to

incorporate into the national curriculum. However, it is also common practice to teach social and cultural aspects of Japan together with geographical ones. In some cases, teachers set up a learning project which enables pupils to appreciate geographical, social, cultural, and artistic aspects of Japan. In one primary school in London, Year 5 pupils were learning about Japan as their 'topic' subject. As part of the art lessons, pupils made decorative paper screens and matching dolls. Both artworks were created after studying Japanese art and design. This example shows an effective way to incorporate teaching of Japan into the curriculum design.

When teachers want to arrange wide-ranging lessons on Japan, they need to consult various resources. Resources include children's history books such as Clare Doran's (1994) *Look into the Past: the Japanese*. Doran's book has a number of positive points – it is short, full of illustrations, and easy to understand. However, when such curriculum resources are critically evaluated from a native Japanese's viewpoint, serious questions emerge. Pike and Selby note that 'analyzing library books and textbooks for examples of stereotyping, bias and distortion' (2000: 11) is one way of leading pupils to critically review written texts. The opening chapter of Doran's book is 'The birth of the city'. Her book focuses on 'when the city of Edo became Japan's capital in the seventeenth century' (*ibid*: 4). Doran explains the history of Japan before the Edo period as follows:

For hundreds of years the different provinces of Japan were fighting each other, and the country was not under one ruler. Peace finally came to Japan in 1603 (Doran, 1994: 5).

This passage may look like a concise and harmless introduction to the Edo period. However, it is likely to produce misunderstandings about Japanese history. That is because the passage conveys the message that Japan was a highly unstable and strife-torn country for a long period. In truth, Japan has had lengthy periods of peace and a well-organized governing body since at least the fifth century (The British Museum, 2003c; Pilbeam, 1988), though there was a full-scale civil war before the Edo period, which lasted from 1477 to 1603. Doran's explanation is, therefore, rather misleading. In addition, Doran characterizes the Edo period as 'the time of *samurai*

warriors and leaders called *shoguns*' (1997: 4). The stereotypical image of samurai warriors is also likely to link Japan to a lengthy period of civil war. My research provides evidence that some British pupils fear visiting Japan because they believe Japan is still in a state of war. Because *samurai* warriors are one of the most popular topics in children's books on Japan (for example, Jenny Roberts, 1990, *Samurai Warriors*), teachers need to be careful in handling this topic.

Geisha is a main topic in her book, and Doran devotes 'The pleasure of quarters' (1994: 20-21) to them. It should be noted that her picture book is aimed particularly at primary school pupils. The crucial question here is: are geisha an appropriate topic for young pupils? The meaning of this question becomes clearer with an analogy. Suppose Japanese primary school teachers use a children's history book on the U.K. The book focuses on the Victorians, and treats barmaids as a main topic. Are British barmaids an appropriate topic for Japanese primary school pupils?

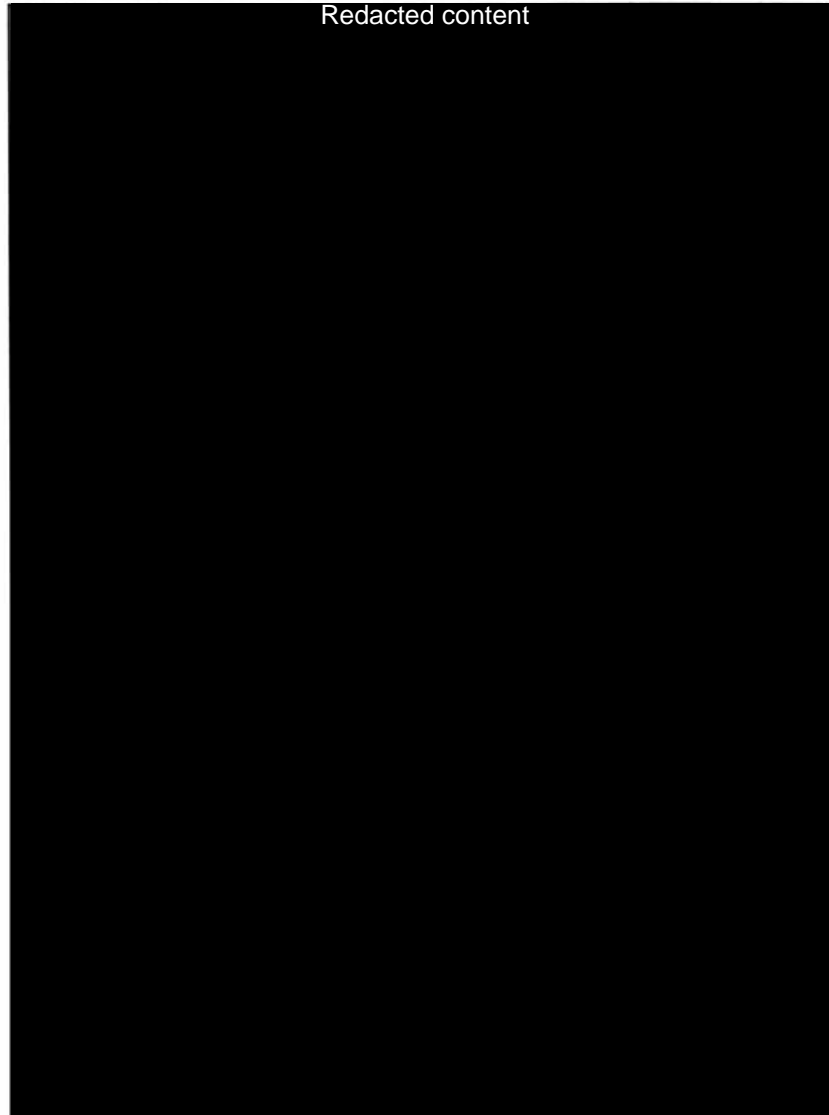
Doran describes geisha as:

a special group of women who had been taught how to dance, sing and even talk in an elegant fashion from a young age...They covered their faces in a white powder and wore heavy wigs (1994: 21).

This description is attractively illustrated with *Ukiyoe* prints. Doran's book is likely to create or reinforce children's stereotypical images of Japanese women as geisha. This is another notable example of the over-representation of oriental women as symbols of exoticness and obedience in Western society (Szyliowicz, 1988).

Another point that makes the presence of geisha in British children's books questionable is that in Japanese primary schools, teachers do not treat geisha as a topic in history lessons. The social science textbook for 6<sup>th</sup> grade pupils (Sasaki *et al*, 2002: 69), authorised by the Ministry of Education and Science of Japan in 2001, is testament to this.

Figure 7.1 Introduction of *Ukiyoe* in a Japanese primary school textbook



In figure 7.1, the main text explains the remarkable expansion of *Ukiyoe* artwork as one of Edo peoples' entertainment. *Ukiyoe*'s popularity is revealed in an example of one *Ukiyoe* series: 'Tokaido Gojusantsugi (53 scenery from the route Tokaido)' by Hiroshige Utagawa (1797-1858), of which more than twenty thousand copies were printed. Its significant impact on the international art scene is also mentioned. The caption under the left corner *Ukiyoe* reads 'shops selling books', and the *Ukiyoe* on the right is one scene from the '*Tokaido Gojusantsugi*' series. The above page is the only section on *Ukiyoe*, and it does not show any pictures of geisha, either in textual or pictorial form. On the evidence of how *Ukiyoe* is introduced in Japanese textbooks, the appropriateness of the concentration of teaching about geisha to British pupils is questionable.

The above examples show how 'stereotypes' can be taught through curriculum resources.

Unfortunately, as Wojtan argues,

Mutual understanding continues to be illusive. Attempts to examine aspects of Japanese culture sometimes simply result in the exchange of one stereotype for another (1994: 3).

That is true with Japanese folktales for children. Illustrated Japanese folktales have great potential as an appropriate curriculum resource. This is partly because, combined with vivid illustrations of scenery and people, folktales give an insight into the history and culture of Japan. A considerable number of Japanese folktales have been published in English over the last 15 years (for example. Pilbeam, 1988, 1991, 1998; Hatherley, 1993; Tompert, 1993). However, such books are usually illustrated by non-Japanese artists. For example, Linda Forss illustrates Sheila Hatherley's (1993) *Folk Tales of Japan*. Hatherley retells four popular folktales in Japan: The Strange Teakettle; *Susano-ō* and the Eight-headed Serpent; The White Hare; and *Urashima* and the Island of Jewels. Below are two pictures from the book:

**Figure 7.2 Illustrations from *Folk Tales of Japan* by Sheila Hatherley**



The front cover of Hatherley's book.



The front page of a story.

The potential problems with these two pictures become clear in comparison with authentic Japanese illustrations to the same folktales. Below are the covers of two books of the same folktales from Japan:

Figure 7.3 Illustrations of the same folktales in Japanese picture books



*Urashima Taro*, written by Mikio Chiba, illustration by Shiro Kasamatsu, 2001, Tokyo: Kodansha.



*Bunbuku Chagama (The Strange Teakettle)*, written by Shogo Hirata, illustration by Shinya Takahashi, 1998, Tokyo: Populasha.

The cover of Hatherley's book has a drawing of a woman in kimono and JAPAN in a large font. In contrast, the Japanese books depict a friendly young fisherman, and a racoon in a teakettle, that are the books' main characters. The patterns on the kimono and facial expressions between the British and Japanese books are remarkably different. The face of a man on the front cover of Hatherley's book, in the top right hand corner looks more like a *kabuki* (traditional Japanese play) actor than a hero in a folktale.

Many Japanese people would find the illustrations in Hatherley's book, inappropriate. There are three reasons for this. First, all the Japanese women in this book are drawn as geisha in the Edo period (from 17th to 19th century), with slit eyes and strange kimonos, directly influenced by images of women in the *Ukiyoe*. This is an obvious misrepresentation, as *Ukiyoe* are not portraits for folktales (for further discussion on *Ukiyoe*, see Clark, 1993b). Second, none of the stories involves geisha, so there is no reason for them to appear. Third, those illustrations by Western artists are clearly different to those found in Japanese picture books. These misleading illustrations can lead to British pupils holding an inaccurate perception of Japanese people, both past and present.

Therefore, care is required in using picture books in an educational context. Wojtan points out the difficulties of such books:

...reading materials can be enriched with the inclusion of children's literature on Japan. Care should be taken, however, that the selections are not limited to folktales. A steady diet of folktales can lead to the misperception that all foreign cultures are quite bizarre and locked in a time warp (1994: 4).

The drawings in my data visually present British pupils' stereotypical perceptions of Japanese people (see 5.2). Therefore, Wojtan's argument is important, not only for school teaching materials but also for museum educators and curators when teaching foreign cultures. Ögren (1966), Director of the UNESCO Institute for Education in Hamburg, emphasises the importance of taking extra care with regard to selecting teaching content, drawing on Kairov (1964):

It is absolutely essential in bringing up children to tell them the truth about other peoples and countries, and to avoid descriptions of the life of these peoples that are biased or lacking in objectivity; that a systematic review is necessary of curricula, textbooks, and educational aids, removing from them anything that may cause misunderstanding between the peoples, that is out of date or incorrect, and bringing in data and information which will foster better understanding of one another, mutual trust, and friendship (Kairov cited in Ögren 1966: 2-3).

Although the above statement was made in 1964, it is still relevant today. Matson (1996) makes a sensible suggestion when using posters and postcards of Japan as teaching resources. For a '*Descriptive Writing*' lesson, Matson suggests distributing postcards of Japan to each student in upper primary or secondary schools. Teachers should instruct pupils to 'write a clear description of a Japanese postcard' and comment on each other's description in class and see how clearly and precisely pupils described the pictures of Japan:

Especially with older students, discuss the images projected by postcards so that students will not assume that postcards present a complete and accurate view of Japan: What kinds of pictures are most common? What kinds of subjects did not appear on postcards? What is the purpose of a postcard? Are postcards of student's hometowns available? If so, how accurately do they reflect life in that community? (1996: 3).

This point is common to teaching in museums where historical artefacts and various resources are used as teaching materials of other cultures. There is a crucial question of how far the artefacts represent the culture in focus. In other words, as Matson states, to what extent do artefacts and exhibitions present a 'complete and accurate view of Japan'? (refer to 7.5).



One practical suggestion to avoid reinforcing stereotypes and misunderstandings is to 'involve Japanese nationals and other community resource persons' (Wojtan, 1994: 3); 'one of the best ways to help ensure authenticity in cultural explorations is the involvement of nationals from the culture under study' (*ibid*). This crucial point could be extended to exhibition planners (see 8.2.3). Curators and educators also need to be aware that their exhibitions are under fairly direct scrutiny by the subject people today (Clifford, 1995; Peers and Brown, 2003). Past exhibitions received criticism of their contents from indigenous people, for instance in exhibitions of First Nations artefacts in Canada (Clifford, 1995), or Beardsley and Livingston's exhibition of Hispanic Art (Lavine and Karp, 1991). Exhibitions of Japanese culture are no exception. With vast numbers of Japanese visitors to museums in Britain, it is inevitable that Japanese people will observe the exhibitions and hold a critical view on them. We must also be aware that '[s]tereotypes of other people, or other races, continents or civilizations have become one of the major obstacles to true international understanding' (Bucknell *et al*, 1966: 15). In order to organise exhibitions to promote international understanding, therefore, I suggest that exhibition planners take extra care not to reinforce misunderstandings, and to organise them in a way acceptable to nationals.

### **7.1.3 What perceptions did British pupils hold of Japanese culture and people?**

The most common perceptions of Japan are in the areas of 'geography', 'food' and 'people'. (see 5.3.2). Most primary pupils in this research studied volcanoes, earthquakes and typhoons in Japan; therefore, it is not surprising to find many pupils' responses included geographic information. However, this raises the issue of how geographic information can create stereotypical images as discussed in chapter 2.4.5. Geography teachers (Speak, 1993; Spicer, 1985) express these concerns and the data confirms the possibility.

'Food' is strongly associated with national identities. A recent survey (March, 2004) in the U.K., asked British people to answer a questionnaire using 100 words (for example. names of

individuals, places, buildings, music, food) in order to choose which items are 'representative of Britain' (*Eikoku News Digest*, 2004). The most popular choice was 'food', including roast beef and fish and chips, chosen by 73% of the participants. The second most popular choice was Queen Elizabeth II (64%), and the third was Buckingham Palace (58%). Therefore, food is a logical choice to include as part of the exhibition in teaching about a different culture. However, my data shows that there are a few cases where the 'food' section contributed to pupils holding 'strange' images (see 5.3.2).

'People' was the third most popular category that pupils associated with Japan. This suggests that when pupils hear the name of a country, they often imagine the people there. It could be concluded that education for international understanding is not only teaching children facts about other countries, but also teaching about the culture and the people (UNESCO, 1974). Knowing about other people and respecting them is included in the guidelines of PSHE and Citizenship Education for Key Stage 1: National Curriculum for England in Wales: 'Pupils should be taught...to identify and respect the differences and similarities between people' (DfES, 2004).

How museum exhibitions can contribute to meet this educational goal requires further discussion. In fact, museum exhibitions and their educational materials often do not illustrate the 'people' except in ethnographic museums where the main topic is people from distant places (for further discussion see Lidchi, 1997). The Japanese Galleries at the BM display materials which introduce the skills and expertise of Japanese artists, rather than contemporary issues related to Japanese society. For example, '*The Arts of Japan: Teacher's Guide*' prepared by the BM, encourages British secondary students to understand the art of Japan. The text discusses 'Japanese Style: Design, Technique and Meaning'. There is no direct discussion of people, although 17 out of 45 pictures used in the guidebook include Japanese people from the past. Inevitably, therefore, British pupils may well develop certain perceptions towards people through their art and design lessons. The data from the drawing analysis supports this finding, as a

typical portrait of a Japanese girl depicted her in a kimono with a bun hairstyle (see 6.3). This example suggests that it is inevitable that exhibitions will cultivate certain images and perceptions among visitors. Increasingly, curators are becoming aware that visitors do not perceive and understand the exhibition as they expected (Hein, 1998; Alpers, 1991; Karp, 1991). It is important for curators to be aware of the side effects of the exhibitions they produce.

It is noteworthy that the majority of pupils in this study had some appreciation of Japanese people. A negative response was extremely rare. Wiegand comments that:

Children's preferences for, and dislikes of, particular peoples and places are based first on their own idiosyncratic reasons and then on the shared views of their widening social contacts (1993: 64).

The popular perceptions of Japanese people are as 'clever', 'friendly', and 'kind' (see 5.2). The most frequently chosen term 'clever' matches with the result from a survey conducted in 1932 in the U.S. In Katz and Braly's research (1932), 47.9% of 100 Princeton students described Japanese people as 'Intelligent' (see 2.4.3). The clever or intelligent image of Japanese people seems to have been retained over time. The industrial aspect of Japan has contributed to the 'clever' image. 'Friendly', ranked second, and 'kind', ranked third, reflecting pupils' positive appreciation. Apart from those who had Japanese friends, few were able to provide a clear reasons for selecting these terms. It is possible that pupils were trying to gain social approval, a response typical of older children (Aboud, 1988; Augoustinos and Rosewarne, 2001). Nevertheless, this result indicates that pupils generally appreciated Japanese people before the visit.

## **7.2 In what ways were these perceptions influenced by the visit?**

### **7.2.1 Perception of 'Japan'**

It is not easy to define the influence from exhibitions, even for a short-term evaluation such as this (Caulton, 1998). However, there is a similar visitors' survey which 'set out to ascertain visitor's perceptions of the gallery' (Freeman, 1989: 46). Yet, my results show that the exhibition

experience seems to have influenced pupils' perceptions of the word 'Japan'. Post-visit, the popular categories were 'food', 'clothes' and 'geography'. Food and clothes, both introduced at *Discovering Japan*, ranked higher than pre-visit and received high satisfaction scores (see 5.3.1). The data shows a correlation between the satisfaction score and the number of pupils who changed their image of Japan (see 5.4.5). The pupils who enjoyed the food and kimono section are likely to have associated these with the word 'Japan'.

Regarding the food section, a number of pupils mentioned 'seaweed' and 'white fish' which were both available to eat. Although eating these foods was a one-off experience, a significant number of pupils were able to recall it. Similar results appear in studies conducted by Falk and Dierking (1992) and Stevenson (1994). Some pupils developed a 'strange' image of Japanese food from this section (see 5.3.2). In case a perception of 'strangeness' leads to a negative impression of Japan, it is worth reconsidering the content of the food section. Does it have to be seaweed and dried squid? These foods proved challenging for British pupils; some did not want to try them at all (see 5.3.2). Rice crackers, popular with Japanese pupils, would have been more palatable. Restaurants common in both countries, such as McDonald's or Pizza Hut, could have been mentioned. In planning an exhibition for international understanding, it is preferable to introduce similarities as well as 'extreme differences' in other cultures (see 8.2.2).

The clothes section was welcomed by many pupils and made a significant impact (see 5.3.1). Becoming familiar with textures and learning about patterns provided positive learning experiences. However, it also reinforced stereotyped perceptions such as geisha. Although kimonos were referred to as clothes meant for special occasions, only a few pupils recalled this following the visit. Moreover, the displayed pictures of Japanese people wearing kimono looked out dated. It is important to have the most up to date resources as possible (Tames, 1978), as this exhibition claims to introduce 'contemporary Japan'. In the follow-up session, I incorporated materials from recent magazines to counter the out dated visual resources used (see 7.2.3).

Geographical aspects were found significantly less in pupils' responses after the visit. This suggests that geographical aspects of Japan became less important for pupils, as geographical information was not offered in the exhibition.

### 7.2.2 Perceptions of Japanese people

Pupils' perceptions of Japanese people diversified following the visit. The majority of pupils maintained their positive appreciation of the people as many pupils described the people with the following terms: 'clever', 'friendly', 'cool', 'kind' and 'friendly' (see 5.3.2). At the same time, some positive perceptions towards Japanese people decreased.

The question now arises: what was the reason for this decrease in positive terms? One possible reason is that the exhibition did not address Japanese people directly. Curators may argue that *Discovering Japan* was not intended to introduce Japanese people, but solely their culture. However, as Aboud (1988) and Wiegand (1992) point out, children develop their stereotyped images from various information resources and this applies to exhibitions. Binns comments that:

Even the youngest children are fascinated by distant places. Where once stories, films and television programmes provided the only images of such places, it is now increasingly likely that at least one child in each class will have encountered environments and peoples that are very different from the home area (1993: 7).

The following example shows how pupils pay attention to the description of Japanese people in paintings. An 11 year old child who participated in the ACE project workshop on '*Nihonga: Traditional Japanese painting 1900-1940*' exhibition at the BM, responded:

My favourite painting in the Nihonga exhibition was "The First Firefly", which is a portrait of a Japanese lady. When I went home and described it to my sister, I told her that the lady is half behind a transparent screen. She makes a tall, thin shape and I specially like the decoration on her belt... (CME *et al*, 1993).

This child observed the paintings carefully and described the physical appearance of the Japanese woman. It is likely that this experience will influence her perceptions of contemporary Japanese people. It is important to teach Japanese artistic feature regarding human figures to children, otherwise they are likely to believe that contemporary Japanese people look like those

depicted in traditional paintings. The characteristics of Japanese portraits are explained in the *'Arts of Japan: Teachers' Guide'*:

There is a marked difference between Japanese and Western approaches to the resemblance of portrait to subject. In Japanese culture, external appearance was not thought generally to express that person's individuality....In the *Ukiyoe* school naturalism is relatively unimportant. Utamaro's idealised *bijin* ('beautiful women') almost all have tiny mouths, straight noses and well-marked eyebrows in perfectly oval faces (The British Museum, 2003c: 14).

Many Japanese figures in traditional paintings and prints are thus idealised versions of Japanese people. Indeed, many pupils' portraits of Japanese people were influenced by traditional unrealistic portraits (see 6.3). Bigler comments that young children cognitively tend to 'focus on concrete, rather than abstract, aspects of objects and people, and relatedly, to sort stimuli into simplistic and rigid categories based on concrete attributes such as appearance' (1999: 696). Therefore, it is important for teachers and educators to raise pupils' awareness about different styles of portraits in Japanese prints.

### **7.2.3 Follow-up session for Japanese figure drawings**

From the findings of pupils' portraits of Japanese children, I planned a follow-up session. This aimed to provide pupils' with contemporary images of Japanese people from materials published in Japan.

#### **Introduction to the follow-up session**

After collecting the questionnaires, I asked the teachers if they would like to have a follow-up session on Japanese culture in their schools. All five schools answered 'yes' and I arranged the visit, and made five visits to four schools. The aims of follow-up sessions were:

- 1) to directly observe pupils' reaction towards a Japanese person (myself)
- 2) to see how a short session on Japanese people will influence their portraits and understanding of the people
- 3) to answer some of the questions raised in the questionnaire (i. e. Where is Japan on the world map?)

In most educational research studies, participants are often treated as 'subjects'. A number of

questions are asked, but the 'subjects' are left without any answers. Especially when the participants are school pupils, it is preferable to give them correct answers to some of the questions in the questionnaire. In my case, if a child was asked to draw a circle around Japan and a triangle around the U.K., it is reasonable to provide the answers later on. Therefore, I planned a short follow-up session so that pupils would have another opportunity to know more about Japanese culture and people. The sessions were prepared for those who visited *Discovering Japan* and answered the questionnaires. In planning the lesson, I consulted an experienced co-ordinator who had planned lessons teaching Japanese culture.

After the consultation, I planned two types of follow-up sessions. In three schools (one primary and two secondary schools), I gave a talk on the appearance of modern Japanese people. I began the session by showing OHP sheets with drawings of Japanese people by British primary school children. I selected some stereotypical Japanese figures from the pre-visit questionnaire. Those drawings included faces with slit eyes pointing upwards, a girl with two hair buns and a man with a long curly moustache. I explained that these pictures were drawn by British pupils and asked them where these images came from. This question was difficult for some primary pupils, but secondary pupils pointed out the influence of the mass media, films and cartoons. After a brief discussion on the image of Japanese people in Britain, I suggested looking at magazines and newspapers published in Japan. All the materials had pictures (both in full colour and in black and white) of modern Japanese people. I emphasised that these photographs can be different from the Japanese photos you find in Britain. This is because pictures in the magazines and newspaper were taken by Japanese people, for Japanese people. It is unlikely to find 'exotic' aspects being emphasised in these. British pupils can see what Japanese people wish to see. One magazine - 'MORE' - had several pages of hints for wearing summer kimonos, accompanied by photos of many young girls wearing them. While it is easy to find pictures of geisha in kimonos in Britain (such as figure 2.2), how people wear them as contemporary fashion is rarely seen.

After observing these pictures, I asked pupils to choose one or two favourite photographs. They were then asked to draw a Japanese person by observing the pictures they had chosen, and to write some comments on what they had learnt about their appearance. Findings from this follow-up session are explained later in this chapter.

### **Pupils' reactions towards Japan and its people**

Most pupils' perceptions towards Japan and Japanese people were positive and many showed appreciation both before and after the visit (see 5.4.2). From my own observations in the classroom, and conversations with pupils, the majority of pupils showed positive appreciation of Japanese culture and people. According to my observation, primary school pupils were keener to speak to me and to ask questions about Japan than were secondary school pupils.

One of the primary schools asked me to visit them twice. The episodes from this visit show that many Bangladesh-British primary school pupils in the school were interested in Japan. When I asked whether Year 5 pupils knew where Japan was on the world map, many of them quickly raised their hands and answered correctly with confidence. Some pupils even tried to tell me the name of the four main islands. This was despite the fact that those pupils were unaware of the location of Bangladesh, from where many of their parents originated. One pupil told me that he wanted to visit Japan, because he heard from his uncle who lived there that it was a nice place. Other pupils asked me to talk to them in Japanese. When they heard the sound of Japanese language, they expressed surprise at the different sounds.

There was a chance to speak with secondary school pupils during their art and design class. Pupils showed me artwork inspired by Japanese art, including watercolour paintings influenced by Japanese woodblock prints. Japanese writing was of interest to many pupils, albeit as patterns rather than legible characters. One girl copied Japanese phrases from a guidebook as 'they looked cool'. I told her that '*Geri wo shitemasu*' meant 'I have diarrhoea'. She was taken aback to say the least and everyone fell about laughing. Many pupils were keen to study

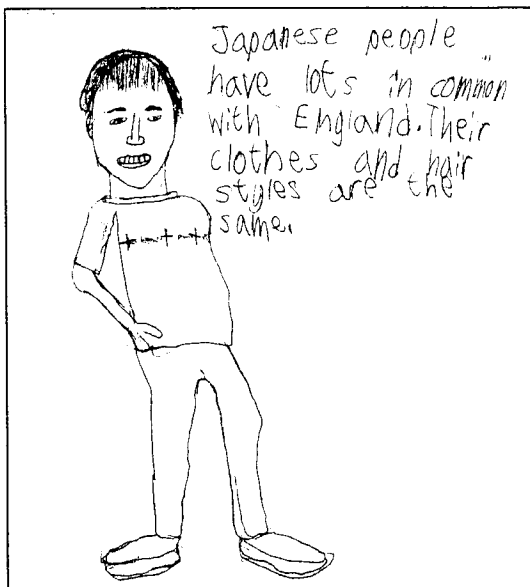


Japanese art, and their portfolios were full of sketches and cuttings relating to Japanese art.

This demonstrates that most pupils appreciated learning about Japan, and were happy to meet a Japanese person. This follow-up lesson is one example of linking museums and schools as suggested by Museums, Libraries, Archives Council (2004) and in the Learning Through Culture project report (DfES *et al*, 2004).

**Japanese figure drawings after the follow-up session**

The following portraits are by the same pupils who answered the questionnaire. Here, I focus on six pictures drawn by both primary and secondary school pupils. Each drawing was accompanied by the pupils' comments on; 1) what they realised through the observation of pictures and 2) why they have chosen that particular person.

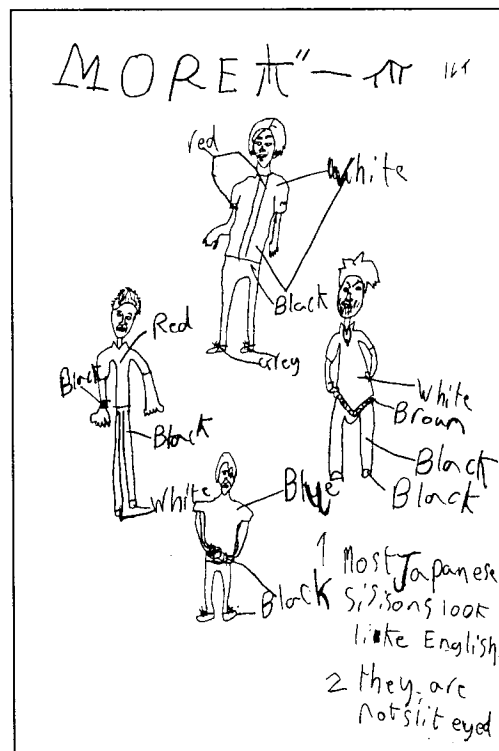


**Figure 7.4 Drawing by a primary school boy at the follow up session**

He comments that there are similarities between Japanese and British people, as shown in contemporary Japanese magazines. His picture does not show slit eyes or stereotypical gestures.

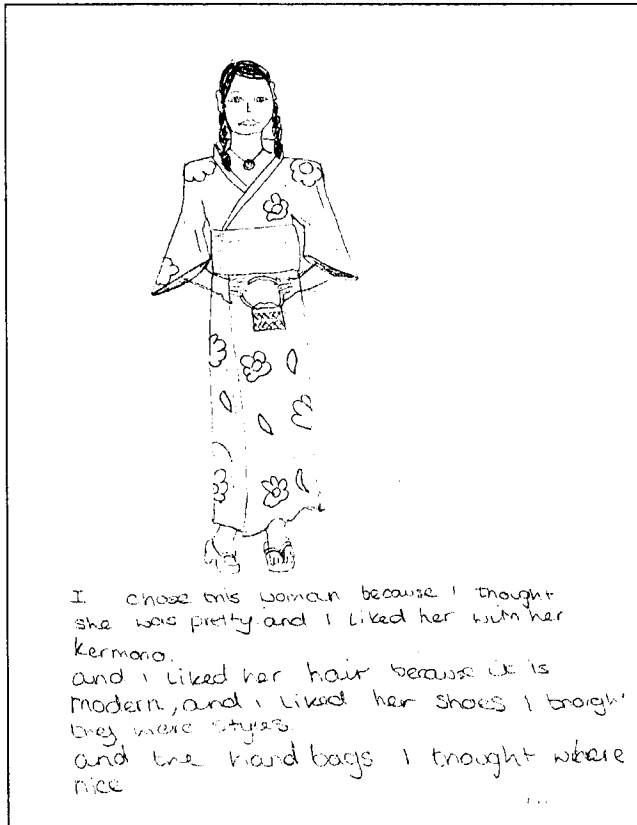
**Figure 7.5 Drawing by a primary school boy at the follow up session**

The second primary school boy comments that 'they are not slit eyed'. This indicates that his perception of 'slit eyes' had altered from the observation of pictures.



Some girls chose to draw Japanese girls in their summer kimono.

**Figure 7.6 Drawing by a secondary school girl at the follow up session**



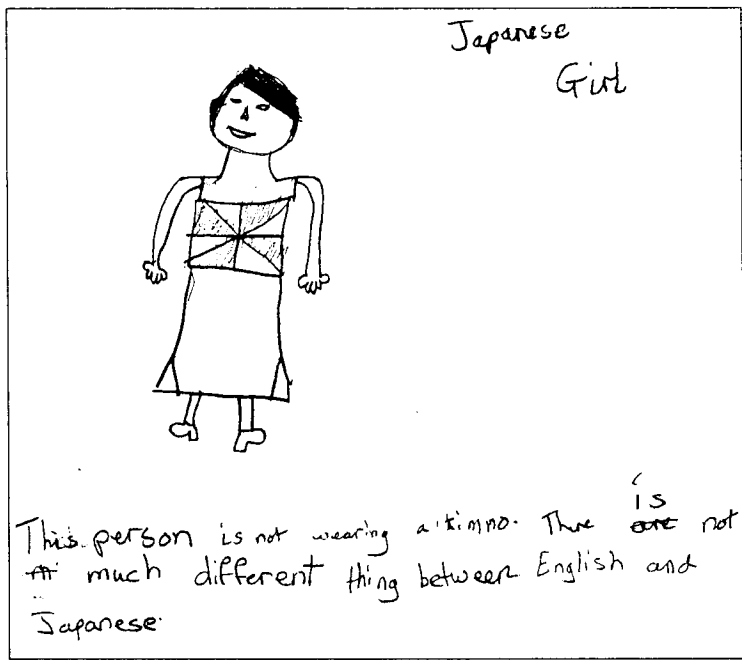
As seen in figure 7.6, many pupils have depicted the patterns of kimono in detail which did not appear in their pre-visit drawings. This girl drew the kimono accurately, showing the correct folding (always the left on top of the right), accessorised by a handbag and a fan.

One primary school pupil commented that it was odd to find Japanese people

with brown eyes and brownish red hair. She expected all Japanese people to have black hair, as found in prints or films - a typical image of a geisha. Her expectations were refuted visually, as she saw for herself in the pictures, as well as statistically: nearly 88% of Japanese high school students think it is acceptable to colour their hair (Yokohama City, 1999). This girl also noticed the modern hairstyle to accompany kimono. She says 'I like her hair because it is modern'. This secondary school girl realised that Japanese girls do not always wear kimonos with a bun.

The final two portraits are from primary school girls. Both girls chose to draw Japanese girls in non-traditional clothes.

Figure 7.7 Drawings from two primary school girls at the follow up session



Their comments indicate that they recognised similarities between Britain and Japan in daily clothing. One child states ‘She [the Japanese girl] has not got a kimono [sic]. She has not got chopsticks’. Her perceptions of Japanese people have thus been altered by the illustrations of contemporary Japanese girls seen in this session.

The outcomes from the follow-up session provide a stepping-stone in terms of enhancing

international understanding. Accurate perceptions of people are the beginning point of 'understanding' different people. This highlights the importance of linking the informal and formal sessions (see 8.2.7).

#### 7.2.4 Negative perceptions

Generally, museum visits are believed to have a positive impact on pupils' understandings of other cultures (Gundara, 1992; Reeve, 1992; Suina, 1990). However, there were pupils with negative perceptions following the visit (see 5.3.2). Teachers and educators should also have in mind that some pupils feel 'they had enough' or gained 'boring' impressions from exhibitions.

Some pupils presented negative perceptions of Japanese people after the visit (see 5.3.2).

*Because some people are not nice to talk to because they don't speak English.*

*(Secondary, Girl)*

*Because they got eyes different and they look scary. (Primary, Boy)*

It is likely that pupils who show ignorance or tendencies to stereotype will hold a negative perception of the subject group. Den Hollander comments that:

*If hardly anything is known of another people, on a primitive cultural level, every corrective element is lacking and opinions are based on rumours, free scope is given to fear, contempt, hatred, fright and surprise. In this way the strangest and most horrible products of the imagination are born (1948: 218).*

Although the impact from a single museum visit is limited, exhibitions can counteract negative stereotypes and lead pupils to appreciate cultures and peoples. DeGenova argues that:

*Unless positive knowledge about a certain culture has been provided in advance of the contact experience, positive information gained through contact may be rejected because of prior stereotypes and expectations (1995: 21).*

According to Hogg and Vaughan, 'We form impressions of the people we meet, have described to us or encounter in the media' (2002: 43). Pupils who associate dragons with Japanese culture continue to do so, even though dragons were not featured in any resources on Japan. If those misunderstandings are left uncorrected, they tend to remain. Binns encapsulates the point of international understanding:

The aim should be to encourage young people to *appreciate* the diversity of environments and societies, to empathise wherever possible and to realise that *because someone or something is unfamiliar it is not necessarily inferior to something that is more familiar*. The perpetuation of myths and stereotypes must be avoided at all cost (1993: 7, *my emphasis*).

### **7.3 What understandings (that is interest and appreciation) did these pupils have of Japanese culture and people?**

The majority of pupils (95%) demonstrated a strong interest in learning about Japan (see 5.4). Among their answers, Japanese food was a popular subject of interest. The majority of pupils showed positive appreciation of Japanese people (see 5.4.2) which most pupils choosing the terms associated with a 'likeable' person. Pupils believed most Japanese were friendly, kind, and happy so they wanted to meet the people and nearly 80% of pupils wanted to visit Japan (see 5.4.1). These results indicate pupils' positive understanding of Japanese culture and people.

From these results, I argue that understanding is an important outcome of exhibitions. In terms of international understanding, it is essential for pupils to 'understand and [harbour] respect for all peoples, their cultures, civilisations, values and ways of lives, including domestic ethnic culture and cultures of other nations' (UNESCO, 1976). If pupils do not appreciate the culture and people, this may lead to prejudicial attitudes (Den Hollander, 1948; Wiegand, 1993). Children are surrounded with fictional images, which easily develop into misunderstandings (Wiegand, 1993; Speak, 1993). Hicks (1982) argues that even school textbooks are not neutral texts, but are strongly biased. By examining geography textbooks published and used in the U.K., he concluded that 'minority groups within the U.K. will be either ignored or stereotyped'. This links to the discussion of Japanese culture as represented through British geography textbooks (see 2.4.5). Therefore, it is important for museums to provide an opportunity to enhance appreciation of 'others'.

A positive appreciation of Japanese people was shown by those who had studied Japan at school, compared to those who did not. This result supports the findings in *Learning Through*

*Cultures* (DfES *et al*, 2004), where the links between schools and museum lessons are emphasised. My data shows that pre-visit lessons provide a grounding of interest among pupils, which enhanced their understanding of the subject.

Raising pupils' interest is a crucial issue for museums in order to encourage international understanding. There is much debate concerning the influence that visiting museums can have on pupils, as they are often a 'one-off occasion'. However, many studies have provided survey results indicating an increase in visitors' knowledge and interest after such visits (Falk and Dierking, 1992; Jensen, 1994; Puchner *et al*, 2001; Inoue, 2002).

Educators and teachers should not underestimate pupils' high interest in museums themselves.

Jensen conducted an interview survey in the U.S and found that:

...children with both high and moderate interest in museums revealed that they perceive and value museums as places where they can look at unique, special things of interest to them (1994: 310).

If museums can enhance their prior expectations and interest, pupils are likely to sustain high interest in museums afterwards, and engage in further learning. One comment from an A-level student, who participated in the Nihonga (Japanese paintings) workshop at the BM states:

Since coming to this workshop I've decided to study art in the future. That shows how influential this week has been for me (CME *et al*, 1993).

Continuous interest and positive appreciation leads pupils to gain global perspectives and respect differences instead of ignoring or stereotyping them.

### **7.3.1 In what ways was their understanding influenced after the visit?**

As discussed above, pupils' interest in Japanese culture and people was very high before the visit. In what ways does a museum experience influence pupils' interests? Csikszentmihalyi and Hermanson claim that it is necessary to create exhibitions appealing to the visitors as:

[m]useum visitors may at first attend to an exhibit because of curiosity and interest. But unless the interaction with the exhibit becomes intrinsically rewarding, *the visitors' attention will not focus on it long enough for positive intellectual or emotional changes to occur* (1995: 36. *my*

*emphasis*).

Some pupils referred to the exhibition experience as a reason for their strong interest (see 5.4.1). This is a positive outcome indicating that museum visits can promote visitors' interest. Fail and Dierking also comment that '[m]useums foster visitor interest and curiosity, inspiring self-confidence and motivation to pursue future learning and life choices' (1995: 20-21). Future learning is another key word for museum education. Since there are limitations of what one museum visit can offer, it is important to lead pupils to 'pursue future learning' (Dewey, 1938). Then, museum visits become a connective experience which expands to the future. In order to pursue this, museums need to understand visitors' interests, and not only for marketing purposes (Freeman, 1989). It is important to plan exhibitions from the visitors' viewpoint, taking prior knowledge, perceptions and interest into account.

The following comments demonstrate the impact of the museum visit on pupils' understanding:

I just found more and understand more [sic]. (Secondary, Girl)

[B]efore I thought it was people dress up in clothes that's all but now I know it is much more interesting than [sic] I thought. (Secondary, Girl)

Emotional responses, such as satisfaction, are crucial in visitor studies as 'learning experience involves the whole person, not only the intellectual, but the sensory and emotional facilities as well' (Csikszentmihalyi and Hermanson, 1995: 35). My data shows that satisfaction with the exhibition also contributes to raising interest in meeting Japanese people (see 5.4.1):

I thought it was boring and weird and now I really want to see what it is like for real and visit Japan. (Secondary, Girl)

This is an example of a positive change such as Csikszentmihalyi and Hermanson (1995) claimed. These positive changes contribute to the notion of international understanding, as pupils express positive appreciation towards the people and the country. The following findings also support this:

- Nearly 70% of pupils wanted to visit Japan.
- The majority of pupils wanted to meet Japanese people in the future, as they want to know more about their culture.
- Pupils wanting to visit the country also wanted to meet the people.

An exhibition experience can also, however, be of little influence. My data also shows that some pupils developed little interest in Japan, and those who had a low interest pre-visit maintained this level post-visit. Hein argues that 'connections between what visitors bring with them and new experiences are crucial':

Unless the new can be incorporated, either because the visitor already knows enough about the subject to simply include the new into existing frameworks or because the visitor has sufficient other frameworks so that the new can be accommodated by adjusting what is in the mind, *the new will be rejected and not observed* (1998: 153, *my emphasis*)

Hein's argument applies to those pupils who showed scant interest in Japan by saying they 'Had enough' and 'It's boring'. Any such exhibition is likely to receive a similar negative response if there is no possibility of connection between prior knowledge and that presented at the museum. This point is noteworthy, as the majority of reports on museum education (for example, NMDC, 2004a; DfES *et al*, 2004) ignore negative outcomes. The majority of reports quote pupils' words which are generally very positive. It is rare to find outcomes such as:

Although all students on the project were pleased with the quality of their work, 75% of primary students were very pleased compared with just 12% of secondary students. Also, 55% of primary students believed that they had learnt a lot compared to 12% of secondary students (Case Study 01, DfES *et al*, 2004: 7).

The results from my study also presented negative results. It is important for educators, teachers and researchers to be aware of the potential that museum experiences can result in negative as well as positive outcomes.

## **7.4 Discussion: What lessons might be learned for future exhibitions about Japan?**

### **7.4.1 Representation of 'others' and international understanding**

Representing 'other' groups of people is a central function of almost all museums (Lidchi, 1997; Stanley, 1998; Clifford, 1995; O'Hanlon, 1993; Simpson, 1996). Museums' potential to take initiatives in working towards international understanding as recommended by UNESCO (1966, 1974, 1994) is therefore significant. There have been a number of practical works implemented



in such museums (Akbar, 1995; CME *et al*, 1992, 1993; Reeve, 1987, 1992; DfES *et al*, 2004). However, not many past studies focus on the problematic aspects of representing 'others' in a museum context in the light of international understanding. As I demonstrated in this chapter, not only exhibitions but teaching materials also need close attention. In this section, I further develop my argument about the nature of representing 'others' in museums and discuss in what ways it can reinforce stereotypes and misunderstandings of 'other' people.

#### 7.4.2 Representation of 'others' in museum exhibitions

Henrietta Lidchi (1997) argues for a critical dimension against what she terms 'naturalisation', identified in ethnographic exhibitions. In *'The poetics and the politics of exhibiting other cultures'*, by examining two critiques by O'Hanlon (1993) and Clifford (1995) on the *'Paradise: Continuity and change in the New Guinea Highlands'* exhibition at the Museum of Mankind, she argues that ethnographic exhibitions tend to veil the motivation and intention of the creators of the exhibitions. Such exhibitions develop a sense of 'reality' among audiences, as if the exhibition correctly reflects the source cultures, whereas in fact the cultures have been 'reconstructed' by the curators (Lidchi, 1997).

Roland Barthes's theory of 'myth' is useful to develop an argument on this point. As part of his work on literary criticism, Barthes (2000) defines 'myth' as different to ordinary language. He argues that 'myth' always has 'some form of "motivation", namely some purpose, intent or rationale underlying its use' (Lidchi, 1997: 181). Barthes also explains that 'myths' carry the role of natural justification:

What the world supplies to myth is an historical reality, defined, even if this goes back quite a while, by the way in which men have produced or used it; what myth gives back in return is a natural image of this reality (Barthes, 2000: 142).

Exhibitions also share the feature of 'myths' as they 'naturalise speech' by 'transmuting what is essentially cultural (historical, constructed and motivated) into something which it materializes as natural (transhistorical, innocent and factual)' (Lidchi, 1997: 181-2). 'Myths' can act by

naturalising content and making it seem spontaneous, although in reality, they have been profoundly motivated. Planning for exhibitions is a highly constructed process involving curatorial and institutional motivation. There are a number of political decisions made behind the screens, which influence what is to be displayed and omitted. However, the end product, the 'exhibition' naturalises these aspects, as if they were put together without bias, just as myths justify and even purify their stories as innocent and simple statements of fact (Barthes, 2000; Lidchi, 1997). Clifford argues that texts and photographs contribute towards justifying the reality of exhibition content:

In an ethnographic exhibit, photographs tend to signify cultural "context," and they are coded historically accordingly to style and color. Sepia tones suggest the 19<sup>th</sup> Century; sharp black and white registers a nearer, documentary past; "true" color with candid or casual poses connotes contemporary history (1995: 99).

Photographs are useful in exhibitions as they 'have the same capacity as artefacts to evoke knowledge, spark lively debates on the identity and stories of the people or makers involved, and the cultural knowledge and intention encoded in them...' (Peers and Brown, 2003: 6). The photograph 'links the past and present' (*ibid*). However, in this case, there is a danger of photographs becoming an unquestioned source to justify visual stereotypes and naturalise the 'myth' of source cultures. There were photographs used in *Discovering Japan* showing, for instance, a Japanese couple in their wedding kimono, and a girl hanging an *ema* board to a tree in shrine. They are all in colour and give a strong impression of 'contemporary' Japan, apparently reflecting 'reality'. Shaw argues that:

The photographs [in ethnographic exhibitions] are treated very much in the same way as text information – they are regarded as documentary evidence about a specific cultural event (2004: 13).

The photograph of a couple in their wedding kimono is strong evidence of the use of kimono in contemporary Japan. British pupils will assume that kimono is worn in Japan today on special social occasions. As Barthes comments 'The effect it [photograph] produces upon me is not to restore what has been abolished (by time, by distance) but to attest that what I see has indeed existed' (1984: 82). The photographs of people in kimono became a strong evidence of the use

of kimono, but did not mention the significant changes in Japanese society, which has rendered the wedding kimono less popular. Young Japanese couples have more choices in wedding costumes, whereas for their parents' generation kimonos were integral to the ceremony. 'Photographs are not about recording individual human experiences or inclusive of the individual voice and agency' (Shaw, 2004: 13). They do not necessarily present the reality and the cultural context surrounding the photograph. Nevertheless, photographs give strong, vivid and memorable impressions to visitors (Barthes, 1984; Shaw, 2004; Clifford, 1995).

In Victorian Britain, museum exhibitions represented the power of the 'imperial' nation and its conquest of the colonies as remarkable achievements (see 2.3). Today, 'imperialism' may appear less significant in museum exhibitions, as the purpose of representation has moved to another stage of reflecting 'other' cultures based on facts and reality (Simpson, 1996; O'Hanlon, 1993). Exhibitions are still, however, inseparable from symbolic power. They carry meaning beyond a 'collection of artefacts' from a certain part of the world.

#### 7.4.3 Critique of *Discovering Japan*

*Discovering Japan* was presented as an accurate, in other words a 'natural', representation of traditional and 'contemporary Japanese culture' (National Museums of Scotland, 1991b; British Museum, 2001a) to the British public. Arguably, however, it only represented the pre-conceived notions of 'Japanese culture' widely believed by British citizens. I will develop this argument by adopting Barthes's idea of 'myth' (2000). Szyliowicz argues that in the 19th century French imagination, as in Pierre Loti's novels, the Orient was a 'vague, mythic ideal associated with danger, strange customs, and vaguely perverse sexuality' (1988: 35). This past belief does not directly apply to the myth presented in *Discovering Japan*. Nevertheless, the exhibition represented a 'myth' of traditional Japan by displaying the objects justifying 'Japaneseness' to a British audience. It is understandable that curators did not include contemporary culture such as mobile phones, TV games or cartoons produced in Japan; such items are found in Britain, and

hence do not present a 'pure' Japanese culture. In other words, Barthes' idea of the purification of the myth (2000) would not apply, had this exhibition included items representing so-called 'globalised culture' made by Japanese companies. Thus, *Discovering Japan* curators selected themes and artefacts which conform to their British view of the 'myth of Japan'.

In a newspaper article '*Kanji, McDonalds, and the art of asking questions*', McGlone claims that *Discovering Japan* is planned to make Japanese culture accessible through a hands-on approach so that 'children of all ages – "from seven to 70" – can scratch and sniff the mysterious and often inscrutable taste and flavour of Japanese culture' (1991). In McGlone, a 'mysterious' image and 'inscrutable' culture, typical stereotypes of Japan among Westerners, persists.

These 'mysterious' images appear in British pupils' perceptions of Japan. For example, an 11 year old primary school girl drew pictures of a sumo wrestler, chopsticks, fish on a plate, sword, and an umbrella as her images associated with the word 'Japan'. There is a common feature in such stereotypes of Japanese culture and those notions are associated with the science of ethnography and ethnographic exhibitions. Using Foucault's perspective, the science of anthropology (that is. the scientific study of people, society and culture: Collins, 1998) is interpreted as follows:

[anthropology] itself is possible only on the basis of a certain situation, of an absolutely singular event....[anthropology] has its roots, in fact in a possibility that properly belongs to the history of our culture...[Anthropology] can assume its proper dimensions only within the historical sovereignty – always restrained, but always present – of European thought and the relation that can bring it fact to fact with all other cultures as well as with itself (Foucault, 2002: 411).

There is an even stronger criticism of anthropology, considering its genesis during late-19th century. Stocking argues that anthropology is a discipline that codified knowledge, which can be called upon as 'a moral as well as a scientific justification for the often bloody process' of imperial expansion' (1987: 273). It encouraged and aided the classification of races of humankind to justify the act of Western colonisation (Lidchi, 1997).

This 'European thought' mentioned by Foucault is strong enough to describe Japanese culture as 'mysterious', 'exotic' and 'inscrutable' in the late-20th century. These descriptions are very similar to the descriptions of Japanese culture by French novelists in the 19th century, and British scholars in early-20th century (for example, Binyon, 1913). They also conform to the notion of Orientalism developed by Edward Said (1978). Although there are no directly offensive connotations in the terms 'mysterious' and 'exotic', as Said noted, these terms possess a notion of Orientalism which 'depends for its strategy on this flexible *positional* superiority, which puts the Westerner in a whole series of possible relationships with the Orient without ever losing him the relative upper hand' (1978: 7). In addition, Said claims that there has been a reinforcement of the Orient stereotypes via television and films (1987: 26). He argues that:

One aspect of the electronic, postmodern world is that there has been a reinforcement of the stereotypes by which the Orient is viewed. Televisions, the films, and all the media's resources have forced information into more and more standardized molds. So far as the Orient is concerned, standardization and cultural stereotyping has intensified the hold of the nineteenth-century academic and imaginative demonology of "the mysterious Orient" (Said, 1978: 26).

Said suggests that the perception of the 'mysterious' Orient persists in the Western mind. As discussed in previous sections, ethnographic exhibitions, as well as anthropological studies, are likely to enhance such images. Considering the context of the representation of Japanese culture in Britain, how can *Discovering Japan* be analysed?

#### **7.4.4 *Discovering Japan* : A representation of whose Japan?**

Traditionally, curators were the only staff who decided what to collect and what to exhibit. To make these decisions, curators heavily relied on their 'eye, taste, and experience' (Karp, 1991: 4) together with the museum's collections. There has been a struggle within museums 'to invent ways to accommodate alternative perspectives. This is especially true where exhibitions go beyond the individual artist and make some claim to present a culture or group' (*ibid*). Karp gives cases from art museums in the U.S. He discusses John Beardsley and Jane Livingston, who set up an exhibition in 1987 of Hispanic art. They were committed to the local Hispanic communities

and were successful in meeting their central goal of introducing Hispanic art to a general audience. However, it did not escape criticism. Karp comments that 'no matter how the exhibition was organized, it would have been disputed' because the 'subject matter inevitably was open to multiple responses, based on the cultural assumptions of the curators and the viewers' (1991: 5). This example shows how an exhibition attempted to 'represent' another culture or people is open to sharp criticisms. Nevertheless, it is important to have such exhibitions examined by various audiences and receive their opinions.

The selection and presentation of *Discovering Japan* have not been widely discussed in the past 10 years. The only academic work on this exhibition is Richard Statham's article examining its technological efficiency as an interactive display. Although Statham addresses that 'the exhibition could have done more to counter stereotyped impressions of Japan' (Statham, 1993: 7-8), he did not develop this issue. No other literature provides a critique of the content of *Discovering Japan*.

Two aspects will be considered regarding the contents of this exhibition. The first concerns the staff responsible for choosing themes for *Discovering Japan*. Second concerns the lack of consultancy with 'others' who were being presented.

#### **Point 1: Who selected the themes?**

Two individuals chose the themes. They were both British females working for the Royal Museum of Scotland in 1991. According to my interview with a curator (Hazel, 2003), one was an education officer and the other a curator of Asian antiquities.

A critical point is that two British female museum staff selected the display themes to introduce 'traditional and contemporary Japan' through 'participation and personal investigation' (National Museums of Scotland, 1991b: 3). There is a question over the suitability of selecting, kimono, garden, writing, shrine, wrapping to represent 'Japanese culture'. The curator argues that their selection of themes was based on feasibility for a hands-on exhibition (Hazel, 2003). As stated in the documents, *Discovering Japan* was planned to introduce Japanese culture to a British

audience, however, it intends to 're-present' another culture. As Lavine and Karp state:

Every museum exhibition, whatever its overt subject, inevitably draws on the cultural assumptions and resources of the people who make it. Decisions are made to emphasize one element and to downplay 'others', to assert some truths and to ignore 'others' (1991: 1).

In the case of *Discovering Japan*, the 'emphasized element' seems to be the 'stereotypical perceptions of Japan among British adults' perspectives', and the down-played element was 'contemporary Japanese culture from children's perspectives'. As discussed by Burgman (1987) and Beasley (1982), the majority of British citizens develop their perceptions of Japan from sources such as magazines, newspapers, television programmes and films, such as 'The Bridge on the River Kwai' (1957, produced by David Lean), or more recently, 'The Last Samurai' (2003, produced by Edward Zwick). Also, opera and plays such as 'Madame Butterfly' and 'Mikado' are strong sources for Japanese images. From these sources, people tend to associate images of 'kimono', 'shrines' and 'women with white make up' as representative of Japan. This is revealed in my data from British children as well (see 6.4). Simpson argues that 'the [European] museum, the 'cabinet of curiosities', is the storeroom of a nation's treasures, providing a mirror in which are reflected the views and attitudes of dominant cultures' (1996: 1). *Discovering Japan* seems to reflect British views and attitudes to Japanese culture.

I will expand this argument by focusing on the kimono section. The kimono section is the most popular and widely appreciated section among the visitors (Statham, 1993; Inoue, 2002). My data confirms this result (see 5.3.1). There is a high possibility that this confirmed and reinforced pupils' previous perceptions of 'Japan=kimono' through the exhibition. This appears in their post-visit drawings, as there was a significant increase of drawings of kimono (see 6.4). In a contemporary context, kimono is usually worn only on special occasions. For Japanese children, the idea of introducing kimono to British children is less important (Nomoto, 2003). Rather, they preferred to sing a Japanese pop-song for them. Creating a 'pop-song' section, which plays contemporary Japanese pop songs popular with Japanese children would have been more

appropriate. As some contemporary songs popular in Japan are American or British, British pupils would identify identical elements in both Japanese and British pop culture.

Gender-bias seems to appear in selecting the themes for *Discovering Japan*. It is unpopular to discuss gender-bias in museum education, although the majority of educators are female, especially in historical museums and art galleries. Moreover, there is wide research into gender-bias in education where illustrations and texts in school textbooks, and teachers' attitudes towards pupils have been criticised (see Davies, 1995). When the themes of *Discovering Japan* are examined bearing in mind the possibility of gender-bias, there are several aspects of Japanese culture left out from the selection: martial arts; the railway system; TV games; and car manufacture. These themes are all conventionally considered as boys' stuff. My data shows that British pupils, especially boys are already aware that sumo, karate, and samurai all originate from Japan. Most themes in the exhibition, however, relate to the traditional female preferences such as clothing (kimono), wrapping (gifts/decoration) and food (cooking).

Curators and educators need to be aware of possible gender-bias in exhibition planning. In order to prevent the bias from heavily influencing the exhibition contents, where possible, the gender balance of the staff involved needs to be taken into consideration.

### **Point 2: Consulting the group on target**

There was a significant lack of correspondence with Japanese people during the exhibition planning. Simpson raises a crucial point:

The involvement of members of ethnic groups, as partners in the planning process, as advisers, and as staff members, has come to be one of the major issues facing the museum profession in recent years (1996: 12).

Simpson's point highlights the lack of involvement of Japanese people in developing *Discovering Japan*. Involvement of the indigenous members in exhibition planning has been implemented by several museums (O'Hanlon, 1993; Simpson, 1996). The Boston Children's Museum has worked with the Native American advisory board since 1973 (Simpson, 1996). When planning the 'We're



*Still Here- Indians in New England Long Ago and Today*' exhibition, museum staff 'worked closely with the advisory board to address stereotypes and correct misconceptions' (Simpson, 1996: 53). There are stereotypes of Native Americans, such as; 'culture did not survive the nineteenth century' or that they 'still live as they did in the past' (*ibid*). This applies to the case of Japan where traditional culture is over-represented. Peers and Brown argue that museums and source/indigenous communities work beyond advisory commitment. They emphasise that this:

Involves learning from source community representatives what they consider appropriate to communicate or to display, or about traditional care practices, and implementing those desires and suggestions (Peers and Brown, 2003:2).

Since there have been such practices (Simpson, 1996; Rosoff, 2003; Peers and Brown, 2003), the planners for *Discovering Japan* could have made this choice.

It is noteworthy that most museum studies have only focused on complex issues raised in Australia (for example. Aborigine), New Zealand (for example. Maori), and North America (for example. Native Americans, African Americans, Hispanic) which are all domestic issues (Karp and Lavine, 1991; Simpson, 1996; Peers and Brown, 2003). Although Stanley (1998) critically discusses how International Exhibitions during the 19th century had displayed non-Western cultures, there is little recent discussion on representing culture from other countries. Peers and Brown argue that 'Collaborative projects between museums and geographically distant source communities have been much more sporadic' (2003: 3). A possible reason is the difference between a domestic and non-domestic issue: representation of Japan in Western museums is a non-domestic issue, at an international level. In Australia, however, issues concerning Aborigine people are domestic, albeit at a national level. These issues heavily depend on the 'political relationship between the source community and museums (and the need to resolve conflict between them), and on the geographical proximity of museums to these communities' (Peers and Brown, 2003; 3).

However, in today's globalised society, people travel easily overseas (Scholte, 2000; Schirato

and Webb, 2003). The boundaries between domestic and non-domestic issues become less significant. Today, it is not rare to find people from other continents in Western museums. As a result, national museums in Western countries are no longer serving solely Western audiences. The International Council of Museums (ICOM) also recognises this change in museum audiences, and stresses that 'The search for relevance and new audiences and increasing global population shifts have also led to new challenges for museums to address issues in multicultural contexts' (1997: 1). Therefore, it is important to open a wider discussion on the representation of other cultures at an international level for curators to attempt to 'involv[e] communities much more closely in the research and interpretation process and address[e] issues of concern to the communities themselves' (Simpson, 1996: 13).

In what way was *Discovering Japan* planned? Planners may argue that they did not have email or the internet in 1991, when *Discovering Japan* was being established. However, even in 1991, there was a full-time Japanese school in London and a reasonable sized Japanese community in Scotland. Hazel (2003) comments that she did seek for help from the Japanese community for practical advice such as how to dress a kimono. However, this only happened after the exhibition was thoroughly planned and themes already chosen.

The involvement of the source community has become increasingly important in museum practice. However, Clifford (1997) shows a case where tensions emerged in consulting with a Native American group. The consulting session was used by the source community members as an 'opportunity to pursue their own agendas' ignoring museum's intentions (Peers and Brown, 2003: 5). Respecting beliefs and rituals of the source culture is, of course, crucially important for museums (Peers and Brown, 2003; Simpson, 1996; O'Hanlon, 1993). Moreover, there is an international movement where:

Museums have begun to see source communities as an important audience for exhibitions, and to consider how museum representations are perceived by and affect source community members (Peers and Brown, 2003: 1).

Nevertheless, once a decision has been made between the museum and source community to set up a public exhibition, there is a mutual agreement of displaying their culture 'in public' as an exhibition. Museums are 'public institutions' where diverse peoples visit and their collections are required to be opened and accessed by wide audience (ICOM, 2004b). According to the International Council of Museums (ICOM)<sup>1</sup>, the definition of a museum is:

a non-profit making, permanent institution in the service of society and of its development, and open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits, for purposes of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of people and their environment. (ICOM, 2004b)

ICOM's definition clearly states that a museum is 'open to the public'. If the source community tries to restrict the gender/age/race of the audience in viewing their artefacts, museums need to reach a consensus with them, and pursue their role as a public institution. It is, therefore, important for museum staff to *listen to* and *be aware of* the voice of source communities. However, this does not mean that museums must obediently follow all opinions of source communities.

### **Lack of Japanese people's voice**

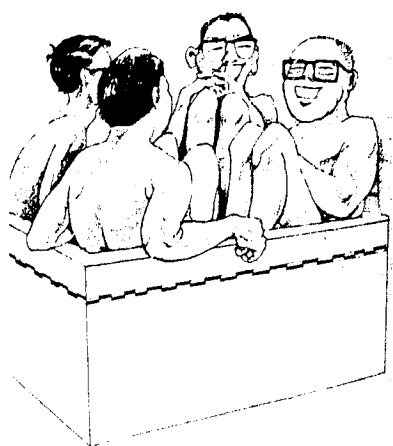
Past studies show that almost no critiques were made on the content of *Discovering Japan*. After it was established in 1991, there was only one article from a magazine published in Japan for mothers with young children, which introduced *Discovering Japan* in the Horniman Museum in 1992. As in examples introduced by Karp and Lavine (1991), Simpson (1996) and Peers and Brown (2003) there are a number of museums receiving sharp criticism from the source community. In case of exhibitions concerning Japan, there are only few cases where a political dispute has occurred over museum exhibitions (for example. the Smithsonian Institute's exhibition of Enola Gay has been in a serious dispute with Japanese victims of the atomic bombs.

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<sup>1</sup> The International Council of Museums (ICOM) is an international organisation of museums and museum professionals which is committed to the conservation, continuation and communication to society of the world's natural and cultural heritage, present and future, tangible and intangible. Created in 1946, ICOM is a non-governmental organisation maintaining formal relations with **UNESCO** and having a consultative status with the United Nations' Economic and Social Council. (quoted from: <http://icom.museum/organization.html>. Last accessed 30th September 2004)

News Telegraph, 2003) However, there are practices where Japanese viewpoints are requested on the descriptions of Japan in school textbooks published abroad. A Japanese organisation called 'Kokusai Kyoiku Joho Center (International Education and Information Centre)' examines the school textbooks published overseas to check the adequacy of descriptions of Japan (IEIC, 1984). I will give three illustrations from British textbooks, depicting British views of Japan in the 1970s.

**Figure 7.8 Illustrations of Japanese culture from British textbooks in the 1970s**



The illustration on the left is from a textbook '*Japan the land and its people*' (England:1975) cited in IEIC (1983: 15). Japanese people generally appreciate taking a bath and they have public baths too. However, they would never be so close together in a bath tub this small and they would take off their glasses .

The picture on the right is also from a textbook published in England in 1970 (cited in IEIC, 1983: 39). The caption explains traditional housing, and that this is a Japanese girl writing a letter with a brush. This is certainly not a Japanese girl in the 1960s, rather a typical 'Japanese woman' for the British imagination.



The illustration on the left is from a textbook '*Japan the land and its people*' (England:1975) cited in IEIC (1983: 38). It is supposed to be a man practising calligraphy. However, in Japan, generally calligraphy is practised sitting down on the floor with the short edge of a long paper in front. Another crucial mistake is that the man is writing from the wrong direction. It is incorrect to write a Japanese letter from his position as illustrated.

*Discovering Japan* did not make these kinds of mistakes, and succeeded in delivering accurate description of Japanese culture. According to Yoshizawa, who researched extensively on descriptions of Japan in German history and geography textbooks, published between 1890 to 1932 and in the 1990s, comments that in the majority of European textbooks, Japan is introduced as a 'mysterious' or 'strange and exotic' country, while at the same time, it is vividly described as 'an astonishing country'; non-Christian, lacking in raw materials and land, suffering from natural hazards, but nonetheless successful in economic development (1999: 19-20: my translation). The three illustrations (figure 7.8) tried to incorporate contemporary aspects of Japanese culture in the 1970s. To the eyes of the majority of Japanese, however, they are inadequate and demonstrate misunderstanding. This is a direct result of the lack of Japanese voices during the publishing process.

From 1958, IEIC contacted authors and publishers abroad and made suggestions to replace some illustrations and descriptions of Japan. IEIC send academic opinions, recent photographs, and statistical data of Japan for reference. As a result, many publishers revised their textbooks. For example, there was an illustration of a Japanese couple (a women in kimono and a man in a business suit with thick glasses) walking in a non-Japanese looking town, in an Indian textbook published in 1972. After receiving the suggestions from IEIC, the publisher changed the illustration to a modern picture of Japanese people walking in Tokyo. They also changed the term 'Fuji-Yama' to Mt. Fuji (IEIC, 1984: 50). Including the voice of indigenous people is critical, not only for textbook authors and publishers, but also for exhibition planners, curators and educators.

In the case of museum exhibitions, the recorded 'voices' of indigenous people can bring a sense of reality to the display, although it has 'never been an unproblematic exercise' (Clifford, 1995: 103). However, Clifford supports the use of voices as:

[r]epresented voices can be powerful indices of a living people: more so than even

photographs, which, however realistic and contemporary, always evoke a certain irreducible past tense (*ibid*).

Photographs depict one moment of 'a group of unidentified people' (Shaw, 2004: 14). Exhibitions of an 'other' culture is understood by knowledgeable adults who can distinguish the difference between the lives of individuals and those on display. However, for children, what they see in the exhibition of an 'other' culture may appear as the sole reality. Thus, in order to promote international understanding and deliver an accurate and balanced picture of the source culture, it is essential to involve the source community. Not only adults, but where possible, the voices of children should be used as they have greater resonance with child visitors. For instance, if there is a panel showing a conversation with a 10 year old Japanese boy regarding kimono, such as 'How many times have you worn kimono before?' 'Only once when I was five years old and my family celebrated the children's festival in November', it provides an accurate use of kimono for Japanese children. An inclusion of 'voices' can, therefore deliver lively information to the audience, with less room for bias from curators and educators. (see 8.2.3).

Reorganising or challenging visitors' knowledge and understanding through exhibitions is discussed as one of the essential elements of museums (Karp, 1991; Hein, 1998; Doering *et al*, 1999). Karp argues that from the exhibition:

[a]udiences are left with two choices: either they define their experience of the exhibition to fit with their existing categories of knowledge, or they reorganise their categories to fit better with their experience (1991: 22).

Karp states that ideally, exhibitions should lead visitors to choose the latter alternative. In the case of *Discovering Japan*, it seems the entire exhibition contributed to reinforce the 'existing categories' of knowledge, perceptions and understandings of Japan. This is partly because Western curators planned the exhibition, in order to display a non-Western culture to a Western audience. It was almost inevitable that the 'exoticness' and 'differences' between the British and Japanese culture would be strongly emphasised.

Karp comments that displayed exotic objects quite often 'tell...the history of their status as

trophies of imperial conquest' (1991: 16). Unlike the displays discussed by Barringer (1998) and Karp (1991), the objects and displays found in *Discovering Japan* are not directly associated with colonial history. Nevertheless, an emphasis on the 'exoticness' of Japanese culture can be linked with the 'stereotypes' of non-Western culture' which often appeared in Western museums (Simpson, 1996). Extreme examples of this Western view towards 'others' were projected in anthropological exhibitions at the beginning of 20th century, including a number where 'human beings' were exhibited as authentic living 'specimens' (Lidchi, 1997: Stanley, 1998).

Stanley argues that the international exhibition held from the last quarter of the 19th century until the First World War became 'not only a vehicle for merchandising but an occasion for the celebration of imperial majesty and rule' (1998: 22-3). As discussed in 2.3, anthropological exhibitions strongly supported the imperial nation, and justified their presentations by claiming that the subjects are studied by European 'anthropologists' for the sake of science. W. H. Rivers (1900) suggested to the Anthropological Institute in London that the anthropologist should 'seek special permission from the exhibition proprietors in order to "inspect" these people prior to the exhibit's opening to the public' (Rivers cited in Rydell, 1989: 197-8) so that evidence could be collected in advance (Coombes, 1994: 88). There were 'human showcases' at the Paris Exposition of 1889 (Stanley, 1998), and Igorots eating dog meat in the Philippine exhibit at the St Louis Louisiana Purchase Exposition in 1904. Ainu people from Japan (a minority group living in present Hokkaido) were shown with a photographed bear skull in the Japan British Exhibition in 1910. These exhibitions 'helped to support the dominant popular discourse that other cultures were "survivals" or "savages"' (Lidchi, 1997: 196). Benedict claims that 'people from all over the world were brought as sights in order to be seen by "others" for their gratification and education' (Benedict cited in Stanley, 1998: 23). Crucially it was for gratification rather than education (Stanley, 1998).

Perhaps *Discovering Japan* did not gratify British visitors in the same way that anthropology

exhibitions did in the early-20th century. However, the emphasis on the cultural themes where apparent 'differences' were identified still contributed to create a notion of 'others'.

#### 7.4.5 *Discovering Japan* and international understanding

I critically examine the appropriateness of the selection of themes in *Discovering Japan* for intercultural understanding. I compare these with themes recommended in foreign language teaching. The Council of Europe established the Modern Languages Project to promote the idea of 'language learning for European citizenship' as a contribution to the European Youth Campaign against Racism, Xenophobia, Antisemitism and Intolerance (Byram and Zarate, 1995). Some of Modern Foreign Language lessons can be applied to education for international understanding. For instance, Barry (1995) recommends a project '*Using homemade evidence*' for Year 7 onwards to develop awareness and openness to 'others'.

**Table 7.1 'Using homemade evidence' project for modern foreign language lesson**

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**PROJECT NAME:** *Using homemade evidence*

**AIM:** To make comparisons between aspects of life in the UK and life in the target language country.

**MATERIALS:** \*interview questions and answers and/or \*handwritten personal descriptions about

- likes/dislikes	- home town	- weather in home country
- food at home	- menus for special days	- family            - house
- pets	- school life	- interests and pastimes
- opinions about...	- similarities and differences in home country/other country	

**SOURCE OF MATERIALS:** Collected by asking a Foreign Language Assistant (FLA), and/or other native speakers (for example. in exchange school, partner school, lined class, family) at home or abroad

**POSSIBLE TASKS:** Compare evidence from FLA (or 'others') with similar evidence from UK class and write/say what appeals to the UK pupils. Emphasis here is put on positive opinion and what is attractive rather than what is considered negatively strange or unattractive.

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\*Quoted from Barry (1995: 5)

The common themes shared with *Discovering Japan* are: 'food at home' (Food section) and 'menus for special days' (sushi display at food section). *Discovering Japan* does not cover issues such as weather, school life, family or houses which are familiar to children and easy to make



comparisons between two cultures with evidence. The themes in Barry's project are similar to those raised by Japanese primary school children in Year 4 (see 4.5). The Japanese children want to introduce their hobbies, likes and dislikes, and to show their 'school life' in the video letter for children in London. Not only did the exhibition exclude these familiar topics, but it also excluded the 'similarities' identified in UK and in Japan, and put great emphasis on the apparent 'differences'.

Reinforcing the 'differences' in other cultures is common practice for ethnographic exhibitions (Karp and Lavine, 1991; Lidchi, 1997; Clifford, 1995). Different artefacts are deliberately chosen by curators. These choices are 'repressive', in the sense that 'they direct the visitor towards certain interpretations and understandings, opening certain doors to meaning but inevitably closing off the "others"' (Lidchi, 1997: 170). This applies to *Discovering Japan*: for instance, visitors are led to observe and taste the 'different' Japanese food not widely consumed in Britain, without providing information that many Japanese children enjoy pizzas, hamburgers and crisps. An exotic and mysterious image of Japan, as well as specific differences, has been reinforced by this exhibition. Consequently, the exhibition constructed the 'desirable' images of Japan to the British public which is not necessarily conducive to promoting an understanding of contemporary Japanese culture.

#### **7.4.6 Museum exhibitions and international understanding**

What kind of exhibition, then, would be desirable to promote international understanding? I will develop my argument by focusing on the planning stage of such exhibitions.

##### **7.4.6.1 Understanding and appreciating others**

One aim of education for international understanding is to 'encourage an attitude of openness towards 'others', and to involve, if possible, the hesitant as well as enthusiastic' (Barry, 1995: 1).

Pike and Selby comment that 'global education', sharing its aims with education for international

understanding, 'brings together two strands of educational thinking and practice that have had some marginal influence on schooling during the past century' (2000: 11). They argue that 'worldmindedness' is a crucial notion in global education where citizens should commit to the 'principle of "one world", in which the interests of individual nations must be viewed in the light of the overall needs of the planet' (*ibid*). Furthermore, they insist on:

[t]he development of young citizens who demonstrate tolerance of, and respect for, people of other cultures, faiths, and worldviews, and who have an understanding of global issues and trends (Pike and Selby, 2000: 11).

The notion of tolerance of, and respect for, other cultures is common to the 'appreciation' and 'understanding' employed for this study.

#### **How did *Discovering Japan* meet this criteria?**

The positive side of *Discovering Japan* is that it did not promote violent images (for example. war, crime). This often happens in history textbooks published in neighbouring Asian countries (for example. China, Korea), where Japanese war crimes are presented in detail and the people described as cruel, brutal and violent (Yoshizawa, 1999). I will not pursue this textbook issue as it is beyond my research theme. However, overemphasising violent and cruel images of a group of people certainly obstructs international understanding. In this aspect, *Discovering Japan* has succeeded in introducing Japanese culture in a neutral way, although the exhibition reinforced the traditional British view of 'Japan', and lacked a children's viewpoint. In order to overcome these issues, I recommend balancing the contents of exhibitions (see 8.2).

#### **7.4.6.2. Museum experience and international understanding**

The second strand Pike and Selby argue is 'child-centeredness' which inspired some notable progressive educators such as John Dewey, Freidrich Froebel, Maria Montessori, and A.S. Neill. The central concept is that 'children learn best when encouraged to explore and discover for themselves and when addressed as individuals with a unique set of beliefs, experiences, and talents' (Pike and Selby, 2000: 11). This concept chimes with notion of discovery learning in museums as Hein (1998), Freeman (1989), Stevenson and Bryden (1991) suggest. Furthermore,

the hands-on approach has been encouraged in many museums (Caulton, 1998; Stevenson and Bryden, 1991; Stevenson, 1994; Studart, 2000). *Discovering Japan* emphasises the 'hands-on experience' as a means of 'discovery learning'.

John Dewey (1938) raises several elements which need careful attention in encouraging pupils' experiential learning. He cautions that 'The belief that all genuine education comes about through experience does not mean that all experiences are genuinely or equally educative' (1938: 25). Further he argues that any experience which has the effect of 'arresting or distorting the growth of further experience' (*ibid*) is counter-educative. This point is crucial for museum education. Dewey argues two aspects of the quality of experiences:

- 1) an immediate aspect of agreeableness or disagreeableness; enjoyable; experiences should engage the students' activities.
- 2) its influence upon later experiences: it should promote having desirable future experiences (Dewey, 1938: 27).

Here, Dewey emphasises the continuity of the experience to future activities. He considers that '[e]very experience is a moving force. Its value can be judged only on the ground of what it moves toward and into' (1938: 38). It is crucially the business of the 'educator to see in what direction an experience is heading' (*ibid*). Nevertheless, many reports of museum education practices tend to focus on the immediate impact on pupils' perceptions of the visit. For example, 'Learning through culture is working!' (DfES *et al*, 2004), introduces five case studies in England and Wales. However, the evaluation only examines the short-term impact from entry and exit group interviews or questionnaires. It reports 'all [Year 5] students had been extremely motivated. He [the teacher] regarded it as extremely unusual for them to have concentrated for so long, particularly as they had worked quite independently' (2004: 7). Although teachers' reflective reports are collected after the visit, the report is lacking data on the long-term impact from the visit.

In addition, it does not report 'in what direction an experience is heading' (Dewey, 1938: 38). In terms of education for international understanding, it is crucial to follow up the ways in which

pupils understood the culture they studied in museums. In particular, where some museum exhibitions controversially reinforce stereotypes, it is the educator's role to follow up pupils' understandings and encourage them to critically reflect their museum experience. I conducted a follow-up session (see 7.2.3) as an example of how museum educators and school teachers can contribute to the continuing process of experiential education. One practical approach to address this issue is to create a follow-up pack for *Discovering Japan*.

## 7.5 Summary

In this chapter, I critically examined the planning process of *Discovering Japan*. By using the notions of 'myths' by Barthes (2000), I analysed how intentional selection of the themes in the exhibition appear as a natural representation once they are displayed. The process of naturalisation reinforces Eurocentric view towards non-Western cultures (Said, 1978) which also appears in the study of anthropology (Foucault, 1989). Non-Western cultures are still labelled as mysterious and exotic, and themes in the exhibition are likely to support and reinforce these notions. Visual stereotypes are emphasised through the displays, and these appeared in post-visit pupils' drawings of Japanese children. In terms of enhancing international understanding, it is crucial for pupils to have an opportunity to see a culture displayed in a well-balanced format. Pupils need to understand and appreciate the culture and people in focus, and not to ignore or show abhorrence for differences (Wiegand, 1993; Pike and Selby, 2000). While there are positive approaches in introducing Asian cultures to Western audiences (for example. *Encounters: the meeting of Asia and Europe, 1500-1800*, V&A, 23<sup>rd</sup> September to 5<sup>th</sup> December 2004), museum educators and school teachers must still critically examine their teaching resources and museum displays.

# Chapter 8

## Conclusion

### Representation by *Gōi*

Without knowledge of the past, how can we create the future?

Museums, libraries and archives collect and interpret knowledge about the past and the present, for the future...Inspiration from great works of art, from museums and the written word and from the diverse creativity of different cultures fuels the knowledge that we all need to develop and to understand better the world around us.

(MLA, 2004:1)

#### 8.1 A review of this study

This study examined how 'Japan' has been represented at the British Museum, and how the permanent Japanese collection and temporary exhibitions have contributed to the promotion of 'international understanding' (see 2.2): '[U]nderstanding and respect for all peoples, their cultures, civilisations, values and ways of life, including domestic ethnic cultures and cultures of other nations' (UNESCO, 1974). Although there is much literature regarding museum education (see 2.5) and education for international understanding (see 2.2), there is a lack of research on pupils' perceptions and understanding of the culture whose exhibitions they engage with (Inoue, 2002). This study aimed to fill this gap (see 1.2).

Among the various cultures displayed in British museums, this study focused on the representation of Japanese culture in the British Museum. This research is unique in that a Japanese researcher investigated how her culture was displayed in a foreign country. Unlike other British critiques of Japanese exhibitions, I analysed the representation of Japan from a native's viewpoint, by making use of my inside knowledge of contemporary Japanese culture and society. The British Museum was chosen for this case study because of its remarkable resources

in Japanese exhibitions. I analysed not only its Japanese exhibitions, but also on educational projects which used the Japanese collection (see 4.1).

I also conducted an in-depth analysis of a particular exhibition which claimed to introduce a different, 'other' culture: a travelling exhibition called *Discovering Japan*. Questionnaire surveys conducted by British pupils took place before and after their visit to the exhibition. The questionnaires were designed to identify their perceptions and understandings of Japanese people and culture. In particular, pupils' drawings of human figures were used to analyse their visual perception of and stereotypes about Japanese people.

The collected data was both quantitatively and qualitatively analysed in answering the following research questions:

- *How has Japan been represented at the British Museum, and how does the Discovering Japan exhibition fit within this context?*
- *What perceptions did British pupils have of Japanese culture and people, and in what ways did these perceptions change after the visit?*
- *What understandings (i.e. appreciation, interest) did these pupils have of Japanese culture and people, and in what ways did these understandings change after the visit?*
- *What lessons might be learned for future exhibitions about Japan?*

After developing these research questions (see 1.1), I presented the rationale, and the originality of this research (see 1.2 & 1.3). I also defined the terms and concepts employed in this study. Thus I set out the overall framework for this thesis, providing the underlying structure of the presentation of the findings and data analysis. Then I reviewed current academic and professional literature on the representation of 'other' cultures and on intercultural understanding through museums (see 2.2 & 2.3). I also illustrated British pupils' perceptions of Japan between the late 1970s and 2001.

After reviewing the research methods in an educational context (see chapter 3), I conducted the documentary analysis of the history of the representation of Japan in the BM. The analyses provided an insight into the development of the Japanese collection, its educational use, and

how a new hands-on-type of exhibition, *Discovering Japan*, fits within this context. Documentary evidence showed that in the early twentieth century, Japan was often represented as an 'exotic' example of non-Western 'Oriental' culture.

Following the documentary analysis, I evaluated the kind of impact that *Discovering Japan* had on British pupils. I examined pupils' perceptions, verbal and visual, and understandings of Japanese culture and people before and after their visit to the exhibition. The majority of the pupils are very aware of the presence of Japanese culture and people, and their perceptions of Japan reflected their personal experience both in schools and in daily life. Before their visit to the exhibition, the pupils' comments and drawings illustrated stereotypes of Japan (see 5.2 & 6.3). After the visit, the pupils expanded their perceptions of Japan. They developed a visual image of 'Japanese women wearing kimono' through the exhibition. There were, however, pros and cons to this perception: it could be understood as an enhanced awareness of different costumes; or else, it could also be a reinforcement of stereotypes of Japan, in this case that all Japanese women wear kimono for the majority of the time.

These sensitive and critical issues of how museums represent 'other' cultures are part of a heated debate (see 7.4.2). However, the majority of current discussion is limited to conflicts in North America, Australia and New Zealand at a domestic level (Simpson, 1996; Peers and Brown, 2003; Sandell *et al*, 2002). This study developed a critical argument on the representation of 'other' cultures in museums, with positive suggestions for the exhibition planning process. Using Barthes' notion of 'myth' (2000), I analysed how an intentional selection of the themes in Japanese exhibitions was presented as a natural representation of Japanese culture. The process of naturalisation is the product of a Eurocentric view towards non-Western cultures (Said, 1978) which also appears in anthropologic studies (Foucault, 1974). Another influential factor in naturalisation is the eroticism found in Western discourse of Orientalism. Eroticised Japanese women exist in the overstated references to geisha (see 2.4.3). Japanese

culture is still labeled 'mysterious' and 'exotic', labels that are supported and reinforced by the choice of exhibition themes.

For international understanding, it is crucial for pupils to have an opportunity to see an 'other' culture displayed in a well-balanced format. Pupils should not ignore 'other' cultures and people nor show an abhorrence of them simply because they are different (Wiegand, 1993; Pike and Selby, 2000). In introducing Asian cultures to a Western audience, museum educators and school teachers need to examine their teaching resources and the exhibitions critically.

This final chapter suggests a model of representation of 'other' cultures by the *Gōi* model. It will provide five practical recommendations for museum educators, teachers, exhibition planners, and designers in terms of international understanding.

## 8.2 Representation by *Gōi*

This section uses the main findings (see 7.1-7.3) to develop a '*Gōi* model' for planning exhibitions representing 'other' cultures. In Japanese, *Gōi* means a general agreement or consensus. 'Go' means an 'agreement' and 'i' means 'opinions'. *Gōi* is one of the important aspects of democracy in Japanese society (McNeil, 1994). McNeil argues that in contrast to western democratic practice, Japanese policy making relies on 'building consensus' rather than dispute (1994: 162). In relation to museum practice, Szekeres (2002: 148) stresses the importance of making decisions by consensus among 'curators, designer, educator, and front of house staff, operations manager and...programme coordinator'.

This ethos of *Gōi* addresses this study's purpose of creating better representation of 'other' cultures in museums (see 1.1). Although my *Gōi* model develops out of the outcome of a particular type of exhibition, this model may well have broader applicability.

Figure 8.1 provides a '*Gōi* model' for planning a balanced exhibition of another culture. An ideal



exhibition of another culture needs to strike a balance between opposite viewpoints; for example, between adults' and children's perspectives, between past and present culture, and between museum staff and people from the source culture. In order to plan a well-balanced exhibition of another culture, the curators and museum educators need to consult people with different viewpoints such as source community members and school teachers, and to build an actual *Gōi* among the exhibition planning team.

Figure 8.1 'Gōi model' for exhibitions representing 'other' cultures

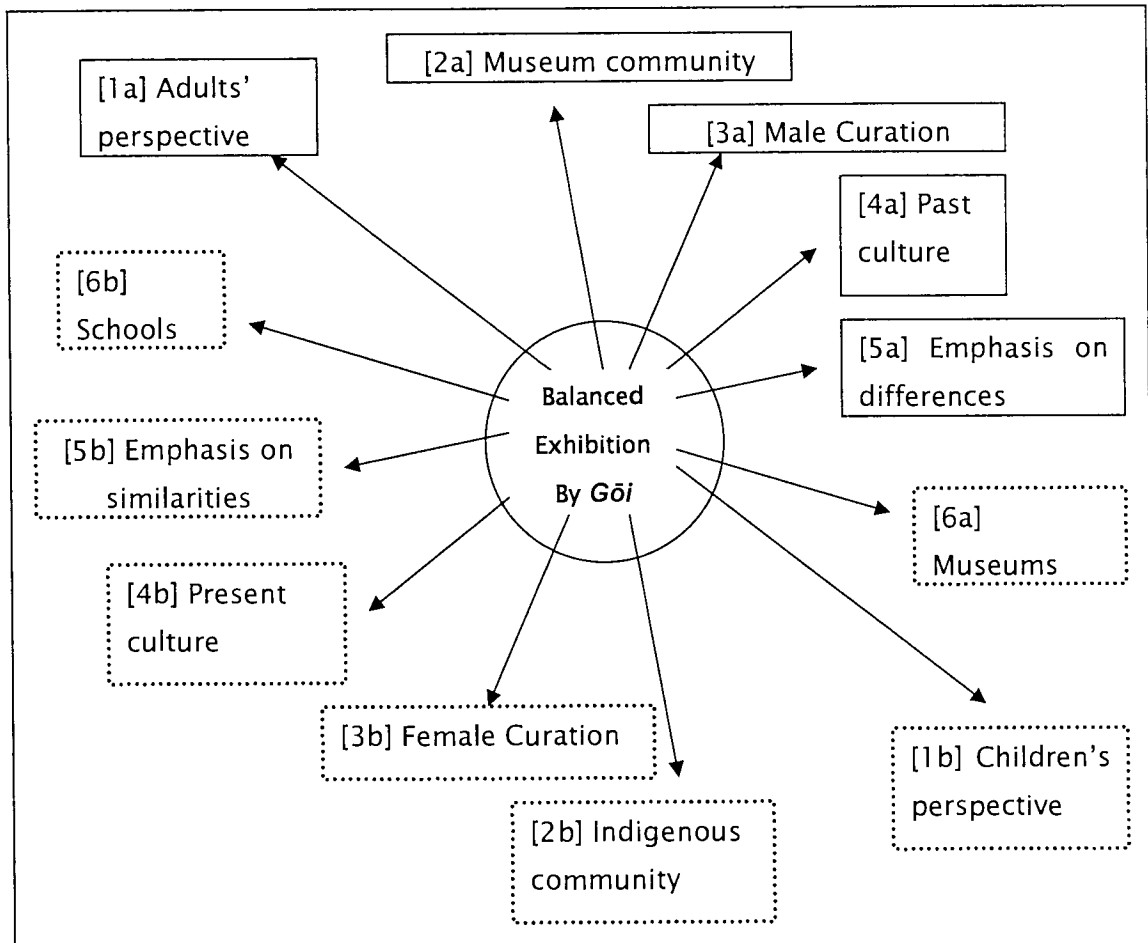


Figure 8.1 presents six pairs of opposite viewpoints. For instance, line [4] gives past and present culture as two opposite viewpoints. An exhibition showing only the past culture [4a] of, say Japan, will inevitably lack present Japanese culture [4b], leaving the impression on the visitors that '[people's] lifestyles persist, unaltered, in the manner of their nineteenth-century ancestors' (Simpson, 1996: 35). A well-balanced exhibition, by contrast, is shown as a circle in the centre in figure 8.1. It should be noted that my list of opposite viewpoints is open-ended. The six pairs of

opposite viewpoints are identified as important factors for international understanding on the basis of the main findings of this study. However, there may well appear to be other important opposite viewpoints in other contexts, so I do not claim that my list is exhaustive, but should be viewed as a proposal to be examined further. In the following sections, I shall explain each pair of opposite viewpoints in my 'Gōi model', and put forward practical recommendations for a balanced exhibition of another culture.

### 8.2.1 Gōi between (1a) Adults' perspective ← → (1b) Children's perspective

Speaking of people's perceptions and stereotypes of 'others' it commonly refers to adult perceptions and stereotypes (see 2.4). It is understood, however, that children as young as three are aware of racial differences among people, and that stereotypes are perceived through daily interactions (see 2.4.1). It is now essential for curators to understand the 'attitudes held by the visitors prior to the visit' (Doering *et al*, 1999: 131). This is especially so when the culture in question has historical and political conflict at the domestic level (see 7.4.6.). Doering *et al* comment that in their visitors' study,

...museum staff wanted to better understand the distance between the attitudinal component of visitors' "entrance narrative" and the perspectives of the museum (*ibid*).

Museums need to understand the distance between visitors' and museum curators' perceptions of the subject. This is not only to understand adults' perceptions of 'other' cultures but also those of children. Exhibition planners need to be aware that children perceive 'other' cultures through displays as documented in this study.

As discussed in chapters 5 and 6, many British pupils already have clear perceptions of Japanese culture and people. However, when planning *Discovering Japan*, curators did not seriously take into account British children's perceptions of Japan. Therefore, there are gaps between the perceptions of children and assumptions of the curators (see 7.4.4). For example, British pupils quite often mentioned martial arts as an aspect of Japanese culture (see 5.3.1), but they were not included in the exhibition. A secondary boy who associated 'Kung-Fu' with Japan

maintained this view after the visit, as nothing in *Discovering Japan* corrected the widely held belief that Kung-Fu is Japanese, when it is in fact Chinese. Whilst exhibitions cannot cover all misperceptions or misunderstandings, if museums display objects with an awareness of children's viewpoints, they are likely to be more accessible and accomplish deeper understanding. As Hein (1998) and Jensen (1994) argue, when people show greater interest in the display, it is more likely that they will alter their understanding.

My data also showed the significant difference in pupils' perceptions of Japan between schools (see 5.3.1). For example, most pupils from a primary school located in a Bangladeshi-British community in East London, were unaware of Japanese food, such as sushi. The same age group of children from another school, however, recognised several Japanese foods and other cultural aspects. This finding is consistent with Wiegand's study (1992) that demonstrates significant differences in children's recognition of the 'world' between the four schools he studied. British children attending a rural school in northern England had more restricted knowledge of other countries. In contrast, children from another school, who seem to have more experience in 'touring than from a single package location' (Wiegand, 1992: 69), showed 'more extensive world knowledge' (*ibid*). Pupils' perceptions of other countries seem to relate to their experience in schools and communities. When I walked around a neighbourhood in East London, there were virtually no Japanese restaurants or Japanese people as there are in most other London neighbourhoods. Pupils were thus highly unlikely to have a Japanese meal, unless they travelled to central London with their parents, who would have to show a specific interest in doing so.

These results suggest that British children's perceptions of Japan differ according to their social background. It is beyond the scope of my research to investigate the social reasons for differences in perceptions. However, there are national movements to tackle this issue of 'social exclusion' in museums, such as the 'Hub museum' projects organised by the Museums, Libraries and Archives (MLA) from 2001. The museum advisory committee announced a project to choose

several local museums (Regional hub museums) to act as main co-ordinators in promoting the use of museums for learning. These museums collaborate with other museums and institutions in the area as partners<sup>1</sup>. One target of this national programme is 'working with the communities' where Hub museums contact 'hard-to-reach community groups' and engage schools from 'the most deprived wards in England' (MLA, 2004). Such communities include some schools which participated in this research.

Visitors' perceptions are not wholly determined by their age or gender. Exhibition planners need to be aware that children's experience and perceptions may differ significantly according to their social background (Wiegand, 1992). Thus, in order to create exhibitions which pursue the aims of international understanding, it is crucial to be aware of children's perceptions of 'other' cultures and reflect their viewpoint from the planning stage. This leads to *Gōi* between adults' and children's perspectives.

**Recommendation 1:**

**Adult curators need to accommodate children's perspectives**

*Gōi* between [1]: Adults' / Children's perspective

### 8.2.2 *Gōi* between (2a) Museum community ← → (2b) Indigenous community

In most national museums, exhibition planning is no longer completely in the hands of curators, but is organised by development teams (see 4.2). It is also common to find international collaboration in setting up exhibitions (O'Hanlon, 1993; Clark, 1996; British Museum, 2003b; Smith, 2004). An example of a *Gōi* approach exists at the Maritime Museum in Liverpool which opened its new gallery: *Transatlantic Slavery: Against Human Dignity* in 1994. The staff at the National Museums and Galleries Merseyside (NMGM) worked with an advisory committee. Members were drawn from a range of black organisations; it consisted of 11 guest curators,

<sup>1</sup> For further information of this project, see chapter 5: 'A new framework for success' and chapter 6 'Building the new framework', in Re:source (2001) 'Renaissance in the Regions: A New Vision for England's Museums'.

academics and museum professionals in Britain, the U.S., Barbados and Nigeria (Simpson, 1996). Another example is the *Kazari* exhibition at the BM in 2003. The *Kazari* was co-organised by the Japan Society in New York and the BM. A team of scholars and curators from Britain, the U.S. and Japan were involved, and many of its objects were loaned from museums and private organisations in the three countries.

However, in some cases, there are tensions between museums and indigenous advisory groups. Clifford (1995) argues that when there is a political dispute over the status of indigenous people, they exploit museums as media to advocate their opinion. In these circumstances, the status of the committee may change from 'advisory' to 'political intervention'. The political position of museums is a crucial issue. Evans (1999) argues, however, that *Gōi* can be reached when both indigenous group and museums concerns are addressed.

Advisory involvement of indigenous staff enables accurate and up to date 'contemporary' information of the culture in focus to be presented, minimising misinformation (Peers and Brown, 2003; Simpson, 1996). Wojtan (1994) strongly recommends the involvement of Japanese nationals in teaching Japanese culture to children in order to counter misunderstandings. Wojtan believes that:

Japanese nationals cannot only excite students about the culture, but they can also correct stereotypes or misinformation that might be present in print or audio-visual instructional materials (1994: 3).

As discussed in 7.4.4, in the case of *Discovering Japan*, curators consulted British scholars who specialised in Japanese studies at the planning stage. However, their level of knowledge and interest often transcended that of general visitors, so their advice may have been inappropriate. If, for financial reasons, it is difficult to hire indigenous staff for the planning team, international telecommunication techniques, such as video conferencing can be used. In the case of *Discovering Japan*, staff could have tried to contact, for example, the Embassy of Japan or Japanese schools in the U.K. to obtain Japanese pupils' views about contemporary Japanese

culture. These examples show that consulting indigenous people from the culture in focus is a feasible task.

### Use of 'voices' of the people

The curators for *Discovering Japan* could have made more use of quotations from Japanese people. O'Hanlon (1993) and Clifford (1995) both agree that this method, which was formally adopted in the *Living Arctic* exhibition at the Museum of Mankind in London, was appreciated by the visitors. In *Living Arctic*, many direct quotations from Native Americans' were displayed. Although those voices may sound natural and realistic to the visitors, O'Hanlon (1993) reminds us that the 'indigenous voice' is the selection of the curator. Nevertheless, the quotation of voices can be 'a powerful means of communication, albeit always under curatorial orchestration' (Clifford, 1995: 103).

Barthes (1984) also argues that represented voices can present more powerful messages than photographs, which always evoke a notion of the past. The voices of Japanese children would have had a powerful impact at *Discovering Japan*. A simple comment for the garden section such as, 'I have only seen a Japanese rock garden in pictures of temples in Kyoto. There are none in my neighbourhood, but I wish I had one!' provides factual information on the scarcity of rock gardens in residential areas and shows Japanese children's lack of familiarity with them. The use of people's voices in exhibitions can be useful in incorporating up-to-date information, as well as providing indigenous people's reflections on their own culture and society.

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**Recommendation 2:**

**Involve members from a source community from exhibition planning stage**

*Gōi* between [2]: Museum staff / Indigenous community

### 8.2.3 *Gōi* between (3a) Male curation ← → (3b) Female curation

As discussed in 7.4.4, not many research studies have focused on the gender balance between curatorial members. Past studies have discussed gender-bias in an educational context (O'Conner, 1999; Epstein; 1998; Davies, 1995), but the discussion has not been applied to a

museum context. It is, however, equally important for museums. There are cases where male indigenous members are involved in the process of exhibition planning (O'Hanlon, 1993; Peers and Brown, 2003; Bolton, 2003), but previous studies do not discuss the participation of female members. This is an area which needs further research.

In the case of *Discovering Japan*, there was a gender-bias in the selection of the themes (see 7.4.4); much of what would be enjoyed by boys was not included (e.g. martial arts, TV games, cars), but instead it centred on 'girls' stuff' (e.g. cooking, food, origami, kimono). To avoid unbalanced gender representations, *Gōi* between male and female planners is important. The significance lies not in the number of male/female exhibition planners involved, but in the achievement of an agreement between them. *Gōi* model recommends that an exhibition planning team should include not only curators and museum educators, but also source community members and school teachers. In inviting people from outside the museum, a gender balance should be taken into consideration.

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**Recommendation 3:**

**Balance the gender among planners and involve external professionals**

*Gōi* between [3]: Male / Female Curation

#### 8.2.4 *Gōi* between (4a) Past culture ← → (4b) Present culture

As Doreing *et al* argue, one of the major challenges for museums is 'bridging the chasm between the imagery of the... past and perceptions of the present' (1999: 147). In order to set up an exhibition to enhance international understanding, curators need to consider ways of connecting the artefacts from the past to visitors' perceptions of the present. A good example of an exhibition that successfully linked past culture to its contemporary society was the *Souvenir* exhibition at the BM (see 4.2.1).

Museum visitors often carry a mistaken image of unfamiliar cultures (Simpson, 1996). For instance, a number of visitors at the Smithsonian Institute believed that Native Americans today live in the 19<sup>th</sup> century lifestyle (Doreing *et al.* 1999). If museums persist to display the past culture without any information on the present situation, they can reinforce these inadequate historic images. They can lead visitors to believe stereotypes, and create further misunderstandings.

Museums have been motivated by a conviction that ‘the presentation of people’s material culture in museums contributes to cross-cultural awareness and understanding’ (Kreps, 2003: 79). A careful *Gōi* process is required among curators and indigenous members to create a well-balanced display of past and present culture, which satisfies the requirements of both museums and the source community within the ethos of international understanding.

↓

**Recommendation 4:**

**Balance the presentation of past and present culture in exhibitions**  
*Gōi* between [3]: Past / Present Culture

**8.2.5 *Gōi* between (5a) Emphasis on differences ← → (5b) Emphasis on similarities**

Museums have a long history of introducing ‘curiosities’ and ‘strange objects’ from different parts of the world (Hein, 1998; Simpson, 1996; Stanley, 1998). In general, they have emphasised the differences found in ‘other’ cultures. This is evident in *Discovering Japan* (see 7.4.2). On the other hand, there are also examples where similarities have been overemphasised. Barthes (2000) criticises a photographic exhibition in the 1950s (and still in circulation) titled ‘*The Family of Man*’<sup>2</sup> which focused on the similarities in human behaviour and common aspects of life (e.g. birth, death, work). He points out that this exhibition ‘directed [the audience] to this ambiguous myth of the human “community”’ (2000: 100). Barthes emphasises that events such as birth and death are ‘facts of nature, universal facts’; however, ‘if one removes History from them, there is

<sup>2</sup> For further details of this exhibition co-ordinated by Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) in New York, see Edward Steichen and Carl Sandburg’s book ‘*The Family of Man*’ (Reissued 2002), New York: Museum of Modern Art.

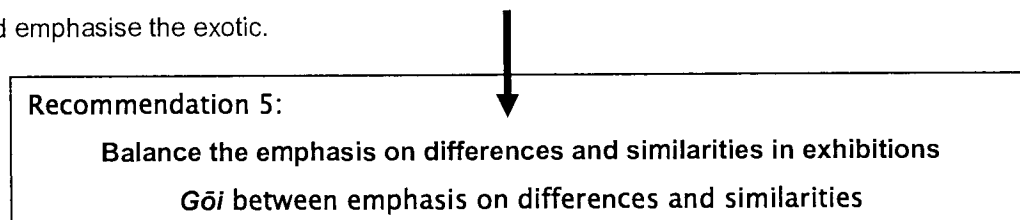


nothing more to be said about them' (2000: 101). In other words, he argues that exhibitions need to include the reality of social, political and historical backgrounds of humans and not to create a myth of universality. Instead, he states that exhibitions should enhance peoples' awareness of social issues, which are often represented in photographs and artefacts (Barthes, 2000). Exhibitions that ignore complexities and conflicts of historical background and simply emphasise similarities between human beings can lead the audience to misunderstand the reality of human society.

As I argued in 7.4.5, in order to encourage international understanding, a balance between the emphasis on differences and similarities among cultures is crucial. It is inappropriate to focus solely on differences among culture in a globalised world in the 21st century. Szekeres comments on the difficulty in achieving a balance when representing cultural diversity in Australian museums, stating:

Planning of programmes emerged as a very sensitive area to negotiate. On the one hand the museum was representing and even promoting cultural difference, but on the other hand it was desperately trying to avoid reinforcing stereotypical images and the potentially divisive aspects of difference (2002: 144).

This dilemma shows that museums need to achieve *Gōi*, and balancing the representation of differences and similarities is a vital aspect. This is particularly important for exhibitions for children who are less aware that museums tend to display 'different' artefacts from the world, and emphasise the exotic.



### 8.2.6 Links and *Gōi* between (6a) Museums ← → (6b) Schools

Strong partnership between schools and museums/galleries is an essential element in promoting museum education (Sheppard *et al*, 1993). Recently in the U.K., there has been a growing debate over the connections between museums and school curriculum. A national project, 'The Museums and Galleries Education Programme (MGEP)', was launched in 1999 as 'a 4 million

Department for Education and Skills (DfES) investment in schools focused museum/gallery education projects'. The second phase of this project, MGEP2 aims to:

- promote sustainable school/museum/gallery partnerships which
  - contribute to raising pupils' standard of achievement
  - link to specific aspects of the National Curriculum
- demonstrate learning outcomes for pupils/teachers. (DfES *et al*, 2004)

However, there are intense arguments as to what extent museums should integrate the National Curriculum and governmental schemes such as social inclusion (Appleton, 2004; Cuno *et al*, 2004). Cuno deplores the current situation:

It seems that today's museums would rather be *anything but* museums - they run like crazy from their old objects, trying to be hospitals, schools or day care centres. But they have neither the training nor the resources to solve these kinds of social problems (cited in Appleton, 2004).

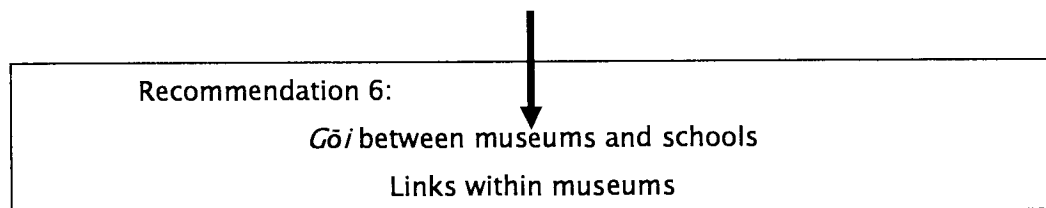
However, organisations such as MLA aim to 'bring museums and schools together to develop learning resources and activities based upon collections' (Street, 2004: 6). MLA does not suggest museums perform like schools; rather, they suggest collections should be the first priority. It can be argued that British museums have reached a stage where they need to review their work and re-establish their status as both educational and academic institutions. To overcome the criticisms above, reaching *Gōi* between museums and schools is essential. By discussing their needs and capacities, museums and schools will be able to build a strategy for working together.

### **Links within museums**

The discussion of linking also applies at an institutional level. Making a link between exhibitions can enable visitors to expand their knowledge and experience of museums. For example, a visitor who came to see the Chinese gallery can be led to other galleries, by referring to the Chinese cultural influence over Korean and Japanese art. Artefacts can also link continents together, such as the ivory carvings from the early 16<sup>th</sup> century Benin Kingdom which illustrate Portuguese men from Europe (displayed in the Sainsbury African Galleries, BM). When visitors find connections between different civilisations and cultures, the notion of international

understanding is advanced. This is only at the curatorial level, but other museum facilities should also contribute in creating an environment to enhance international understanding.

For visitors, museums are not just about the galleries, but also the buildings, restaurants, staff and shops. Physical comfort is required for visitors to learn from exhibitions (Csikszentmihaly and Hermanson, 1995; Falk and Dierking, 1992). Co-operation with other facilities such as museum restaurants and bookshops will contribute to raise visitors' awareness of the subject. In the case of the *Shinto* exhibition at the British Museum, the museum restaurant prepared a special menu inspired by Japanese cuisine; the bookshop sold exhibition catalogues and books related to Shinto religion and its art works; the museum shop sold Japanese goods such as toggles, accessories and postcards. However, it is ironic to find a lack of collaboration between the organisers of the *Shinto* exhibition and *Discovering Japan* (see 4.5). More co-operation is required between educators and curators when setting up exhibitions opening over the same period.



These recommendations might sound obvious. Few exhibition planners would disagree with them in principle. However, those recommendations are all based on this study. It is worthwhile to articulate the rationale for them because there is evidence that current practices do not always meet the requirements set out in this study.

### **8.3 Proposal for further research**

In this final section, I propose research questions for studies in the future. As a single researcher, my data collection was inevitably restricted (see 3.3.4). However, my research provides the foundation on which I will formulate five further research proposals for promoting international

understanding through museums.

***[1] Further research on the long-term impact on pupils understanding of 'others' through museum exhibitions***

This study surveyed the short-term impact of an exhibition experience on pupils' international understanding. Further research is required to examine the long-term impact of exhibitions, for example; three months, six months, and one year after the visit. Stevenson (1994) conducted a long-term study on interactive science exhibits by conducting periodic interviews. Similar research is required of exhibitions based on humanities subjects, especially those used for promoting international understanding. The findings of such research will contribute to building a *Gōi* between, say, emphasis on the differences and the similarities of 'other' cultures, and between past and present culture. That is because the research outcomes will show the ways in which visitors understand the exhibition in the long term. If any misunderstandings of the culture arise, such as visitors believing an aspect of historic culture as living culture, museums can make amendments to the displays.

***[2] Investigation of social influences and impact of exhibitions on pupils' perception and understanding of other people and culture***

Past studies have focused on children's stereotypes and their psychological development (see 2.4). However, few studies synthetically examine the recent social influence on stereotypes held by children. For example, Cullingford's study (2000) does not discuss influences from websites and other digital media. In order to build a *Gōi* between museums and schools, exhibition planners need to know in what ways children's perceptions develop under various social influences, and how exhibitions can contribute to this process. As presented in chapter 5, a museum exhibition makes an impact on pupils' perception of 'others'. It is also shown that pupils' perceptions have already been influenced by school education and daily media contact. Further research is required on children's perceptions of 'others' from the media in order to develop an effective technique for utilizing the media, school education, and museum to promote international understanding.

***[3] The use of drawings as a method to understand pupils' perceptions and stereotypes and enhance learning in museums***

As discussed in 3.3.5 and presented in chapter 6, drawings can be employed to understand pupils' visual perceptions of 'others'. After the visit and follow-up session, pupils' drawings and comments showed that they had broadened their perceptions of Japanese people. For example, pupils learned that not all Japanese people have slit eyes, that contemporary young Japanese people do not have 'jet black' hair, and that buns are not the only hairstyle to go with kimonos. The effective use of children's drawings will raise exhibition planners' awareness of children's perspectives, and encourage the exhibition team to build a *Gōi* between adults' perspectives and children's perspectives.

Based on Arnheim's notion of 'visual thinking' (1970), drawings can become an appropriate tool for enhancing pupils' visual awareness. For this reason, the BM distributes free papers and pencils for children and encourages them to make drawings during their visit. Thus, it is important to investigate how the use of drawings encourages children to develop their perceptions of 'others' in museums.

However, there still is a question of to what extent does these forms of drawings force the research participants to provide stereotypical representations. Further research is required to establish a technique for the assessment of children's perceptions and stereotypes through their drawings.

***[4] Research on the international dimension to the discussion of representation of other distant cultures in museums***

In 7.4.4, I addressed a significant lack of research and discussion on the representation of distant cultures in museums. That is partly because their representation has yet to become a political threat to any institutions, unlike for instance aboriginal cultures at a domestic level. It is

preferable to build a *Gōi* between the museum and source community to create a well-balanced representation of a distant culture. Although this can be a difficult issue due to funding and time restrictions, technology will help overcome these problems, as it is possible to hold a TV conference over the internet at little cost, to allow a 'virtual' *Gōi* process. When the hurdle of meetings at an international level is solved, it is far easier to approach the issue of representation of distant 'others' in museums.

**[5] *Creation of guidelines for museums to plan exhibitions for international understanding***

ICOM (2004a) and UNESCO have not yet produced reliable and useful guidelines for planning exhibitions aimed at international understanding. There are a number of critical arguments over exhibitions of aboriginal cultures in museums. However, few studies have investigated the crucial question: how can international understanding be achieved through museums? Further studies on this question will provide a common ground for developing new guidelines for museums. ICOM and UNESCO will be an ideal institution to develop such guidelines as not only are they the most, but they are the only influential international organisations for museums

I have formulated five research proposals. The implications to be drawn from this study can provide a base for further research. As long as museums exist and are recognised as public institutions for displaying global artefacts, a kind of *Gōi* process is necessary. This is not only to satisfy the needs of institutional policy, funding criteria and voice of community members, but also to promote the notion of international understanding. The issues related to international understanding through museum exhibitions seem to be given a low priority in museums' institutional policy and in academic studies at present. The proposed research themes are only the tip of a huge iceberg. I sincerely hope that this thesis will provide a starting point in this field of research.

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## Appendix 1

### Japanese Gallery – Exhibition Programme

1990	5 Apr – 3 Jun	<b>Masterpieces of Japanese Art in the British Museum, I</b> (opened by HIH Prince Akishino)
	5 Jul – 4 Nov	<b>Porcelain for Palaces</b> (opened by HRH the Duke of Gloucester)
	4 Dec – 10 Feb 91	<b>Swords of the Samurai</b>
1991	11 Apr – 4 Aug	<b>Masterpieces II</b>
	18 Sep – 24 Nov	<b>Kamakura Sculpture: The Renaissance of Japanese Sculpture (1185-1333)</b> (part of Japan Festival) (opened by HIH Prince Hiro)
1992	19 Dec 91 – 1 Mar 92	<b>Nihonga: Traditional Japanese Painting 1900-1940</b> (part of Japan Festival) (opened by Japanese Ambassador in presence of Prince Andrew)
	1 Apr – 6 Sep	<b>Masterpieces III</b>
	25 Sep – 31 Jan 93	<b>Ukiyoe Painting in the British Museum</b>
1993	17 Feb – 25 Apr	<b>Japanese Arts in the British Museum</b>
	Jun – Nov	One-man shows:
	3 Jun – 4 Jul	<b>'La Vie': The Works of Yoshida Kenji, Japanese Artist</b>
	14 Jul – 15 Aug	<b>Takeda Hideo &amp; the Japanese Cartoon Tradition</b>
	26 Aug – 26 Sep	<b>The Darkness of War, The Darkness of Peace: Prints &amp; Sculptures by Hamada Chimei</b>
	26 Aug – 26 Sep	<b>Kagita Geiun: A Modern Artist of Noh Masks</b>
	7 Oct – 7 Nov	<b>Between Heaven &amp; Earth: Paintings by Tachibana Tenkei</b>
	1 Dec - Feb 94	<b>Demon of Painting: The Art of Kawanabe Kyosai 1831-8</b>
1994	28 Jan – 17 Apr	<b>Himalayan &amp; Japanese Art in the Schmitt-Meade Collection</b> (Rm 91)
	10 Mar – 17 Apr	<b>Treasured Miniatures: Contemporary Netsuke</b>

	19 May – 21 Aug	<b>Modern Japanese Prints 1912-1989</b>
	21 Sep – 15 Jan 95	<b>Japanese Imperial Craftsmen: Meiji Art from the Khalili Collection</b>
1995	2 Feb – 23 Apr	<b>New Acquisitions 1990-95</b>
	15 Jun – 13 Aug	<b>Classic Art of Japan</b>
	31 Aug – 22 Oct	<b>The Passionate Art of Kitagawa Utamaro (d.1806)</b>
	17 Nov – 14 Apr 96	<b>Ōkyo and Kyoto Painting 1770-1900</b>
1996	15 May – 14 Jul	<b>Kayama Matazō: New Triumphs for Old Traditions</b>
	1 Aug – 29 Sep	<b>Paintings &amp; Prints: A New Selection</b> (on OA bridge)
	16 Oct – 5 Jan 97	<b>Japanese Arts: The Sword; Older Traditions of Painting &amp; Prints and Photographs from the Hacker-Vernarelli Gift</b>
1997	22 Jan – 20 Apr	<b>The Shibata Gift of Arita Porcelain &amp; Other Recent Acquisitions of Japanese Art</b>
	15 May – 7 Sep	<b>The Ceramic Art of Sawada Chitōjin</b> (Konica gallery)  <b>Styles of Japanese Porcelain: Styles of Japanese Pottery</b> (Main gallery)
	21 Jul – 31 Aug	<b>Japanese Paintings &amp; Prints: Images of Kyoto &amp; Osaka</b> (on OA bridge)
	25 Sep – 4 Jan 98	<b>The Calligraphic Art of Ogawa Toshu</b> (Main Gallery) <b>Japanese Calligraphy, 17<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries</b> (Konica)
1998	20 Jan – 20 Apr	<b>Arts of Japan: Selections from the Permanent Collections (including Ukiyoe I: Prints &amp; Books of the early period c.1680-1765)</b>
	13 May – 26 Jul	<b>Rimpa Art from the Idemitsu Museum of Arts</b>
	18 Aug – 15 Nov	<b>Japanese Buddhist Arts of the Edo Period (1600-1868)</b>
	1 Dec – 18 Apr 99	<b>Arts of Japan: Selections from the Permanent Collections (including Ukiyoe II &amp; III)</b>
1999	8 May -29 Aug	<b>Kagura: The Oka Gift of Japanese Ritual Masks</b>

	22 Oct – 22 Feb 00	<b>Gilded Dragons</b> (Chinese Exhibition OA)
2000	24 Mar – 24 Sep	<b>Japan Time: Clocks, Zodiac, Calendar Prints</b>
	20 Oct – 14 Jan 01	<b>Saga: Contemporary Ceramics from the Home of Japanese Porcelain</b>
2001	30 Jan – 8 Apr	<b>Arts of Japan: Recently repaired paintings; Ukiyoe IV</b>
	11 May – 29 Jul	<b>One Hundred Views of Mount Fuji</b>
	5 Sep – 2 Dec 02	<b>Shintō – The Sacred Art of Ancient Japan</b> (with Agency of Cultural Affairs, Tokyo)
2002	24 Jan – 19 May	<b>Arts of Japan</b> – Toyohiko screens; Big Kyoto Fan; Ukiyoe V
	20 Jun – 1 Sep	<b>Japanese Prints during the Allied Occupation, 1945-52 – Onchi Koshiro, Ernst Hacker and the First Thursday Society</b>
2003	5 Feb – 13 Apr	<b>Kazari: Decoration &amp; Display in Japan, 15<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries</b> (with Japan Society, NYC)
<b>OTHER EXHIBITIONS</b>		
2003	23 May -17 August (Buddhist sculpture and archaeological material continuing on North Stairs)	<b>Arts of Japan: Selections from the Permanent Collection</b> (in Room 91)
2003	16 August -14 December	<b>Japanese Prints of the Showa Era (1926-89)</b> (Level 3 corridor)

2004 Arts of Japan in the Japanese Galleries 28 June 2004 – 12 Sept 2004

2004 Cutting Edge 30 Sept – 27 Feb 2005

Japanese Galls closed on 13 April 2003, but we kept something going In Level 3 corridor and Room 91 for most of the interim until the reopening on 28 June 2004

Created by the Japanese Section, Asia Department, British Museum 2004

## Appendix 2.1

### Pre-visit questionnaire





4. Have you met any Japanese people?

YES

NO

If NO, would you like to meet Japanese people?

YES

NO

5. Do you know any Japanese words?

YES

NO

If YES, write the words you know.

6. Please draw.

You

Japanese boy or Japanese girl  
[Tick the one you draw.]

You've already finished half. A bit more to go!

7. Do you know any Japanese food?

YES  NO

If YES What is it called ? \_\_\_\_\_

How did it taste? \_\_\_\_\_

If NO Do you think you would like Japanese food?

YES  NO

8. **Circle** the objects you think are sold by Japanese companies in Britain.

Piano Electronic organs (Keyboards) Violin Glasses Toys Airplanes  
 Ships TV Video players (VCR) TV games Cars stereos CD players  
 MD players Walkmans DVD Pens Printer Personal Computers(PC)  
 Clothes Furniture Soy Sauce Rice Cartoons Animation

9. Have you learned anything about Japan at school?

YES  NO

If YES, what did you learn?

10. Would you like to know more about Japan?

YES  NO

If YES, what would you like to know?

If NO, why?

11. How and where would you like to learn about Japan? Circle as many as you like.

in Schools in Libraries in Museums in Art Galleries in Parks  
 at Theatres at Department stores at Shopping Centres  
 at Home on the Internet/Computers in Films/Videos  
 other (please write )

12. What do you think Japanese people are like? **Circle** the words, as many as you want and answer 'why'.

I think Japanese are:

Words	Why?
active	
clever	
cool	
friendly	
funny	
happy	
kind	
nasty	
nice	
noisy	
outgoing	
poor	
quiet	
rich	
scary	
shy	
unhappy	
unkind	
wicked	
weird	
other	Write the word( ) Why?( )

13. Would you like to visit Japan in the future?

YES

NO

Why?

What would you like to do there?

Finished! Now, make sure that you answered all the questions.

Check your birth date on the first page. Is it correct?

*Please return this sheet to your teacher.*

*Thank you very much!*



## Appendix 2.2

### Post-visit questionnaire



4. What do you think of when you hear the word 'Japan'?

5. Did your images of Japanese culture change after visiting *Discovering Japan*?

YES  NO

If YES, how did it change?

6. What do you remember from the flipbook?

7. Please draw.

<p style="text-align: center;">You</p>	<p>Japanese boy <input type="checkbox"/> or Japanese girl <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>[Tick the one you draw.]</p>
--	--

You've already finished half! A bit more to go...



8. Did you try the Japanese food?

YES

NO

If YES What did you have? \_\_\_\_\_

Would you like to have a real Japanese meal?

YES

NO

If NO Would you like to have a real Japanese meal next time?

YES

NO

9. Would you like to know more about Japan?

YES

NO

Why?

10. How and where would you like to learn about Japan? **Circle** as many as you like.

in Schools    in Libraries    in Museums    in Art Galleries    in Parks  
at Theatres    at Department stores    at Shopping Centres  
at Home    on the Internet/Computers    in Films/Videos  
other (please write \_\_\_\_\_ )

11. Would you like to meet Japanese people?

YES

NO

Why?

Please turn over.



12. What do you think Japanese people are like? **Circle** the words, as many as you want and answer 'why'.

I think Japanese are:

Words	Why?
active	
clever	
cool	
friendly	
funny	
happy	
kind	
nasty	
nice	
noisy	
outgoing	
poor	
quiet	
rich	
scary	
shy	
unhappy	
unkind	
wicked	
weird	
other	Write the word( ) Why?( )

13. Would you like to visit Japan in the future?

YES

NO

If YES, what would you like to do there?

14. Do you have any more comments about *Discovering Japan*?

Finished!

Make sure that you answered all the questions.

Check your birth date on the first page. Is it correct?

*Please return this sheet to your teacher.*



Thank you very much!

In Japanese, 'Domo Arigato!'

## Appendix 3

### Research Ethics with Children

Adapted from Boyden, J and Ennew, J (1997) Children in Focus: A Manual for Participatory Research with Children, Radda Bamen: Stockholm. (pp 56–57)

Researchers should:

- respect the rights of children as set out in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child;
- encourage children to communicate in various ways and take note of their input (Articles 12 and 13 of the CRC);
- obtain the informed consent of children and their parents or guardians before engaging in research;
- obtain the informed consent of children and their parents or guardians before distributing research information;
- ensure that research is conducted in a manner that addresses children's physical, psychological and social development;
- approach children as capable social agents;
- address children's priorities and interests;
- address children's cultural values;
- take care not to impose own ideas on the children;
- take care not to abuse or exploit the children in any way for research purposes;
- take care not to put children at risk in the process of research;
- be transparent regarding information collection from children;
- take care not to discriminate against children in any way, whether this be through race, culture, gender, age, socio-economic or health status, caste, religion, language, or personal capacity;
- involve children as true partners in dialogic interactions and enable them to be co-researchers in so far as possible;
- ensure research report ownership by children or where appropriate their parents or other related persons;
- not use material without the informed consent from the participants;
- not give out real names of persons or organisations without informed consent; confidentiality of all sources will be maintained;
- not use materials that will be threatening to the children, even if they have given their informed consent;
- give appropriate weight and value to children's feelings;
- disseminate findings to the group(s) that contributed to the research, in media that they can understand;
- give materials gathered from research participants back to the participants, keeping copies only with their informed consent.

