Challenging ways of working: The impact of co-creation projects on museum practice

Toonen, Stella

Awarding institution:
King's College London

Challenging ways of working: The impact of co-creation projects on museum practice

Stella Toonen

Department of Culture, Media and Creative Industries

King's College London

March 2023

This thesis was submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Cultural and Creative Industries at King's College London.

Abstract

This thesis investigates the extent to which co-creation work between museums and communities influences museum practices. It considers co-creation as an approach that challenges traditional power dynamics in museums and explores how this might catalyse change across these organisations. In particular, it looks at how co-creation work changes the way staff reflect on their work, as well as at examples of tangible changes to museum spaces, working practices and organisational and decision-making structures.

The research takes a case study approach that follows major co-creation projects at Tate Modern (London), the Whitworth Art Gallery (Manchester) and Queens Museum (New York) and offers a comparative analysis of the debates and challenges they encountered within their co-creation work. Based on qualitative data from a documentary analysis, semi-structured interviews with museum staff members, and participant observations of co-creation meetings and events, this thesis gives an overview of the main enablers and barriers for how this co-creation work might instigate wider institutional change across its respective organisations. The findings show examples of where significant change was made and where more impact could have been achieved, but also underline the complexities of building sustainable and embedded organisational change for the long-term.

Additionally, this thesis interrogates existing co-creation theory and language and suggests a more nuanced approach to existing definitions,

models and principles around co-creation that could offer a more accurate application of the term across both academia and the museum sector. It argues that the process of redefining and reconceptualising co-creation may be a collective process between co-creators and that this is where the term finds its strength.

This thesis concludes that significant change, both in thinking and action, can stem from co-creation work in museums, but that the scale, extent and longevity of this change is highly dependent on how such co-creation projects are set up, managed, and embedded within their organisations. It outlines ways in which co-creation practice, often despite having the best intentions, might end up becoming tokenistic exercises that do not significantly shift power dynamics within the museum, but also proposes an extended set of principles that might address and minimise this risk.

Hence, this research aims to add value and nuance to debates about the impact of co-creation work on museums, and offer improved understandings to both scholars and practitioners working in this area.

Acknowledgements

certainly not have managed to finish it without your unconditional support and endless patience either. You bring sunshine every day, and even if our PhD years have been a mad time across various countries, lockdowns, flats, travels and other surprises that life has thrown at us, having you by my side has made all of it the only adventure I would ever have wanted to be on.

Finally, I would like to dedicate this thesis to Wil Toonen, who once published his own first academic paper and who would have thoroughly enjoyed finding our names alongside each other in academic libraries. I would also like to dedicate it to Lia Toonen, whose loving and grateful memory will forever be intertwined with this period in my life and the strange year of 2020. Not a day goes by that I do not miss you both.

Table of contents

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

CHAPTER 7: CHALLENGING CONCEPTUALISATIONS

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

List of figures

List of tables

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Introduction

This thesis explores to what extent co-creation with communities might challenge and change the internal organisation and working practices of art museums. To set the research within the context of the current museum sector, it was set up as an AHRC Collaborative Doctoral Partnership between King's College London and Tate. It used a qualitative case study methodology to analyse the effects of co-creation practices in three different contemporary art museums: Tate Modern (London, UK), the Whitworth Art Gallery (Manchester, UK), and Queens Museum (New York, USA). These museums were all running or setting up major co-creation programmes and therefore offered suitable environments in which to study the extent and nature of organisational change stemming from co-creation work.

1.2. Significance of the research

Audience communities have played an increasingly central role in museums, especially since New Museology scholars in the 1980s proposed a new "a radical orientation to the public" (Hauenschild, 1988: 237; also Vergo, 1989). This approach included a "grassroots" (Hauenschild, 1988: 237) approach to decision-making in museums, in which audience communities were required to be represented. This approach built in turn on earlier models from the 1970s which also aimed to open up museums, including through 'ecomuseums' focusing on the needs and voices of local communities (Davis, 2004; 2008), and 'community museums', whose communities were "no longer considered as visitors, or museum public, but as actors and subjects of the museum" (Varine, 1996: 25). Moreover, case studies of experimental new museum forms were born, such as the Integral Museums, which aimed to emancipate communities through education (UNESCO, 1972), and Glasgow's Open Museum, a project that took its objects out of the museum and into the community (Addington, 2010). Such models and experiments raised questions around the social role and value of museums (Karp, Kreamer & Lavine, 1992) and the representation of community voices in museums (Ames, 2003; Shelton, 2003; Anita, 2003), and formed the basis of a long genealogy of community-focused museums.

The last decade and a half, however, has shown another rapid increase in interest across museum scholars and professionals in working with communities, and particularly in processes of collaboration and power-sharing with these groups. This is illustrated by examples ranging from the success of Nina Simon's *Participatory Museum* (2010) to the emergence of a

UK-wide Co-Creating Change network in 2018, which brought together artists, cultural organisations and communities to advocate for social and organisational change achieved through co-creation (Co-Creating Change, n.d.). Collaborative practices in museums have steadily become more prevalent, including among larger museums and those with art collections. In fact, in the past decade, many cultural institutions in Britain launched major, dedicated co-curation, co-creation and co-production projects, including *Object Journeys* at the British Museum (2015-2018), the *Endeavour Galleries Project* at the National Maritime Museum (2014-2018), the *Office of Useful Art* at Middlesbrough Institute of Art (2015-2018), *Tate Exchange* at Tate Modern and Tate Liverpool (2016-2022), Whitworth Art Gallery's *Constituent Museum* project (2019-2021), Derby Museums' new *Museum of Making* (opened in 2020) and Manchester Museum's new *South Asia Gallery* (opened in 2023). Many examples can be found outside of the UK too, from the entire public programme of the Museum of Art and History in Santa Cruz (since 2012) to that of the Myseum in Toronto (since 2015), and from Queens Museum's *Year of Uncertainty* in New York (2020-2021) to the Amsterdam Museum's *Collecting the City* project across Amsterdam (2022-2025). This list is by no means exhaustive.

Within this move towards more collaborative practices, co-creation has come up as a buzzword and collaboration technique that could help museums to give community groups increased ownership over museums and their contents (Simon, 2010; McSweeney & Kavanagh, 2016). However, co-creation has been performed in many different ways and to a wide range of purposes, blurring its definition and its relationship to other types of collaboration (Walmsley, 2013). As a result, many projects use language that

implies much more collaborative interaction between museums and communities than is in fact taking place, and both the misuse and overuse of the collaboration rhetoric risks making professionals and scholars distrustful of the term. While co-creation can be highly specific to each project or practitioner and finding one universal definition might be difficult, the field may benefit from a clarification of the existing vocabulary and the different applications and connotations of the concept. This research offers a critical analysis of the terms related to co-creation that are in use today and proposes a more refined language and description of the elements that make co-creation distinct from other collaborative community engagement techniques.

Going beyond redefining co-creation as a term, this research also considers the potential for co-creation practices to instigate change within museums. When it comes to change in the context of co-creation, existing studies often focus on the potential of co-creation to change the participating audiences' lives (Boiling & Thurman, 2018; Matarasso, 2019; Co-Creating Change, 2022), or on the changing role of the artist as a facilitator of co-creation projects (Pringle, 2009*a*; Helguera, 2011; Brown et al., 2011), but there seems to be a gap in literature that explores the concept from an organisational perspective. As a result, existing studies fail to explore the potential effects of co-creation on the museum's internal organisation or the ways in which staff approach their work. The few studies that have been done in this area, such as Lynch (2011*a*) and Morse (2018), suggest that community engagement work in museums may have the potential to challenge notions of institutional power that are currently limiting innovation in museums and within the community engagement field, but give little detail on the potential extent of this change. Moreover, such studies rarely balance the inherent

contradiction that museums face in having accountability beyond its community engagement remit, including to many stakeholders with different interests. In fact, co-creation is often not the sole focus of such museums, and its impact needs to be interpreted in wider organisational structures, which sometimes require the museum to focus its impact on trustees or general audiences, rather than particular community groups only, or requires them to balance power sharing with protecting the organisational reputation. A lack of research into these levels of accountability highlights the need for further research conducted from an organisation-wide perspective.

Importantly, taking an organisation-wide perspective also allows this study to analyse the wider effects of co-creation on museum work beyond the department(s) directly involved. In many cases co-creation projects are designed as stand-alone projects that are not necessarily embedded more widely within the organisation (Lynch, 2011*a*), sitting within learning and education, outreach and community, or curatorial departments as delineated projects. However, there is value in additionally including communities in decision-making in the context of visitor services, operations, and marketing work that shapes the museum's identity, as well as more strategic work, such as major capital projects, business plans, or the development of a new vision and mission. By looking at the effects of co-creation work on the wider organisation, this study offers insight into areas of museum practice that have been less well researched (Janes, 2007; Morse, 2018).

Finally, embedding this research into three case study organisations currently involved in co-creation gives this study a combined academic purpose and practical use. Understanding the effects that co-creation projects can have on the organisations undertaking them expands museum studies

theory around participation and gives practitioners and professionals an opportunity to reflect critically upon the impact of their work. The research conducted here has been fed back into each case study organisation, offering them a greater understanding of their relationship with communities as well as the theoretical underpinnings of co-creation, and prompting reflection. Hence, as is often the case with CDP projects, the active partnership with the host museums offers research participants an opportunity to learn from the project and feed its outcomes back into their work.

1.3. Purpose and aims of the research

Through taking a qualitative case study approach, this research project aims to achieve three objectives. Firstly, it creates a more developed theoretical understanding of the effects co-creation programmes have on art museums, and specifically, on how museum practitioners might challenge their practice as well as the organisation of the museum. Secondly, it provides museum scholars and professionals with a better understanding of co-creation's potential impact on organisational practices to help them reflect on how this impact might be maximised. And thirdly, this study offers a more nuanced approach to defining the language around co-creation and the principles it builds on, to help both scholars and professionals to use the concepts in more meaningful ways, and discourage the often rhetorical or performative uses that co-creation language is often criticised for (Lynch & Alberti, 2010; Walmsley, 2013; Lynch, 2019).

To achieve these aims, this research critically interrogates current co-creation models as well as the wider community-focused practices of three case study organisations engaging in co-creation work. It is informed by and in turn informs current co-creation practice and research. Therefore, this study makes theoretical contributions to the field of museum and heritage studies, museum management and organisational studies, and practical contributions to the work of co-creation and community engagement practitioners as well as staff at the case study organisations.

1.4. Research questions

This research aims to explore the following research question: *To what extent might co-creation challenge working practices across the museum?*

It addresses three sub-questions:

1. *How might co-creation be a catalyst for encouraging and embedding critical reflection in a museum context?*
2. *What is the nature and extent of change that may take place in museums stemming from co-creation work?*
3. *How might co-creation be further conceptualised to nuance current understandings and applications of the term in a museum context?*

1.5. Contextual definitions

This thesis deploys terms that represent large bodies of work and have a wide range of connotations, including 'museum', 'community', 'collaboration' and 'co-creation'. Moreover, its main research question uses phrasing that should be clarified to demarcate the remit of the question, such as 'working practices' and 'museum staff'. This section briefly clarifies what is meant by these terms in the context of this study. It does not aim to give universal definitions (in fact, definitions are given throughout the thesis as needed), but discusses the terms in relation to the research themes and to each other, as some of the terms contrast with one another. A more detailed critical discussion of these concepts, and especially of 'co-creation' and 'organisational change', will be found in the literature review (see Chapter 2).

1.5.1. Museum and community

Creating comprehensive definitions of 'museum' and 'community' is not within the scope of this PhD project. Instead, the terms will be explained in relation to each other in order to enable meaningful discussion. 'Museum' follows the ICOM (2022) definition of museums and is used in this report as a term to cover the type of organisation represented by the three case studies, even if some of these case studies refer to themselves as a 'gallery'. Use of this term over another by the case study organisations is often historically decided, and 'museums' is preferred in this context to avoid confusion with galleries for art sales. As the research case studies are all chosen from the field of contemporary art, the use of the word 'museum' in this report will mainly be shorthand for 'contemporary art museum' or 'art museum'. This does not

mean that any of the theory discussed could not be applied other types of museums too, but its focus on contemporary art museums is merely a result of the scope of this research.

In co-creation processes Jubb (2018) argues there is usually the "artist, producer or cultural organisation" on one side of a collaborative process, and the "individual, group or community" on the other. Although there might be more than two stakeholder groups involved in real co-creation projects, they can generally be considered as being on either of these two sides. Generally speaking, the first group consists of cultural professionals or professional institutions – in this case museums and their staff – while the second often describes people who are not professionals within the cultural sector (Matarasso, 2019) and who represent (potential) audience groups for museums (Kadoyama, 2018).

In many cases, the audience groups targeted in co-creation contexts are described as 'communities' because they share a sense of belonging based on specific characteristics, for instance gender, race, religion, age or place of residence, as well as certain beliefs, habits or interests (Watson, 2007; Kadoyama, 2018). While they might share characteristics, communities are also highly diverse groups and often represent much bigger and usually much more heterogeneous groups of people (Waterton & Smith, 2010). In many cases the communities chosen to work with as co-creators consist of audience groups whose voices are specifically underrepresented or marginalised in museums (Watson, 2007; Golding & Modest, 2013). The term 'community' functions in this study as an opposite to the 'museum' side of the division outlined by Jubb (2018), yet the research shows that this

opposition is problematic and that it requires acknowledging the existence of members who sit in a greyer area in between the two groups as well.

Many co-creation texts use this division between museum and community to draw attention to unequal power distributions within museum practices (Simon, 2010; Brown et al., 2011; McSweeney & Kavanagh, 2016). Within these models, the institutional, professional museum group traditionally takes a dominant position over the non-professional, community side when it comes to decision-making in museums. This division resembles Freire's (1968: 18) binary between the "oppressors" and the "oppressed" and Arnstein's (1969: 216) opposition between the "establishment" and the "have-nots", which are also divided by levels of power and dominance. Similar to Freire's and Arnstein's agendas of encouraging the oppressed to reclaim agency, Jubb (2018) proposes that the aim of co-creation is also to challenge this power dynamic between arts organisations and communities, resulting – as he argues – in both groups interacting as equals. This research project therefore considers the role of co-creation in changing the relationship between museums and their communities, and the impact that has on how museums work.

This study looks at co-creation from the point of view of this professional, institutional, established group; in this case the museum. It is interested in the potential (and willingness) of members in this group to let go of some of their authoritative power to challenge the "oppressive" relationship with the "have-nots" in their constituent communities, in Freire's (1968) and Arnstein's (1969) language. In that sense, this research uses the terms 'museum' and 'community' to indicate the groups at either side of this

equation, but acknowledges that these terms are shorthand for a much more nuanced composition of members of both groups.

In the context of the interviewees who make up the research population, those who make up the 'museum' side of the equation are staff members from Tate, Whitworth Art Gallery and Queens Museum, who come from a range of departments and work across different roles and capacities. The communities featuring in the fieldwork phase of this study are the groups they engage in their co-creation projects, which are mainly local residents for Queens Museum and the Whitworth, and a curated group of just over 60 Tate Exchange Associates for Tate. Although this study draws on both museum and community views, the organisational perspective taken means that the staff from the case study museums form the main focus of the interview sample, whereas the community members only feature in observations as the indirect object of study.

1.5.2. Collaboration and co-creation

Similar to section 1.5.1, finding a working definition that covers all that 'collaboration' could mean is beyond the scope of this research, but in this study generally it indicates practices whereby two or multiple stakeholder groups work together to achieve a shared goal. It relates to co-creation in that co-creation is one particular type of practice in a much wider spectrum of collaborative approaches (see section 2.2.3).

Academic literature about co-creation offers many different definitions (Govier, 2009; Leadbeater, 2009; Brown et al., 2011; Ind et al., 2012; Walmsley,

2013), and this plurality is sometimes highlighted as a weakness of the term (Walmsley, 2013). This study therefore offers an analysis of existing understandings of the concept (see section 2.2), but also proposes a more refined definition that distinguishes between transactional and radical co-creation. While the understanding covered by the first term – transactional co-creation – features heavily in co-creation literature, it is only briefly considered in this research as a type of more superficial collaboration. The second term – radical co-creation – is introduced in Chapter 7 as a term to describe a type of co-creation in which power is shifted between the collaborators taking part in it. Section 2.2.3 will show that in the context of museum practices, this is generally also what sets co-creation apart from other types of collaboration.

Each co-creation project is different, as they are highly shaped by their specific stakeholders and environments. This makes it difficult – and arguably useless – to find a single definition for what co-creation may look like or do within museums. Instead, section 2.2 will detail the various principles that underpin co-creation, rather than describe its exact shape. Based on these principles, however, it could be said that this research uses a definition of co-creation that highlights the equal nature of the relationship between museum and community, both in terms of input and output of a project, and that might offer potential for challenging the power dynamics between the stakeholders, and therefore potential for creating change.

1.5.3. Working practices and museum staff

A definition of 'working practices' is highly dependent on the context of the industry and organisations studied, but in this research the term is used as shorthand for the working practices of professionals across the museum. By using the term 'working practices' this research focuses on the process of how work is done (e.g. decision-making structures or internal collaboration), rather than products or outputs of the work (e.g. exhibitions or events). While this could include a wide range of practices, the research followed areas of practice in which research participants indicated seeing change. This covered systems and conditions that are in place to guide reflection and decision-making, and to shape internal hierarchies and collaboration, as well as around business models and leadership strategies, and the use of language around co-creation practices. Agents of these working practices encompass all staff at the museum.

The term 'museum staff', in turn, is used in this study to indicate everyone who does work for the museum, regardless of professional level, experience, type of contract, number of hours, remuneration or responsibilities. This would include, for example, volunteers, consultants and staff working on site but under contract to a different organisation as is in some instances the case for some security, front of house or museum shop staff across the case study organisations. While the fieldwork was not able to incorporate every single member of staff across the case study organisations, the population that the research participant sample was taken from did include all staff members and a great effort was made to interview a representative sample (see section 3.6).

1.5.4. Organisational change, power, and agency

Organisational transformation is generally defined as requiring "major or substantial change" (Aldrich & Ruef, 2006: 133) within organisations. Aldrich & Ruef (2006) argue that it usually appears in one or multiple of three organisational dimensions: changes in goals (e.g. an updated mission or vision), in boundaries (e.g. expansion, contraction or diversification), or in activity systems (e.g. adjusting operation, administration or business practices). In this research, all of these dimensions are assumed to fall within the scope of 'working practices', but examples of change were mostly discovered within the activity systems category, which therefore received more priority for investigation, and more limited instances appeared in the other two areas. Moreover, the exact sites of change within an organisation generally occur where staff have the space to experiment, make choices or come up with alternative practices or solutions to problems (ibid.; Peacock, 2008). Hence this research looks at areas where these conditions are present, such as in reflective processes and conceptualisations of hierarchy, as they are often areas from which change develops. Additionally, this research argues that opportunities for change can be created by inviting new and diverse community voices from outside into an organisation, and that this can create a space for alternative thinking and invite existing staff to develop new approaches to their work.

Major organisational change processes are often described in the literature as a type of change that feels threatening to museum staff (Gurian, 2006) and as occurring in reaction to outside pressures (Peacock, 2008). It often assumes a reactive model that finds reluctance among staff; however,

change might also be desired. A proactive understanding of change would see institutions purposefully critiquing themselves and practices willingly challenged (ibid.; Ekeberg, 2003). This thesis argues that both approaches are visible within the move towards co-creation that is taking place in the case study museums. One the one hand, it is being pushed by external threats in the form of audience demands, funding requirements and, in the context of the 2020 fieldwork year, also the Covid-19 pandemic and increased attention for the Black Lives Matter movement. On the other hand, the case study organisations have actively initiated their co-creation programmes to make change and thereby remain relevant or achieve internal economic, public and social objectives. This research consequently explores to what extent co-creation practices are being embedded across the three case study organisations and to what degree their staff use these co-creation projects as an instrument to push change across their organisations. A more detailed understanding of the concept of organisational change within this research will be given in section 2.3.

The research hypothesised that one of the main organisational change processes stemming from co-creation would be a shift in how power and agency is distributed between the organisation and its communities, as well as across the organisation itself. By 'power' and 'agency' then, the study focuses on levels of decision-making power and on agency to shape and influence the working practices of the case study museums. The research supposes that co-creation work could give community members increased agency in co-deciding what museums could look like, stand for, or be responsible for, both today and in the future. The assumption is that gaining

power and agency could enable communities to make demands on museums that could push for organisational change.

1.6.   Demarcation of the research field

This study sits within the realm of museum studies and more specifically within the area of community engagement practice in museums. Within that setting, it takes an organisational perspective to explore change and impact at an organisational scale, rather than as impact on individuals or communities.

The thesis draws on a long history of research on community engagement approaches and on museums as institutions, which shows the idea of community engagement through collaboration is evidently not a new concept. It is for example heavily influenced by research in the field of community arts (Jeffers, 2017; Matarasso, 2019), the New Museology vision of putting audiences at the heart of cultural institutions (Vergo, 1989), the increased focus on social responsibility in community outreach work in the UK originating from New Labour policies (Tlili, Gewirtz & Cribb, 2007; Morse & Munro, 2018), and on the increase of socially engaged artist practices (Helguera, 2011; Bruguera, n.d.). These strands of thinking have prompted museums to reimagine their relationship with communities, and so this research also builds on consecutive discussions around what social roles a museum should fulfil (Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 2017; Janes & Sandell, 2019), how a lack of representation and diversity in many museum practices might be addressed (Sandell, 1998), how museums can create openness and access for all (Wilson, Gross & Bull, 2017), and how they might

interact with audiences in new ways (Black, 2012; Kadoyama, 2018). Moreover, this thesis also acknowledges a shift in community engagement strategies from increasing audience reach to increasing the quality and impact of the interactions with the public (Black, 2012), as co-creation reflects this transition (Brown et al., 2011). Finally, this research also builds on larger social discussions about social justice, cultural democracy, civic responsibility, and decolonisation (Sandell & Nightingale, 2012; L'Internationale, 2015, Simon, 2016; Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 2017; Wilson, Gross & Bull, 2017; Janes & Sandell, 2019) and on discussions that consider co-creation as a way to increase the relevance of museums within these discussions (Simon, 2016). Research into current co-creation practices can contribute to informing and developing a better understanding of how museums might be changing to respond to these current discussions and relevancies.

The above describes the strands of theory and practice on which this research builds, but there are also areas of enquiry that fall outside of the remit of this thesis and research. These can be categorised as two main fields. Firstly, a large body of research around co-creation focuses on the participation of audience or community members in the creation of artworks, often working closely with an artist as part of a participatory art or socially engaged art project. While many of the ideas and considerations discussed in this field of research provide valuable critiques of collaborative processes, the research is often approached from the angle of art history or aesthetics and is therefore focused on the creative outcome more than on the process (Brown et al., 2011; Bishop, 2006*a*). They often aim to understand how the aesthetics of such collaborations might be interpreted (Bourriaud, 1998, Bishop, 2004; 2006*b*; 2012) or to explore the role of the artist in the collaborative process

(Bishop, 2006*a*, Helguera, 2011, Brown et al., 2011). They rarely look at institutional processes from an organisational perspective or collaborations between communities and museum staff directly, without the facilitation of an artist. This research does not aim to sit within the participatory arts field and is not concerned with collaborations that solely exist within art activities or with an art product as its main outcome. Instead, this research focuses on collaboration in processes that inform the shaping of and decision-making within a wider organisational museum setting. Arts-led processes might still feature in these types of collaborations, but the emphasis of this research is on the process and practice that shapes the collaboration, not necessarily the creative product.

Secondly, as section 1.5.1 briefly mentioned, this study is concerned with reflections of museum staff on their professional practice and does not directly focus on considerations from community participants. The impact of co-creation projects by cultural organisation on the development and wellbeing of community groups and members has received much attention already (Matarasso, 1997; 2019; Boiling & Thurman, 2018; Co-Creating Change, 2022), while museum- and institution-focused studies are quite rare (Morse, 2018). However, community participants were naturally present at many of the meetings and events that were observed during the research, as well as in project evaluations and in the stories that interviewees shared during their research interviews, and hence community impacts do feature in the data set in a more indirect way. This research does not look at these indirect impacts as standalone data, but rather views them as indicators or motivators of the specific staff strategies on which this research does focus. Moreover, some community members in co-creation projects might sit in

more formalised decision-making positions at the intersection with the institution and might for that reason be included in the research.

The literature review and theoretical frameworks offered in Chapter 2 will provide a further demarcation of the body of research that informed this study and thesis.

1.7. Impact of Covid-19 on this research

Like many other studies conducted in 2020, 2021 and 2022, this research was heavily impacted by the Covid-19 pandemic. In March 2020, when the first Covid-19 lockdown was announced, this research was in the first half of its fieldwork stage. Most interviews at Tate had been conducted, but the research was only two weeks into the ten-week fieldwork residency at the Whitworth Art Gallery, and had all fieldwork at Queens Museum scheduled after this still. Due to the lockdowns, all interviews in Manchester and New York were moved online, some were postponed, and a few more were added to allow especially Tate staff who had given their interview already to reflect back on the sudden changes. The research methods and timelines had to be entirely reshaped to accommodate for the necessary adjustments.

In addition to immediate limitations due to the lockdowns, the effect of the pandemic and wider Covid-19 crisis were still visible within the research during 2021 and 2022 too. Travel from Europe to the US was only allowed from November 2021 (BBC News, 2021), a year and a half after the trip was originally planned and after the end of the data gathering period. This meant that it became unfeasible to physically visit Queens Museum for data collection purposes. Moreover, in January 2022 Tate announced that it was

discontinuing its Tate Exchange programme – one of the main case studies in the research – largely due to budget cuts that were a result of the Covid-19 pandemic (Tate, 2022*a*). This coincided with the departure of the Head of Tate Exchange, who was also the supervisor from the CDP partner organisation (Tate) on this research. The supervisory arrangement in the partner organisation was transferred to the Head of Research at Tate, who although leaving the organisation in December 2022, has continued to co-supervise alongside the study's HEI supervisor until the end of the project.

Where relevant, the thesis will contextualise the effect of the Covid-19 pandemic on the research and data. However, it is important to consider that overall, this research was conducted in a rapidly shifting and very uncertain museum and academic landscape, in which interviewees and other research participants, as well as the researcher and supervisors themselves, were all coping with fast-paced and unpredictable change. This had an effect on the data gathered, as will be discussed in more detail in sections 3.6 and 3.9.

1.8. Structure of this thesis

In addition to this introduction chapter, this thesis consists of a literature review section (Chapter 2), a methodology section (Chapter 3) a results section (Chapters 4-7) and a conclusion section (Chapter 8). The literature review offers a theoretical framework around the concept of co-creation and the field of organisational change and offers theoretical insight into how these two might be interrelated. The methodology provides an overview of the research design and approach for selecting case studies as well as the research

methods utilised in the study, critically outlining the suitability and limitations of the chosen methods. It also includes discussions on researcher positionality and ethics.

The results section consists of four parts. Chapter 4 gives a brief introduction into the three case study organisations, outlining the main characteristics of each organisation. Rather than structure the data analysis by case study, Chapters 5-7 then each focus on a distinct cross-cutting theme, which allows the three case studies to be brought into dialogue with each other. Chapter 5 looks at research sub-question 1, which focuses on how co-creation may catalyse critical reflection among museum staff. This concentrates on changes seen in assumptions, conceptualisations and thinking about organisational practices as a result of co-creation. Chapter 6 focuses on research sub-question 2, which looks at the extent to which changes are observed in organisational structures and practices. This explores more tangible and physical examples of change than those considered in Chapter 5. Then, Chapter 7 focuses on sub-research question 3, which analyses how the concept of co-creation might be further developed and nuanced to improve the applicability of the term. This chapter builds on the research data to propose additions to the definitional frameworks that exist around co-creation.

Finally, Chapter 8 will offer a summary and conclusion that bring together the three sub-research questions and offer a response to the overarching research question: *To what extent might co-creation challenge working practices across the museum?*

Theoretical framework around co-creation and organisational change

2.1. Introduction

Drawing on literature from the fields of museum studies, museum management, community engagement, and organisational change studies, this chapter discusses the two main themes that are guiding and framing this study: co-creation and organisational change. Section 2.2 problematises current definitions of co-creation to allow this research project to take a critical view of the term and the practices that it represents. As it does, it offers a more nuanced understanding of the values and conditions that shape co-creation work and set it apart from other types of collaboration. Section 2.3 analyses the literature around organisational change to explore how and to what extent co-creation work might impact on the organisations engaging in

it, and which factors enable or inhibit potential institutional change. Both sections lead to the identification of multiple gaps in existing knowledge, for instance around clear definitions in co-creation language, the identification of co-creation values and best practices, and around the challenges of sustainable and ethical change processes. This literature review therefore sets a framework in which the results of this research may be interpreted, but also a theory base to which the results may add new theory and knowledge.

2.2. (Re)defining co-creation

Despite an increased interest in community co-creation approaches among museum and other cultural professionals in the last decade and a half (Simon, 2010; Walmsley, 2013; McSweeney & Kavanagh, 2016; Co-Creating Change, 2022), academic literature that critically explores the concept of co-creation in the context of the arts, and particularly museums, is still sparse. Most available publications come from cultural sector professionals and publications applying the term to museums specifically have largely appeared since 2010 only (Simon, 2010; McSweeney & Kavanagh, 2016). Most pieces that set out co-creation theory in depth – though not always in museum settings – have appeared in the last four or five years only (Jubb, 2018; Torreggiani, 2018; Burns, 2019*a*; Involve, 2019; Burns et al., 2021). This is not to say that work with communities did not happen before then, but was generally identified as community art (Matarasso, 1997) or as museum outreach work (Gordon, 2004). The introduction of the term co-creation

represents a slightly different focus from other historical practices, but as a young term, it also comes with definitional complexities.

This section begins with a review in section 2.2.1 of a turn towards community-focused, collaborative and co-creative working that started in the 1960s and has increasingly been gaining momentum since 2010. Following that historic overview and context for understanding the wider relevance of this research, the section continues with a closer look at the definition of the term 'co-creation' itself and the theoretical and conceptual framework around it. Section 2.2.2 considers the origin of the term 'co-creation' to explain and clarify the wide range of uses that are sometimes assigned to the term. It also highlights similarities with different terms as well as the multiplicity of meanings that have often been subscribed to the term across different disciplines, aiming to provide a narrower definition to be used throughout this research. Section 2.2.3 defines co-creation in the context of other collaborative practices, such as consultation and participation, and offers a typology of collaboration styles that creates a more nuanced understanding of the different power distribution levels within such practices. Section 2.2.4 then defines co-creation through an emerging set of core values and principles that scholars argue are necessary to adhere to for successful co-creation to happen. Section 2.2.5 summarises the main critiques and contradictions that scholars have struggled with in applying the co-creation concept in real settings, and refers to ways in which this research responds to this contestation. And finally, section 2.2.6 will offer a conclusion to the definitional questions considered and propose a working definition, though acknowledging its preliminary and possibly utopian nature.

2.2.1. Wider sector change: A co-creative turn

The current interest in co-creation and collaborative approaches across the museum sector stems from a longer history of increasingly audience- and community-focused practice. Moreover, using collaboration with outside groups to challenge traditional institutional power structures between museums and their audiences or communities is not a new phenomenon either. Current visions of a "participatory museum" (Simon, 2010) build on ideas of a "participatory turn" (Bherer et al., 2016: 225) going back to public policy debates from the 1960s. As part of this turn in thinking, Freire (1968: 18) challenged the relationship between dominant social groups with established power on the one hand and the "oppressed" on the other, and Arnstein (1969: 217) critiqued the hegemonic dynamics of different collaborative decision-making processes, creating a typology that runs from "manipulation" through to "citizen control". These visions presented participation as a way to redress power relationships between the elite and the marginalised, in which the elite could give away power, but the marginalised could also actively take agency by claiming power.

This was followed in the 1970s and 1980s by an increased focus on the museum-as-forum model, which opened up conversations to include the public (Cameron, 1971). Additionally, this time also saw many museum education programmes being (re)designed as tools for making museums more accessible, targeting communities who were particularly underrepresented among museum audiences (Pringle, 2018). In these more pedagogic contexts, artists sometimes chose to work with community groups

to achieve empowerment, democratise art or to advocate for social change (Pringle, 2006).

In the 1980s and 1990s, this move towards participation caused an increase in community art and socially engaged art practices in which communities found more agency (Matarasso, 2019), as well as a reimagining of museums for a postmodern era. The latter was reimagined largely through concepts of the 'new museology' (Vergo, 1989), the 'post-museum' (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000) and 'new institutionalism' (Ekeberg, 2003), which focused on increasing accessibility, diversity, community engagement, and self-reflection within museums, and challenged these institutions to consider the perspective of its audiences within their decision-making. Moreover, they recommended for museums to move part of their focus outside of the gallery to experiment with new engagement approaches, including working closely with local communities through outreach work, and to become more audience-centred. However, while these approaches brought about a significant shift towards audience- and community-focused working, in many of them museums would still take the lead and see their audiences and communities as beneficiaries, rather than equal partners (Vergo, 1989; Matarasso, 2019).

This participatory turn was followed by what Bishop (2006*a*: 178) calls a "social turn" in the 2000s, which she describes as a "recent surge of artistic interest in collectivity, collaboration and direct engagement with specific social constituencies". The emphasis on its collaborative nature implies that this turn is no longer merely about keeping audiences in mind, but that these audiences actively shape museums and art as part of the process. Moreover, it connotes a more socially-engaged vision on art and museums, where art

projects can help communities to achieve aims that benefit their lives or localities, for instance by addressing social justice issues. Indeed, Bishop's social turn is underlined by a surge in socially-engaged art across the 2000s (Bishop, 2006*b*; 2011; Helguera, 2011), a direction brought to prominence by artists such as Tania Bruguera and her Arte Útil movement (Bruguera, n.d.), as well as Suzanne Lacy and her concept of New Genre Public Art (Birchall, 2015).

Funders and policy-makers have increasingly been supporting the participatory and socially-engaged agenda. They have seen community engagement in museums as a vehicle for addressing social exclusion, audience diversity and accessibility issues since the 1980s (Crooke, 2011; Morse, 2018). But also more recently, concepts of cultural democracy (Wilson et al., 2017; 64 Million Artists, 2018) and cultural citizenship (Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt & Runnel, 2018) in relation to museums have led to an increased interest from funders in community engagement and co-creation approaches to create social and civic impact. Their hope is that a move in this direction would not only help museums to cater for a larger audiences of citizens – which helps to justify their spending of taxpayers' funds on culture – but also that it may reach those who are currently benefitting from the impact of arts funding the least (Arts Council England, 2018; 2020; Icarus, 2019; Cowley & Cooke, 2021). Indeed, research suggests that participatory approaches may produce cultural value (Crossick & Kaszynska, 2016) and increase social cohesion (Matarasso, 1997) and social inclusion (Sandell, 1998), albeit to different extents depending on how such projects are set up and maintained. While the arguments for community collaboration increasing cultural and social value are currently well researched (Sandell, 2002; Knell et al., 2007;

Jancovich, 2011; Janes & Sandell, 2019; Murawski, 2021; Co-Creating Change, 2022), this thesis hopes to contribute to the discussions by exploring the impact of community collaboration on the development of cultural institutions and their practices.

Across both the cultural sector and society more widely, the interest in – and arguably the support for – a participatory and social turn has grown especially in the last few years. The death of George Floyd in May 2020 and the increased attention for the Black Lives Matter protests it led to have awakened a strengthened desire for marginalised voices to be heard. Citizens and audiences of institutions rich in power, including of museums, have demanded from such organisations that underrepresented voices can acquire more agency over the stories that these institutions tell (Fraser et al., 2020; Gompertz, 2020) and this in turn increased calls for decolonising and addressing historic power structures in museum practices too (Heumann Gurian, 2020; Hicks, 2020; Jorek & White, 2021). Such movements aim to limit making assumptions or speaking for other voices by actively involving such voices through distributing power to them, and in the UK this has led to collaborations between museums and underrepresented communities that involved new levels of agency sharing (Gompertz, 2020; Jorek & White, 2021).

It seems that the combination of a participatory and a social turn, further catalysed by a desire to share power with communities who have long been underrepresented in museums, has led to a need for a shift towards a more equitable way of working with communities, which goes beyond simply 'working together' with people to collaborations characterised by a more genuine sharing of power. It could be argued that subsequent to the participatory and social turns, therefore there is a desire among both cultural

professionals and audiences for a new turn, which this research will describe as a "co-creative turn", in which communities work with museums to take equal ownership of their narratives and institutions.[1]

While for some co-creation may have been an entirely new practice, others may have worked in this way for a much longer time already. In fact, co-creation work has been deeply embedded in some areas of museum work, even if often under different names. Outreach and community development work in the UK since the 1980s, for example, was highly concerned with empowering communities and sometimes involved forms of democratic decision-making through which communities could work on social justice projects they would directly benefit from (Crooke, 2011). Moreover, museum learning and education staff often implemented structures through which the audiences they hoped to engage could take full or partial ownership of the content (Thelen, 2001; Sinker, 2008). Within such community engagement teams there has always been a higher level of skill and understanding around power sharing and equitable collaboration (Morse, 2018; Morse & Munro, 2018).

As a result, the beginning of a co-creative turn, or even the increased focus on participatory and social practices during the 2000s and 2010s, were largely turns within curatorial and organisational thinking, but often not as new to teams who had been working with communities before. Indeed,

_____

[1] It should be added that, as with any turn, the co-creative turn describes the pattern of a movement, but does not suggest that all museums are equally involved in such a turn. There are many museums for which co-creation would not fit within their business model or for which it would not be feasible to include it in all of their activities. This research focuses on three case studies which at the time of selection seemed keen on being part of a co-creative movement (see Chapter 3 for selection process) and the literature suggests that their desire for such a turn is representative of many museums and galleries like theirs (Simon, 2010; McSweeney & Kavanagh, 2016; Byrne et al. 2018).

Simon's (2010) proposal for a "participatory museum", which provided the blueprint for much co-creation design afterwards, did not introduce a particularly new concept, but found such popularity because it was new to apply such thinking across entire organisations. Furthermore, Bishop's (2006) seminal description of a "social turn" was in fact largely a description of a new direction in art practice, rather than in museum practice, and refers to socially-engaged art more than socially-engaged museum strategies. Hence her social turn seems to be one that is largely a turn within the curatorial realm, but may not be as new for those historically engaged in community engagement. As a result, a co-creative turn would describe a widening of co-creation expertise and experience from community-focused learning and outreach teams towards curatorial practices and the museum more widely, rather than a turn towards an entirely new way of working. It represents a change in the prioritisation of museum work, and revaluates work done and expertise held by teams who directly work with museum audiences and communities, as opposed to with objects, as had traditionally been the case (O'Neill & Wilson, 2010).

A co-creative turn might not affect all areas of museum work equally and there remains a question of how much change it can create within institutions overall. Some scholars criticise co-creation as being often tokenistic and not achieving truly shared power across the museum (Davies, 2010; Robinson, 2017). Others argue that due to the often small-scale nature of co-creation projects as single or one-off initiatives, sustained and organisation-wide change is difficult to achieve (Lynch, 2011*a*; Matarasso, 2019). Yet others look to artists as the drivers of change, and while they may use co-creation to achieve it, they argue for the artist's ability to create change

more than the community's agency in that process (Marstine, 2017). Finally, others worry that an organisation-wide mission to work in co-creative ways may result in a change of rhetoric more than a change in actual practice (Lynch, 2011*a*; Walmsley, 2013), as organisational change processes take time and require a high level of commitment and resources allocated to them.

Yet, there are also scholars and museum professionals who believe co-creation may indeed be a proposal for a practice that could create museum-wide change. Recent initiatives from museums have proposed co-creation models that encompass the entire institution, for example by following "useful museum" (Chynoweth et al., 2020), "constituent museum" (Byrne et al., 2018) or "community museum" (Gordon, 2004; Brulon Soares et al., 2017) model, which all embed community members' voices within the museum more structurally. Such recent models bear some resemblance to the community-driven model of the "ecomuseum" (Davis, 2011), popular in the 1980s, though that historically received criticism for being too utopian (Desvallées, 2000; Davis, 2004). To build more understanding that may help inform this discussion around the potential and challenges of co-creative ways of working, this research will analyse to what extent the hopes and doubts around co-creation are justified and whether indeed it is feasible to think of co-creation as a potential catalyst for organisation-wide change.

2.2.2. Conceptualising co-creation

The term 'co-creation' was popularised by Prahalad and Ramaswamy (2000) in the context of productivity studies to describe how customers might play

an active role in adding economic value to the development of a product by opening up the production process to the involvement of consumers (Kambil et al., 1999). The motivation behind this concept was one of creating efficiency (Fitzsimmons, 1985; Bendapudi & Leone, 2003). Letting the customer take part in the handling, customising, or completing of the product would save the company time and give the customer more satisfaction over the result, creating a higher level of productivity (Bendapudi & Leone, 2003). This type of co-creation, sometimes referred to as 'value co-creation' in the context of creating experiences rather than tangible products, is generally conducted in the final stages of product development or user testing and through brief consultation processes (Vargo & Lush 2004, 2008).

This use of the term does not include a genuine sharing of agency and decision-making between consumers and producers. Even when applied to museums, this transactional understanding of the term 'co-creation' generally only describes the agency visitors have in shaping their museum visit experience, but not in any projects that could shape the museum itself (Antón et al., 2017, Thyne & Hede, 2016). As a result, (value) co-creation in this context often results in tailored products and experiences, but not so much in instances of organisational change on the side of the producing organisations (ibid.).

The term co-creation, however, has been adopted outside of marketing and productivity studies, including in policy-making to highlight citizen engagement (Curato at al., 2019; Rovers, 2022), in pedagogy and education to focus on collaboration with students (Bovill, 2013; Andersen & Ponti, 2014; Katz, 2021), in research to consider impact communities (Gordon da Cruz, 2018; Collins et al., 2020), and in healthcare to consider patient involvement

(Miles et al., 2018; Involve, 2019). In all of these fields, the core element of productivity within the interaction between producer and consumer evolved into less transactional types of collaboration with more depth and power-sharing between both parties (Rock et al., 2018).

In the context of museums, similarly, a less transactional understanding of the term was introduced and popularised by Simon (2010: 263-264), who described co-creation as a type of collaboration that "start[s] with community as well as institutional needs" and which is therefore "truly co-owned by institutional and community partners". In this view, consumers, audiences or communities would have a high level of agency in the partnership and share decision-making power throughout the process, not just in the final stages (Simon, 2010). As a result, such versions of co-creation could in theory produce much more ingrained change to the product or service they are creating than Prahalad and Ramaswamy (2000)'s original customisation co-creation process could. Moreover, in Simon's (2010) understanding the original transactional nature is replaced by a more equitable relationship in which deeper learning can happen and outcomes may reach beyond the direct product-related benefits. Finally, Bendapudy and Leone's (2003) goal of productivity does not translate well to Simon's use of the term either, as building deep co-creative relationships in museums is generally described as being extremely time and labour intensive (Walmsley, 2013) and often requires investment of these resources before efficient impact can be made.

The different understandings of the term and the tailored meanings each discipline (or even project team) attaches to it describe a wider struggle with defining the concept of co-creation. For some scholars, co-creation can be

any type of partnership or collaboration between any two groups (Rodley, 2011), for others co-creative relationships are only between institutions and their user communities (Rock et al., 2018), and in other texts co-creative collaborations are defined by a set of very specific values, such as equitability and trust (Simon, 2010; Burns et al., 2021; Brennan et al., 2023). Equally, authors may use "co-production" (Govier, 2009; Derby Museums, 2016; Graham, 2016; Involve, 2019), "co-design" (Rørbæk Olesen et al., 2022) or "co-curation" (Baveystock, 2013) as approximate synonyms, while deeper scrutiny will distinguish nuanced differences between such terms and co-creation. The disparity in meanings and uses can cause hesitancy or even suspicion among academics and practitioners in using the term, and hence a more precise definition of the concept would likely benefit its use (Walmsley, 2013, Brandsen et al., 2018; Burns et al., 2021).

Looking at the different definitions that have been published in the context of the cultural and museum sector (Govier, 2009; Leadbeater, 2009; Simon, 2010; Brown et al., 2011; Baveystock, 2013; Walmsley, 2013; McSweeney & Kavanagh, 2016; Jubb, 2017, 2018; Torreggiani, 2018; Burns et al., 2021), they have four elements in common. Firstly, co-creation requires two or more groups working together, which can generally be divided into two main categories: globally defined as the "artist, producer or cultural organisation" on one side and the "individual, group or community" on the other (Jubb, 2018). Secondly, both sides get value out of the project. There is not one benefactor and a beneficiary, but instead both sides are active agents who put in resources (in whatever shape or form) and take out new value (again in whatever shape or form) from the collaborative creation process (Govier, 2009; Simon, 2010). Thirdly, but linked to the previous point, the

project meets the agenda of both sides, and thus needs to be "co-owned" between the stakeholders (Simon, 2010: 264). The definitions imply this relationship should be based on equality, but apart from Jubb (2018), all other literature hesitates to propose tools for measuring or for otherwise establishing levels of equality. Finally, because co-creation projects deal with power dynamics between established professionals and groups of often non-professionals, the process is an inherently political act (Graham, 2016) that involves "hand[ing] over" decision-making power to those who have not traditionally had it (Torreggiani, 2018: 302). This process of disrupting existing power dynamics is often understood to be as important as the product that is being co-created (Brown et al., 2011; Burns et al., 2021), and according to Jubb (2017), it is within that disruption process that change can happen within the institution, community or both.

The four criteria above highlight the difference between co-creation as a glorified form of audience consultation, as represented by Prahalad and Ramaswamy's (2000) more transactional concept, and a more radical form of co-creation, in which power is shifted from organisations towards audience or community groups. This latter type of co-creation is less ubiquitous due to requiring more substantial commitment and investment into building new types of relationships (Simon, 2010; Brennan et al., 2023), however is often grouped with more light-touch transactional co-creation due to a lack of clear definitions to mark their differences. This, in turn, can lead to co-creation being used as a catch-all term, which may inflate the term and risks rendering it meaningless (Walmsley, 2013). It would benefit both the academic and professional sectors engaging with the concept of co-creation to agree on a narrower and more streamlined definition for it, which sets more radical and

power-shifting types of co-creation apart from superficial transactional co-creation (see Chapter 7).

It should be noted that this research from here on understands the term co-creation as the more radical and power-shifting type of co-creation. The more superficial and transactional type will not be discussed further and is not included in shorthand mentions of the term co-creation.

2.2.3. Co-creation on a collaboration spectrum

The previous section shows the inconsistency between definitions of the term 'co-creation', and outlines how this risks the term becoming unhelpful and meaningless. Similar concerns are raised in academic literature within the cultural and creative sector (Walmsley, 2013), where the term co-creation is often linked to a wide range of levels of power-sharing (Rock et al., 2018). Consequently, scholars have attempted to refine the different types of collaborative practices and classed them by the level of power that is being shared. Such spectra generally place professional establishment organisations (such as museums or other institutions) on the one side, and non-professional communities or individuals on the other (Simon, 2010; Brown et al., 2011; IAP2, 2014; McSweeney & Kavanagh, 2016; Torreggiani, 2018). Between them is range of collaborative practices, of which co-creation is one.

The usefulness of these spectra is limited, as they merely offer a comparative situation of co-creation among other collaborative practices, rather than define its key characteristics or applications. Moreover, such spectra portray collaborative practices as fitting neatly into defined categories,

while in reality the boundaries blur and one project might sit in multiple categories at once. Nevertheless, acknowledging their limitations to practical application, these spectra can form a guiding model when determining whether a project can be classified as a co-creation project or if the term is falsely applied to a different type of collaborative practice.

The five most prominent collaboration spectra currently used within cultural practice and research (Simon, 2010; Brown et al., 2011; IAP2, 2014; McSweeney & Kavanagh, 2016; Torreggiani, 2018) rank different collaborative practices from type 1, in which the organisation has almost complete ownership over the project, to type 5, in which that level of ownership has been shifted to the community. All of these spectra are loosely based on Arnstein's 'Ladder of Citizen Participation' (1969), which offered the first spectrum outlining eight different levels of participation and collaboration between organisations and citizen communities, and which was later reworked by Wilcox (1994) into five categories. While all of these spectra use slightly different language and definitions, and also range from distinguishing four to eight separate categories, common themes can be found across them. The following categorisation brings together the main five categories that can generally be differentiated in these models:[2]

1. *Information*

This category refers to a one-way relationship in which communication goes out from the organisation towards the audience or community. The

---

[2] The current descriptors for these five categories are chosen by the researcher, but are based on common threads in the language used by Arnstein (1969), Wilcox (1994), Simon (2010), Brown et al. (2011), IAP2 (2014), McSweeney and Kavanagh (2016) and Torreggiani (2018).

organisation holds all of the power and the audience is invited to be the spectator or recipient of the information. In Simon's (2010) spectrum this category is lacking, as she does not consider it to be a type of collaboration at all. However, even if not a two-way street, 'information' constitutes a relationship between organisations and audiences.

2. *Consultation*

This category shows a form of engagement that Arnstein (1969: 217) calls "tokenism", in which the audience or community is invited to comment on or contribute to the organisation or project, for instance through a focus group, advisory group or feedback opportunity. This is, however, done in ways that do not give the audience or community any real power to influence decisions, as the organisation maintains the right to ignore or overrule the community's advice. Hence the involvement of the audience or community risks being symbolic.

3. *Participation*

'Participation' is a kind of engagement in which the organisation sets out a project, theme or agenda and then invites the community to design, make or execute the content for it. This might include artist-led interactive activities, crowdsourcing content for exhibitions, or some types of co-curation (Finkelpearl, 2013). Participation is built on a relationship that shows "an imbalance of power, where the 'participants' perform a function for someone else's agenda" (Hudson, 2015: 5). As a result, participants are given a little bit of power within a pre-defined, delineated framework, and the organisations holds the majority of power still. The collaborative element in participation is

more about "acting together" than about "deciding together" (Heritage Lottery Fund, 2010: 5)

4. *Co-creation*

This is a type of collaboration in which "all of the participants are equally authors" (Finkelpearl, 2013: 6; echoed by Simon, 2010). This implies that as long as an artist or other agent of the established organisation has the lead – and thus the power – the process will not transcend the 'participation' stage. Moreover, Simon (2010: 187) insists that "community members work together with institutional staff members from the beginning to define the project's goals" to ensure that the co-creation process serves the needs of all groups involved, rather than those of the institution only (Matarasso, 2019). The collaborative element in co-creation is therefore about both "acting together" as well as "deciding together" (Heritage Lottery Fund, 2010: 5). This equally balanced power division is a crucial part of the definition of co-creation used in this research.

5. *Community-led creation*

This last type of relationship is a situation in which the organisation plays a facilitative role only and lets the community group take the lead or determine the shape and content of the project entirely. Torreggiani (2018: 302) describes it as a situation in which "decision-making has been handed over through a guided process [and] agency is genuinely (shared) with [the] community". Her definition assumes that this 'handing over' happens at the initiative of the established organisation and in a way requires their permission, while in

Freire's (1968) ideology of radical pedagogy this power could also be taken through initiatives from groups on the community side of the equation.

Figure 1: Collaboration spectrum showing the distribution of agency in various collaborative practice types. shows the different forms of collaboration discussed above plotted along a power division scale, with on the left the museum side of the equation and on the right the community side. Co-creation sits in the middle, where power is most equally distributed. Jubb (2018) argues that neither side of the equation should hold more than 60% of the decision-making power in the co-creation relationship, and so agues that co-creation falls within the 40%-60% area on this agency division scale.
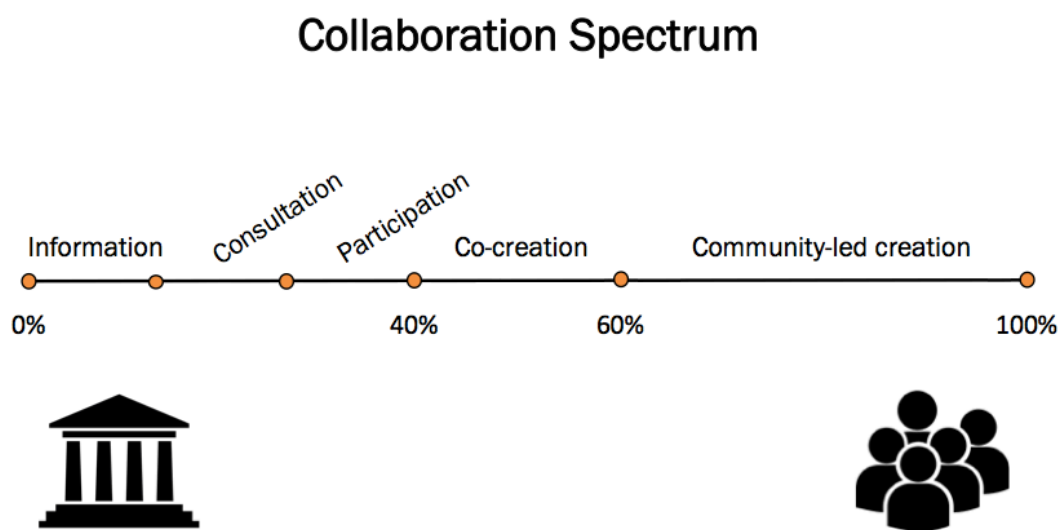
Collaboration Spectrum

Figure 1: Collaboration spectrum showing the distribution of agency in various collaborative practice types.

It should be stated that the five categories above are not necessarily mutually exclusive and one project might show elements from multiple levels in

parallel or during different stages of the project. Moreover, while many advocates of co-creation would "equate the greatest yielding of institutional power with the most valuable kind of participatory work" (Govier, 2009: 4), one should be critical of that standpoint. Govier (ibid.) implies that organisational 'letting go' automatically equates to the thriving of the community, but that would discount a wide range of skills and resources that the museum might be able to contribute to successfully run or enhance the project. The proposed spectrum above should therefore be read as a practical model to help distinguish between different types of collaboration, not necessarily favouring one over another. Its aim is to challenge the notion of collaboration to show its diversity and to argue that co-creation is an exercise in the renegotiation of power, which might challenge existing power structures and the practices that are based on them.

This research is concerned with the co-creation category specifically, because it requires a significant shift in power to balance the interests of both the museum and the community, and might therefore be a site where a renegotiation of the relationship between them can happen. The study hypothesises that with that renegotiation could come organisational change, and hence its case studies analyse projects that are positioned in or around the co-creation point in the spectrum. However, co-creation is also the most problematic category on the spectrum as the balance in power between organisations and communities is difficult to determine, both because it can be difficult to measure and because the boundary between organisation and community is not always very clear. Both issues will be outlined here.

First, co-creation's unique balance that proposes the organisation and community as equal decision-makers may seem a viable idea in theory, but in

practice it appears difficult to pinpoint how this equal balance may be determined. Most literature defines the shared power dynamics in co-creation as relative to other types of collaboration, hence avoiding quantifiable measurements, and only Jubb (2018) has suggested a quantitative approach with his argument that neither collaboration partner should have less than 40 per cent or more than 60 per cent of agency over the project (see Figure 1). To measure a project's agency distribution, he proposes a questionnaire – which he calls an 'Agency Scale' – with which one can determine from ten questions about the project what percentage the agency level of each partner comes to and thus whether it is truly "shared" (ibid.).

This method, however, has limitations. Jubb's (2018) questions do not pick up flux in agency levels within project stages, as it only works with averages. As a result, having all of the planning of a project led entirely by the organisation and all of the execution of the project entirely led by the community would still come to a 50%-50% average, even though none of their work would have been collaborative or shared. Moreover, the calculation on the agency scale is only based on the "set-up" and "activity" stages of a project, but excludes the later evaluation and reflection stages, which are highly important for successful co-creation, if only to feed into future co-creation work (Matarasso, 2019). However, even with various adjustments implemented, Jubb's (2018) scale design remains a crude tool, because it only measures whether the work is equally shared, but does not take into account any underlying power structures. For instance, power is often governed by much deeper constructions around value (Crossick & Kaszynska, 2016), cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and by the political and financial systems the cultural sector operates in. These would influence the ways in which

organisations and communities collaborate, and this may cause skewed power balances, even if the work is equally shared. Hence, measuring 'equitability' rather than 'equality' (Cox, 2022) on an agency scale could offer a more informative analysis of shared power.

Second, all of the aforementioned existing collaboration spectra assume a clear division between organisations on the one hand and communities on the other. However, in many cases such categories can overlap, or people may move from one into the other. For instance, museums may hire community members to become part of their core team (Taylor, 2020) or community members may become institutionalised through long-term engagement with the museum (Walmsley, 2013). Alternatively, museum workers may have similar lived experience as the community they are working with, in which case they may carry out both roles of bringing professional experience and lived experience too (Gilbert, 2016). Occasionally, bringing an artist into the equation muddles the divide. In some cases they are an institutional representative who will facilitate the collaboration as a museum staff member would, in other cases they are a community artist who feels more closely connected to the community perspective, and in yet other cases they are an independent outsider who balances bringing in community agency with making a name for themselves as an individual artist too (Helguera, 2011).

These complexities show the need for a much more nuanced understanding that does not only incorporate more precision in how agency distributions may be determined, but also offers greater flexibility in how the nature and position of different stakeholders may be understood. Although developing an entirely new spectrum or model goes beyond the scope of this research, Chapter 7 looks more critically at the issues encountered here in

relation to the collected data. Moreover, this research shows that a collaboration spectrum may be a useful tool for visualising and understanding co-creation in the context of other collaborative practices, but that it is too crude an instrument to use as a way of defining co-creation. Hence, the next section may offer a more useful approach for finding a workable definition for radical co-creation.

2.2.4. A set of principles for co-creation

The previous sections have shown how co-creation is a complex term to define and that defining it by what it is not through ranking it on a spectrum alongside other collaborative methods can only offer limited usefulness. Co-creation projects can take many forms and this is partly the reason why scholars struggle to define it, but therefore it seems more productive to focus a definition not on *what* co-creation projects entail, but on *how* they are conducted. What most co-creation projects appear to have in common is not a certain format, activity or design, but a set of principles and values that are at the core of the relationship that is being built between the museum and the community. Brown et al. (2011: 16; echoed by Black, 2018) indeed suggest that in involving communities more closely, the "focus shifts from the product to the process of creation". While they make this argument in the context of co-creation and community-led work that leads to artistic products only, others argue it applies to differently shaped co-creation projects too (Baveystock, 2013; Burns et al., 2021).

This research argues that co-creation is defined by a specific way of collaborative working that challenges traditional hierarchical partnership models and makes space for more radical power sharing. To achieve such collaborations, co-creation processes are built on highly specific principles and practices that require significant willingness from museum staff to hand over control and work in more iterative, reflective and experimental ways. Across the literature, many studies indeed describe this as a set of essential values that co-creation processes need to meet in order to distinguish themselves from other collaborative practices (Simon, 2010; Baveystock, 2013; Jubb, 2018; Burns, 2019*a*; Involve, 2019; RCMG & Kettle's Yard, 2021), though very few seem to incorporate such values into a coherent model for best practice (Burns et al., 2021; Brennan et al., 2023). While each of the existing texts may phrase these criteria slightly differently, overall, the same seven core principles come up across most texts:

1. *Shared power*

As has been highlighted in sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.3, co-creation requires the active sharing of power, which involves relinquishing power on the institutional or established side of the collaboration and creates active empowerment of the audiences or communities on the other side (Burns, 2019*a*; Involve, 2019). The aim is to produce joint ownership of the project and its outcomes (Involve, 2019; Burns et al., 2021). This power negotiation is a constant process throughout the co-creation project and all stakeholders in the project can be held accountable to maintain this balance (Jubb, 2018).

2. *Equality and/or equity in agency*

Co-creation can only maintain shared power if all stakeholders have equal levels of agency in the project (Jubb, 2018; Burns et al., 2021). Whether this is achieved through an equal 50-50% split between the tasks (Jubb, 2018) or through a division that is guided by equity and takes into account the unequal starting positions between the co-creators to correct them proportionally (Cox, 2022) depends on the needs of all stakeholders. Equality and equity in agency already begin from the very start of the project during its initial design, as withholding agency to any co-creators at that stage risks them not having enough agency later on to make rigorous changes to the project design and can result in tokenism (Simon, 2010).

3. *Equality and/or equity in expertise*

In order to achieve power sharing and equal/equitable agency, all types of contributions should be equally valued (Kettle's Yard et al., 2018). This challenges the traditional model that prioritises professional experience (of museum staff) over local or lived experience (of community groups) (Matarasso, 2019). Co-creation celebrates different perspectives, and hence all types of expertise and experience offer meaningful value to the shared creation process.

4. *Diversity and representation*

Co-creation aims to shift power from authority voices to traditionally marginalised voices, and so it is crucial that the co-creation team represents a diverse mix of stakeholders who have different (and generally underrepresented) backgrounds, experiences and interests that they can bring to the collaboration. Failure to achieve representation could lead to

reinforcing one-sided perspectives, which can feel particularly "predatory" (Singer, 2021) if claimed to be representative. It is therefore important to ensure full accessibility of the project, both in relation to how stakeholders are invited into the project as well as in more practical terms throughout the running of it, so that such voices can feel welcomed and be given genuine power (ARCHES, 2019).

5. *Reciprocity*

Building an equal/equitable relationship between all stakeholders in the co-creation process requires that there is not a benefactor and a beneficiary, but instead that all co-creators benefit equally from the project, even if it may be in different ways (Simon, 2010; Burns et al., 2021). This model can only work if all stakeholder groups also put in value (Govier, 2009), so that the co-creation process becomes an exchange of values that can create outcomes bigger than the sum of their parts.

6. *Flexibility*

Co-creation projects differ from traditional partnerships in that their initiators cannot necessarily set out the project with final or closed objectives. They need to kick off as (relatively) open-ended projects, to allow for all stakeholders to have input on what directions the project may take (Simon, 2010). This is especially crucial at the beginning of a project, but maintaining a high level of flexibility remains important throughout, as the project adapts to developing needs and to the additions made by new or different voices (Involve, 2019). Co-creation projects therefore have more organic (and often slightly slower) project cycles than those of traditional projects with clear

expected outputs (Walmsley, 2013) and have to embrace a higher level of uncertainty within its process and milestones.

    7. Trust

To achieve a redistribution of power co-creators need to trust their fellow stakeholders with decision-making power (Burns et al., 2021). This does not only take time, but from museums, this also requires transparency, effective communication and the ability to let go of control for the benefit of community empowerment. However, this could be taken further to "unlearn" (Lynch & Alberti, 2010: 30) (historical) institutional prejudices against marginalised voices. This would require both "radical transparency" (Marstine, 2011; Lynch, 2013), which asks museum staff to acknowledge institutional histories and priorities effectively, and "radical trust" (Lynch & Alberti, 2010), which asks them to challenge legacies of prejudice to allow power to marginalised voices.

Very few academic texts offer an overview of these best practice principles for co-creation, and the two most exhaustive current models (Burns et al., 2021; Brennan et al. 2023) are both published by practitioners in the cultural sector, rather than as academic research. Section 7.4 will not only address this gap, but also propose additional principles that have emerged from the research data and, and thereby propose a more comprehensive model for best practice.

    Many of these core principles and recommendations for enabling discourses go against how museum projects are traditionally set up (Lynch, 2011*a*). Historically, many project cycles are based on economic philosophies of efficiency, and co-creation is often at odds with these (Walmsley, 2013). This means that committing to co-creation practice can challenge traditional

understandings of project cycles and collaborations, by introducing new ground rules. This can lead to changes to current museum practices or even wider organisational change within museums engaging in co-creation (see section 2.3). This also requires a different mind-set from many museum staff, including an attitude from leadership that enables power sharing (see section 2.3.3) and accepting a level of uncertainty to allow for flexibility and creating an environment for critical reflection to encourage learning and improvement (see section 2.3.5).

2.2.5. Critiques of co-creation

While the participatory and collaborative turn (see section 2.2.1) sees increasing numbers of museums getting involved in co-creation work, often with the aim of democratising museums and addressing diversity or contemporary relevance issues (Iervolino, 2013; Bonet & Négier, 2018; Coghlan, 2018; Righolt, 2018; Arnaboldi & Diaz Lema, 2021), scholars are careful in regarding co-creation as a quick fix to such complex issues (Lynch & Alberti, 2010). In fact, this section will show that many are critical of co-creation in general and see equal power sharing as a utopian idea, in which theory and practice rarely match up. As a result, a reason why few scholars have attempted to describe what a truly shared project structure would look like might be that they prioritise the question of whether real co-creation can even be achieved (Jancovich, 2011). Instead of authentic collaborations, some regard co-creation projects in practice as tokenistic "marriages of convenience" (Gardner, 2015), in which collaborating with audiences changes

the rhetoric more than it does the museums (Coghlan, 2018). Moreover, scholars may find a discrepancy between a project's collaborative ideals and the language museum staff use to describe it (Rock et al., 2018), in which co-creation is often mentioned alongside descriptions that still indicate a feeling of authority and a desire to reinforce organisational practices (Jancovich, 2011). This stance will be tested in sections 5.2, 6.4 and 7.6, which explore the complexities of power sharing and offer an insight into what happens when a power balance breaks down, with examples from the case studies.

Following the same line of critique, Walmsley (2013) argues that the democratic mission of co-creation projects already fails at the stage of participant recruitment. He claims that participants inherently self-select and then, after participating for an extended period of time, learn the ways of the cultural organisation and become "insiders" (Walmsley, 2013: 113). While the organisation still treats them as community members, the effect is that these insiders only reaffirm the organisation's values, turning co-creation into a way to legitimise arts practice, support elitism, and alienate potential new participants (ibid). Such practices could be called "predatory" (Singer, 2021), if they falsely give the impression of shared power, while actually maintaining and potentially reinforcing traditional power structures (Lynch, 2013; 2019). Walmsley (2013) does not mention, however, to what extent the arts organisation might learn the ways of the community too and embed them into their own practice, becoming "insiders" on the community side of the equation and creating change that way. This research will test the organisation-versus-community division in section 5.3.3 and show that while this model can be problematic, there is also much that museums can learn from communities. As a result, embedding community members more

institutionally as disruptors with significant power to effect change can in fact help to increase the reach and impact of their involvement.

Co-creation projects do not require perfection to make an impact and Baveystock (2013) argues that locating gaps or contradictions within the definition does not necessarily make the core elements of the concept entirely unusable. Any enhanced power sharing level between museums and communities, even if not fully achieved as a co-creation, "can bring significant results along the way" (ibid.: 7). It may challenge some of the more traditional working practices on both sides of the collaboration, and may help either side to learn, develop and innovate their work. However, the extent of the impact can differ enormously depending on how well co-creation projects manage to implement the required core principles (see sections 2.2.3 and 7.4) or on how well the project is embedded within the organisations or communities involved (see section 6.4). Baveystock (2013: 7) argues that "participatory practice needs to be embedded throughout the institution at all levels, ensuring that it is not isolated as a 'special project' to be run by one or two staff". Instead, Baveystock states, co-creation should be "an institutional ethos, to be communicated and practiced by everyone and to be a core focus of all activities." (ibid.). Indeed, this is a major criticism that co-creation work often receives: that as a practice it can be tokenistic, because it often appears as a one-off project, that is not developed to effect sustainable change when the project ends, the resources dry up, the staff moves on, or the evaluation is forgotten (Lynch, 2011*a*). This debate is particularly relevant in relation to the three case studies chosen for this research, of which two are organisation-wide co-creation programmes, while the project at Tate is a more defined and delineated programme that functions within the much broader agenda of a

national museum on which co-creation is not always a top priority. Chapter 4 will offer a more nuanced understanding of the differences this raises.

Producing genuine power-sharing that permanently shifts more power to communities and underrepresented groups does not happen overnight. Instead, it requires a type of organisational change that is sustainable and embedded within the deeper structures of the institution, going beyond temporary budgets, individual champions or pro forma evaluations for funders. This is often where co-creation projects are lacking (Lynch, 2011*a*). These deeper structures have often been built over two centuries of museum practice, in most cases based on histories of prevalently white, middle-class, male voices (Jennings & Jones-Rizzi, 2017). While addressing such legacies has taken an exponential interest since the death of George Floyd kicked off increased attention for the Black Lives Matter movement in 2020 (Crooke, 2020), changing such deeply rooted institutional prejudices is generally regarded as a slow process (Fleming, 2002). It requires museums to make major changes to the make-up of their institutional structure and demands enormous commitment from them to be critical of themselves and of the industry they are embedded in to challenge similar structures (Lynch & Alberti, 2010). For some museums, especially those with inherently colonial or non-diverse collections, limitations to their own organisational structures get in the way and their claims to shared power in what can feasibly only become a consultation process can harm their reputation (Robinson, 2017). Such internal contradictions create a level of risk some museums are hesitant to address by inviting in outsider voices and giving away more power.

It is therefore realistic to question to what extent co-creation practices are actually about making change in organisations, and how much of it is just

a change in rhetoric (Lynch, 2011*a*; 2011*b*; Coghlan, 2018). To determine the difference, this research evaluated the level of commitment in each case study organisation to challenge existing working practices and structures within each institution, and compared it to the language and discourse used to describe such commitments. Chapters 5 and 6 indeed show discrepancies between changes in thinking and changes in acting, though not on all counts. It begs the question of how much organisational change is required to regard co-creation projects as a success. Many projects may not change all of the inequitable structures within museums, but may still enact smaller instances of change and progress discussions about power to set up the organisation for future change, and hence would not be entirely tokenistic either. Chapters 5-7 will elaborate on this consideration, and Chapter 8 will offer a conclusion that determines the extent of organisational change that co-creation practices can be expected to produce, based on the experiences of three case study organisations.

A final note of criticism is not on the meaning of the term, but on the quantity of academic literature available which critically explores co-creation. Being a relatively recently popularised term, co-creation has featured in museum studies literature for just over a decade, and in the limited number of existing publications, it has often been lost in much broader academic concepts around collaboration and participation. Co-creation in the context of museums has rarely been theorised by academics to any great degree, although attempts have been made to borrow theory from productivity studies to apply in museum contexts (Thyne & Hede, 2016; Antón et al., 2017). There has been more discussion and theory building in the professional field, and this has produced a body of grey literature which is largely intended for a

non-academic readership. Within this body of literature, the descriptions and case studies of co-creation work are often largely positive and describe successes more than failures. This is the result of many of such publications being commissioned by funders or project hosts (Lynch, 2011*a*; Baveystock, 2013; Bienkowski, 2016; Kettle's Yard et al., 2021) or by networks that promote co-creation work (Byrne et al., 2018; Burns et al., 2021). Hence, this thesis aims to explore ideas from such works with more academic rigour and hopes that by critiquing the term and conceptualisation of co-creation, it can provide a stronger basis for future academic discussion.

2.3. Organisational change in museums

The case study organisations that form the focus of this research have been going through many levels of change during the course of the research project. They were all selected based on being involved in co-creation processes, which were often relatively new approaches for these organisations and were generally set up as experiments or change projects to test out new ways of working and learn from them (see section 5.4.1). Therefore, they may have the potential to lead to organisation-wide transformations in how the case study museums approach community engagement and co-creative working practices. While the results section (Chapters 4-7) will test if this is indeed the case, this section will give a contextual understanding of what organisational change could look like in museums and what challenges it may come up against.

As an unexpected additional influence, the Covid-19 pandemic began a couple of months into the fieldwork, which added another layer of change to the case study museums' work that was much less planned and demanded a rather radical rethinking of some of their programmes. A few months later, major protests increased the public interest in the Black Lives Matter campaign and this affected the case study museums too in their thinking around co-creation and other ways of bringing more diverse community voices into museums. Arguably, the fieldwork year 2020 has been a year of major change for all three case study organisations and seems to have had a significant influence on their wider organisational change journeys, even if in 2023 it may still be too early to understand the full scale of its impact.

To be able to analyse and understand the institutional transformation that these case studies went through, this section will look at the concept of organisational change and explore its reach, impact and challenges. This theoretical framework will help to highlight the potential catalysts and barriers to change that the case study organisations may have encountered, as well as critically examine the scale and extent of change that may be realistic to expect in their settings and circumstances. To provide this framework, this section will first look at change processes at the organisational level, considering the extent and reach that institutional change processes can have in museums (section 2.3.1) and the legacy they may leave in the long-term (section 2.3.2). Then, the next sections will look at specific enablers and barriers for effective change, focusing on the role of individual change-makers and leaders (section 2.3.3), on the ethics and risks of change (section 2.3.4), and on the role of uncertainty in inhibiting or facilitating change processes (section 2.3.5).

These sections largely draw on museums studies literature, which understands the mechanisms that govern museums and can place structural change processes within the context of the museum sector. However, with change in museums being a highly under-researched field[3] (Bienkowski & McGowan, 2021), this research also draws on organisational management literature to explore topics around the ethics of change and the influence of uncertainty on institutional change processes. As a result, section 2.3 will offer a theoretical understanding of the role of co-creation in institutional change processes and the impact it can have across organisations in the short and long term.

2.3.1. The extent of organisational change in museums

Janes (2013) argues that museums, compared to other organisations, are generally quite resistant to organisational change. This, he argues, stems from an reluctance to speed up change, often fed by a non-profit ethos that does not spur innovation, a moral purpose that does not carry the same urgency as organisations addressing immediate crises or saving lives, and a monopoly position in cities that only have a single or few museums, which all inhibit the need for competitive development and fast change. Janes (ibid.) omits the option that museums might be reluctant to change due to fear of risk-taking

---

[3] The themes of change and museums have recently been linked more often, but almost always within the context of museums creating social change for the communities that they serve (Janes & Sandell, 2019; Chynoweth et al., 2020; Murawski, 2021). Very little literature focuses on change within museums themselves, whether through organisational transformation processes or smaller changes to working practices (Bienkowski & McGowan, 2021).

and reputational consequences, which Kidd (2019) and Brekke (2019) highlight as a major deterrent that prevents museums from becoming more activist about change. Instead, Janes (2013) argues – and Bienkowski & McGohan (2021) echo this – that mostly, for museums, the reason to change is as a result of a loss of funding, which then requires a rethink of more fundamental museum structures and seems to produce an urgency that overrides the initial hesitations towards change. Indeed, recently, the Covid-19 pandemic caused not only a loss in income and funding streams for many museums, but also severe limitations to physical programmes, which have both drastically pushed the need for immediate change across the museum sector. Some museums have reacted to this with short-term solutions for temporary adjustment, which may leave little change to remain in the long term, while others have seen it as an opportunity to begin more long-term institutional change processes (Crooke, 2020).

Not all literature agrees with Janes' view of museums as reluctant changers, or with the view that change can only be pushed by economic loss or drastic crises, such as a pandemic. Anderson (2004) noted a larger "paradigm shift" that has been changing the ethos and role of museums over time, which does not take root in a specific change to funding, but in a wider transformation of the place of museums within society. In a later work, Anderson (2011) describes this paradigm shift as taking museums in the direction of becoming stronger learning organisations, creating more public accountability, and showing a commitment to civic engagement and inclusivity, which seems to describe the roots of a co-creative turn. Describing a move away from "traditional" museums of the 20th century to "reinvented" museums ready for the 21st century, Anderson (ibid.) described a change

process that goes much beyond changes to specific products and services that museums produce, but rather covers larger organisational changes to institutional values, governance, management strategies, and communication ideologies. Moreover, the shift she noticed involved changes to deeper governing structures, such as a focus on shared leadership, reflective practices and collective decision-making. She emphasises that such changes cannot be one-off, singular projects, but that they only work as part of bigger, organisation-wide approaches. Indeed, the paradigms she highlights are all types of change that occur within larger organisational infrastructures, processes and values internal to the museum. As a result, they challenge the conceptualisation of museums as organisations, going beyond their products or programmes only, instead looking at organisation-wide impacts of change.

But when does transformation go beyond small changes in practice and qualify as wider organisational change? Stobierski (2020) defines organisational change as actions that alter "a major component of [an] organization, such as its culture, the underlying technologies or infrastructure it uses to operate, or its internal processes". This suggests the change needs to have an organisation-wide reach and be structurally embedded within the practices of the organisation. However, this definition still encompasses a wide range of possible shapes and approaches, and Bienkowski and McGowan's (2021) description may provide an overview of more concrete areas of transformation. They list a range of change types that may lead to organisational change, which could be further grouped as changes to:

- organisational models (including missions, governance, policies, business models, etc.)

- physical infrastructures (including capital projects, opening hours, etc.)

- staff structures (including staff organisation, redundancies, job descriptions, volunteering schemes, working culture, etc.)

- audience engagement structures (including broadening audiences, sharing decision-making, bringing in external voices, etc.)

- resources (including funding, training, research, evaluation, etc.)

Organisational change can happen as a result of change in one of these categories, though change in a combination of multiple of these categories might allude to wider, more encompassing change processes. While these areas of change may give a framework for describing the extent of change, they remain difficult to quantify and hence the line between lower-impact change and organisational change remains blurred.

Moreover, when is a transformation part of a dedicated, intentional organisational change process, and not just constant, natural change? Janes (2013) describes an organisational change case study of Glenbow Museum in Canada, which analyses a change process that spans more than 23 years, initially pushed by a new strategic plan, then by a new director, then by a financial crisis, and then by a new visitor-centred approach. It could be argued that these were multiple organisational change processes, and that together they make up a natural evolving dynamic that every museum will go through to some degree across multiple decades. The analysis may be more fruitful if the different changes within this longer change narrative can be seen within the context of their specific pulls and pushes, which will have been quite different for each stage in its narrative. However, the rare longitudinal aspect of the study can offer an additional valuable and unique

insight into how museums have changed over the last two or three decades, as very few studies of the same length exist within museum studies literature.

Most organisational change processes studied in museums are found to take place across three to five years (Bienkowski & McGowan, 2021). While the core fieldwork and data collection for this study took place across 15 months with a single additional follow-up session a year later (see section 3.6), it cannot capture the full extent of organisational change that these organisations have gone and are going through. However, as the data collection period fell right within the Covid-19 pandemic year of 2020, it captured a unique moment in which change, for all three organisations, was accelerated and boosted enormously by the urgency and suddenness of the crisis. Hence, all three organisations showed elements of transformation that go beyond simple, practical changes and are much more deeply rooted in structural change and at the scale of wider organisational change.

While there is a limited set of literature on organisational change in museums (Anderson, 2011; Janes, 2013; Bienkowski & McGowan, 2021), there is even less written on the specific effect of co-creation work – or even wider community engagement work – on organisational change processes in museums. What has been underlined by various publications, however, is that new museological turns or paradigm shifts towards co-creation and community-focused working within organisations (or even the wider museum sector) have often found to be rhetorical shifts more than actual changes in action (Perkin, 2010; Lynch, 2011*b*; Kershaw et al., 2017) (see section 2.2.5). Lynch (2019: 118) quotes Alistair Hudson, then director of the Middlesbrough Institute of Modern Art, later of the Whitworth Art Gallery, in making a distinction between "performative" and "operational" activism or

change, to distinguish between change that is merely 'for show', and change that genuinely aims to transform practices. Indeed, while the visions and philosophies that inspire co-creation in museums are often considered promising in terms of shifting hierarchies and practices (see section 2.2.2), they risk being performative and tokenistic. Academic studies considering evidence of operational change are rather rare (Morse, 2018), and non-academic or professional evaluations of co-creation work often focus on impacts on community participants, more than on organisational practices (Cowley & Cooke, 2021). This might point to challenges in researching organisational change stemming from co-creation, but also to challenges in the ability of co-creation projects to enact meaningful change. Both challenges will be further explored here.

The first challenge, around the limitations of researching co-creation and the effect it may have on organisational change, is that major change trends are often difficult to distinguish or measure within organisations. A reason may be that to observe major organisational development over time, longitudinal studies would be needed that could observe change processes across its different stages. This, however, is a resource-intensive exercise that most museum studies research cannot afford (Bienkowski, 2016) or that might not fit shorter research funding cycles. A second reason may be that change is not easily quantifiable and as a result most organisational change research in museums is based on qualitative witness statements, such as interviews and evaluation reports, which give great detail, but make for difficult benchmarking to enable comparisons between time periods or across the sector (Janes, 2013). Finally, organisational change is a complex and multifaceted process and any research will inherently reduce the process to a

limited number of themes, which means some elements may remain undocumented (Bienkowski & McGowan, 2021). This research is aware of such challenges, and the format of a 4-year PhD project and its qualitative nature bring with it similar intrinsic limitations. As a result it attempts to analyse instances of organisational change systematically and reflectively across the three case study museums, so that new understandings, examples and considerations may be contributed to grow the small field of knowledge around organisational change in museums, even if incrementally.

Despite organisational change being difficult to achieve as well as difficult to discern and analyse through research, progress has been made in this context in museums during the last decades. Anderson (2011) developed a tool, called the *Reinventing the Museum Tool,* which helps to determine the extent of change processes happening in museums. It focuses on four areas of change, including change in institutional values, governance, management strategies, and communication ideology (ibid.). The tool, however, relies heavily on the extent of organisational knowledge and critical reflection of those using the tool, which is why it is aimed at museum staff members more than at researchers, but even if used with less rigour, it can still support the initiation of conversations about change across the institution. The tool provided some of the focus areas and themes for the interview topic guide used in this research, such as shared leadership, collective decision-making and reflective practices (ibid.).

The second challenge is a limitation of co-creation practice itself on the ability to enact wider organisational change. McCall and Gray (2014) suggest that co-creation and change projects (including any learning from them) are often complex to implement structurally, and therefore limited in enacting

systematic change across museums. Elements that can hinder such implementation across organisations can for example be different perspectives between different professional traditions within such museums, strong hierarchical organisational structures, or competing demands that limit practical implementation (ibid.). However, there are often also issues in relation to the initial goal-setting for the change process, where change goals are often ambiguous, for instance where the aspired change is expected to do everything for everyone (ibid.) or turns out to involve stakeholder interests that contradict each other (Perkin, 2010). In many cases where there is collaboration, there is also a reluctance from those in positions of authority – whether senior management within the museum or funders and policy-makers outside of the museum – to give away control, as this requires an open mindset and a certain level of trust in community partners or in co-creation processes, which often take time to develop (Kershaw et al., 2017).

Conversely, there are scholars and professionals who argue that co-creation in fact has distinctively effective potential to enact change, because it often greatly impacts collaboration processes, rather than products only (Brown et al., 2011; Jubb, 2017; 2018; Byrne et al., 2018). Whereas new and improved products can leave a tangible outcome for its co-creators – such as a new artwork, a solution to a problem, or a new display or exhibition – this is often a one-off and time-specific product or impact. Changes to working processes and practices, in contrast, can inspire co-creators to start taking new actions or making different decisions and build learning that can be applied throughout multiple projects or in organisations more widely (Jubb, 2017; Byrne et al., 2018). In fact, evaluations of co-creation projects report the need to make changes to organisations' funding structures, project formats, work

pace, and mindsets around risk and flexibility to enable more successful co-creation (Burns, 2022), which indicate the potential for change to larger organisational structures and underpinnings. In her evaluation of the wider *Co-Creating Change* network, Burns (ibid.) describes that "[c]o-creation impacts on the organisations instigating it no matter at what stage of development or scale", and quotes a participant who stated that "working with [community] artists with lived experience brings learning back into the organisation and affects how we work". Burns (ibid.), however, does not go into the extent or scale of the change she has observed across her case studies. Similarly, the individual case studies from the same *Co-Creating Change* network (2022) also suggest that co-creation helps staff and evaluators to reflect on working practices and to propose changes to existing organisational processes and structures, which may in turn lead to wider institutional changes, even if the case studies do not specify such institution-wide examples. As is shown, this literature typically highlights the potential for change more than it gives concrete evidence and examples of where such change has already taken place or how lasting it is. As a result, there is a wealth of evaluations available within this field that give recommendations for changes that are needed, but there is much less literature on which recommendations get implemented and to what extent they actually cause change across organisations.

2.3.2. Achieving sustainable and long-term organisational change

In some cases, change initially happens successfully, but is not maintained. This risk is highest when project funding ends (Brekke, 2018), project leaders leave (ibid.), or museum missions or business models change (Stobierski, 2020). Ending projects that were making an impact on the lives of its co-creators and on the museum's ways of working can suddenly leave a gap in agency, with the relevant person or project not actively pushing the change process anymore. Moreover, learning from such projects may be lost when staff leave, evaluations are archived (or are lacking entirely), or when there is no leadership taking on the implementation of such learning. Such projects can end up feeling tokenistic, even if their initial setup was genuinely and radically co-creative.

The literature about change in museums, especially change stemming from community engagement work, shows various barriers to sustainable organisational transformation. Bienkowski and McGowan (2021) argue that the most prominent barrier putting the longevity of change effects at risk seems to be short-term thinking, and this risk seems to be increased when combined with short-term funding (Lynch, 2011*a*; Brekke, 2018). This is partly due to restrictions on project timelines that create difficulties for systematic implementation of changes in the longer run, as well as the fragility of such change to remain intact after funding ends, when there are no resources left to actively champion the manifestation of the change (Bienkowski & McGowan, 2021). However, Lynch (2011*a*; 2011*b*) adds that the reporting structures that traditionally come with short-term project funding especially, puts additional pressure on having to report success and therefore discourage genuine reflection, which could otherwise lead to change. Moreover, current funding structures reward museums for success more than for failure, taking away

incentives for experimentation, which are directly linked to a greater potential for innovation and change (Brekke, 2018). As a result, traditional formats of short-term project funding, which often fund co-creation work, can act as an active barrier to change.

Instead, co-creation projects report that receiving funding more structurally, to cover long-term programmes, and without set expectations for success helps them to be more experimental, create change, and then also embed that change at more structural and sustainable levels (Burns, 2022). In line with that finding, the UK's Co-Creating Change network devised a funding call that actively moved away from short-term grants for developing new and innovative co-creation methods or quick impact, instead awarding funding for existing co-creation projects to grow, develop, and further embed the change that they had already begun to make (ibid.; Co-Creating Change, 2022). It suggests that making more funding available for co-creation, as the Arts Council England's 2020-2030 strategy lists as an intention (Arts Council England, 2020), will not necessarily increase the extent of change stemming from this co-creation work, if it does not also change the format, criteria and timelines of its grants.

More long-term funding is not the only factor that would enable co-creation projects to achieve more sustainable change. Lynch (2011*b*: 444) suggests that reflective practice is crucial in challenging "habits of mind" that can hold back change processes, as well as make such changes more effective in the long term. This process of reflection needs to be constant and rigorous, which Lynch (2011*a*; 2011*b*) argues is a rare occurrence in museum contexts. In fact, her research in 12 case study museums in the UK in 2011 found that some museum staff were actively fearful of reflection, as they worried it

would lead to negative criticism, which then would not fit the picture required to present to funders and governing bodies (Lynch, 2011*a*).

Brekke (2018) describes another enabler of more sustainable organisational change in museums, after access to more structural and long-term funding and the implementation of increased reflective practice. She highlights that the commitment coming from individual staff members to achieve change is an equally important element. She argues that if individuals see their personal core values reflected in the change, they will be more willing and committed to implement such change in sustainable ways. This chimes with Hollows' (2019) and Simon's (2021) arguments that change is an active choice and that it depends entirely on the commitment that individuals make towards achieving it. Both Brekke (2018) and Hollows (2019) argue that especially staff in leadership positions have significant agency in shaping commitment to change, for the closer these leaders align their organisation's values to those held by the staff, the higher the commitment from the staff towards the intended change is. This follows well-established views in organisational change theory that suggest enacting top-down change alone is not effective, but instead that change is most successful and sustainable if it finds support among a wider staff base, who can then take full ownership of the change (Stace & Dunphy, 1994).

Additionally, literature about organisational change in museums reports that sustainable change is more effective when sufficient resources are allocated to making the change. This goes beyond funding alone, and also includes staff resources, training opportunities, management support and time (Abraham et al., 1999). Burns et al. (2021) and Burns (2022) similarly highlight the importance of adequate resources, and mainly underline the

availability of time as being crucial to creating co-creation projects that embed change effectively.

Finally, engagement practices such as co-creation also instigate change outside of the museum among the communities they work with or across the museum sector more widely. Such external change is rarely measured beyond the running time of a co-creation project and longitudinal studies on the external impacts of such work are just as rare as those that focus on internal change. Indeed, it is beyond the scope of this research too to explore the impacts of co-creation work on the community side of the museum-versus-community equation, however, Lynch (2011*b*) – using Sen's (2010) capabilities approach – brings such impacts back to museums. That is, Lynch (2011*b*) argues that community engagement work in museums may lead to communities developing stronger 'capabilities', which Sen (2010) defines as "the actual opportunities" that a person has or can create. Having much capability, in turn, helps community members to develop skills to think critically, to speak freely, and to act with less constraint. On that basis, Lynch (2011*b*) argues that increasing the capabilities of community members may lead to them confronting hegemonic power dynamics and questioning these structures more effectively. As a result, museums may feel more external push from their communities to change, which may then lead to further and more long-term organisational change among the museum's practices and structures. This reasoning shows parallels with Freire's (1968) logic that proposed educating and emancipating the 'oppressed' to enable them to claim back power for themselves. While assessing this indirect external influence is difficult to measure especially in this study, museum staff may

report observations of their community participants' confidence levels and refer to it as a factor that determined organisational change.

2.3.3. Change-makers and the leadership of organisational change

Much literature about organisational change in museums suggests that the main catalysts for transformation are external push factors relating to changes to funding (generally the loss of it) and major crises, such as the Covid-19 pandemic (Janes, 2013; Bienkowski & McGowan, 2021). However, organisational change also seems to be dependent on important determining factors internal to the organisations itself. In fact, other scholars emphasise that change relies heavily on the agency and initiative taken by individuals within the museum (Hollows, 2019; Simon, 2019; Wood & Cole, 2019). In fact, Wood and Cole (2019) argue that the highest barriers to change are at individual level, rather than at organisational level, as they indicate that a lack of knowledge of community needs, a privileged worldview, and a lack of understanding around social justice in individual museum staff can be more destructive to change processes than rigid or outdated organisational structures.

Understanding change as being invited and pushed by individuals requires an understanding of the different levels of agency in the change process that individuals can claim or have. Simon (2019) categorises change-makers as being of two types: "risk-takers", who actively push change according to their activist agenda, and "space-makers", who create and safeguard the space and conditions that enable others (i.e. risk-takers) to push

for change. This latter, often less vocal, group is often overlooked as playing an active part in change processes, but Simon (ibid.) argues that 'space-making' can multiply change leadership, by inviting more change-makers to help achieve transformations that go beyond what one change-leader could have achieved or even imagined.

Change-makers of both types can be located anywhere across museum's workforce. For example, the museum's Board of Trustees, who – in the face of external pushes perhaps – may create space or even push for certain changes by hiring a specific director who is invited to manage these external factors with a fresh vision. A new director, in turn, may change the course of the museum's mission by implementing new strategies (Stobierski, 2020). Additionally, they may use new capital projects or newly secured funding as catalysts for exploring new opportunities and creating space for new conversations (Bell, 2016; McGivern, 2019; Merlin, 2022). But also in less strategic areas of the organisation, staff may champion or campaign for organisation-wide changes by joining steering groups or unions, standing up to decisions they do not agree with, or by inspiring new initiatives across the organisation at grass-roots level (Morse & McCann, 2019).

While boards and directors hierarchically possess more power than mid-career or more junior staff, catalysts for change prove to come from any level. In the UK, the Museum Association's *Transformers: Radical Change in the Museum* programme supported mid-level museum staff to become change-makers and the programme evaluation underlined the value of "small-scale change" (Morse & McCann, 2019: 7) in giving agents a place to start and to grow their confidence and drive for change. Moreover, the evaluation shows that change-makers came from all areas of museum practice, including front

of house, security, collections management, public relations and communications departments (ibid.), which challenged the original expectation that especially socially-engaged change processes would usually sit within public programming, educational or engagement departments, where it was assumed there would be more space for "radical practice" (ibid.: 10). Additionally, the building of supportive internal staff networks played an important role in widening the change process to all levels and areas of the organisation (ibid.). Building a community of practice across the entire museum helped to build knowledge, find support and achieve greater impact quicker and more sustainably.

The interplay between mid-level activist change-makers and more senior-level enabling space-makers in a way mirrors the power division that co-creation processes aim to achieve between external community change-makers and internal museum space-makers. In both cases they redress the power balance between all stakeholders and allow those with little traditional power to initiate change processes that could lead to major organisational transformation. Also the challenges 'Transformers' encountered in internal change processes were similar to those encountered in co-creation programmes. Morse and McCann (2019) list a reluctance from wider staff to change habits of mind, to support changes that clash with existing values, to take risks, to break though organisational silos, and to build sustainable change for the long-term, which Lynch (2011*a*; 2011*b*), Baveystock (2013) and Burns et al. (2021) have also described to be common challenges in co-creation work.

The Transformers programme, and similar projects in which change-makers are hired in museums to be "insider activists" (Wajid & Minott, 2019:

32), can create the false assumption that the responsibility of change is delegated to those with change-making in their job titles alone. However, literature shows that dividing that responsibility between all museum staff is crucial to creating buy-in across the organisation more widely (Hollows, 2019; Simon, 2019; Wajid & Minott, 2019). Indeed, Wajid and Minott (2019: 31) describe change as an interaction between "Insider activists", "Outsider activists" and "Allies", in which the insider activists would be museum staff directly advocating for change (i.e. risk-takers and activist change-makers), outsider activists would be community members offering their insights to challenge museum practice, and allies would be museum staff (and direct externals such as boards or some funders) who can serve as space-makers to enable change. In this triangle, all roles are equally important. As a result, they argue that contributing to this change process, in whichever role is most suitable, is an expectation that should be laid on every single staff member and community participant (ibid.).

Even where initiating or supporting change is expected from everyone across the museum, this expectation can often be largely rhetoric. Hollows (2019) reports that in larger museums especially, staff who are seen as being lower down in the organisational hierarchy struggle to find real agency to make change. She highlights that front of house teams (such as visitor services, security and some operations staff) are particularly left out when it comes to agency in decision-making structures that could enable change. She classifies these groups as "the people you don't see in meetings" (ibid.: 87) and suggests that they are a marginalised community as much as some of the external communities are who are usually targeted in co-creation projects. This research makes a conscious effort to include these voices among its

participant sample, and indeed includes interviews with staff from operations, front of house, museum shop, and security teams across all case studies. By including these voices into its research, this study may offer findings on the impact of including such teams in decision-making – potentially even through internal co-creation projects with staff from such teams – and how this may address this inequality to make museums more representative and successful at enacting change across all levels of the organisation.

This section shows that organisational change is highly dependent on individuals, and that while these change-makers can theoretically sit at any level and within any museum team, in practice some may encounter more barriers than others. The power of finding allies and space-makers who can enable the right conditions for change can therefore prove to be crucial for success. Hence, successful change processes are often a combination of both top-down and grassroots change, of both personal and wider organisational commitment, and of both listening and taking action. On the flipside, change can create complex issues for those involved in the process, as the next section will show.

2.3.4. The ethics and risks of organisational change

The previous section shows that the success of change processes is often down to the commitment of individuals towards that change, but this personal motivation can also be problematic. It can cause an unequal division of labour onto those who feel most strongly about the change or even put

vocal change-makers at risk of personal disadvantage as a result of making their voice heard. This section highlights a few of the ethical issues that should be considered as part of organisational change processes and the implications they can have for both staff and community members, as well as for the success and impact level of the change outcomes themselves.

One of the most pressing questions in using co-creation and community voices to achieve change in museums is around whom the labour of change falls to. Morse and McCann's (2019) report on the Museum Association's *Transformers* programme stresses that the emotional toll and labour that organisational change processes in museums require may fall heavily on active change-makers and activists. The change-makers habitually use their lived experience to inform their activism, as is often the case for community partners in co-creation work too, and this requires finding a balance between personal and organisational values (ibid.). To some, this work could feel laborious or triggering, or they can feel as if they are carrying the entire change process alone (ibid.). The report underlines the importance of finding fellow champions and building networks and communities of practice both internal and external to the museum to support and help accomplish the required change (ibid.). Section 6.2 looks at this in more detail, and offers an analysis around the importance of creating a community of practice in particular in section 6.2.2.

However, even for staff members who are not leading the change, going through an organisational change process can take a significant emotional toll. Staff may encounter feelings of loss, when projects, practices or decisions that they had invested much time and effort in are discontinued or overturned (Bryant & Wolfram Cox, 2006). Moreover, they may feel anxious

or resistant to plans for the future, which can in turn impact on their job satisfaction and on the success of the change programme (ibid.). Turnbull (1999) suggests the burden of emotional labour to adapt to new change is particularly high for middle managers, who generally stand in between their organisation's senior change strategies (e.g. coming from museum directors or boards) and the organisation's audiences and floor staff (e.g. the co-creation participants and facilitators). This often requires them to negotiate many different interests, while also needing space and time to come to terms with their own feelings about the change process.

In change processes involving co-creation work with communities, the community members may carry a heavy burden of emotional labour too. Wajid and Minott (2019) provide reflections on *The Past is Now: Birmingham and the British Empire*, a co-curated exhibition at Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery involving six activists from what they described as BAME backgrounds as its co-creation community group. The authors describe how the community members were expected to do most of the institutional critiquing work, with museum staff often defending their traditional ways of working. While this did not only fail to enact many of the co-creation principles outlined in section 2.2.4, it shows that where co-creation work is lacking in the embodiment of its corresponding core values, community members may bear the brunt more than museum staff. It raises the need for a more consolidated ethical framework for co-creation work, which will be picked up in section 7.5.

While the remit of this study is to focus on the experiences and learning that museum staff members – rather than community members – gain from co-creation work, it is important to acknowledge that sometimes

these roles can overlap, for example when community members are formally brought onto museum teams as community organisers or curators, as paid advisors, or as a result of a more diverse hiring strategy. If their role is to make change, but they are also hired in a capacity that provides (part of) their income, they may be put in a precarious position where they need to balance their role as provocateur with the reality of having a lot to lose (Wajid & Minott, 2019). Consequently, the ethical implications of their position and the emotional labour and risk-taking demanded from them should be carefully considered and mitigated accordingly.

A related question around ethics in museums is to what extent museums can or should aim to provide a 'safe space' for its community partners (as well as for general visitors) to share their experiences. A safe space in a museum would be a place in which all people are welcomed and that simultaneously also invites all opinions and perspectives (Vlachou, 2019). However, inviting a wide range of perspectives can lead to confrontations between opposing ideas, which can in turn create a space that feels unwelcoming to those who disagree with or feel threatened by those opinions. Moreover, it may leave those who are vocal about contested issues at risk of further repercussions. These can cause additional risks for museum staff too, when boards or funders challenge such discussions or find their outcomes unacceptable (ibid.). Vlachou (ibid.) argues that discussions, debates and exchanges of such nature therefore need to be carefully facilitated and their expectations should be clear, so that discussions can be had in ways that avoid alienating large communities, while also avoiding the pretence of neutrality (echoed by Janes, 2015; Murawski, 2021).

While risk protection within contested spaces of debate is often focused on protecting communities with low levels of power or agency (i.e. those with marginalised and underrepresented voices) (Murawski, 2021), there is also a high risk to those at the top of the hierarchy, who can be held responsible for contested choices in institutional direction. Creating a space for debate can – and often encourages – giving a platform to critical voices, which may involve institutional critique. Examples could be activists campaigning against oil sponsorship in museums (Serafini & Garrard, 2019) or internal museum worker campaigns calling out colonialist or racist leadership (Coleman & Moore, 2019; Rami, 2020). While such voices may be constructive to building more sustainable and inclusive museums, they may simultaneously attack fundamental museum infrastructures and undermine major funding streams, potentially causing operational issues for such museums. In some cases, for example at Queens Museum in 2018, the director's stance in the Israel-Palestine issue caused a disagreement with the museum's board and finally led to the director's resignation (Boucher, 2018*b*). It shows the difficulties that museum leaders face – and the risk that they may have to take – in attempting not to alienate part of their audience while at the same time creating a safe space for debate. Chapter 4 will offer instances where the case studies have gone through similar dilemmas and analyses their different approaches to tackling such issues.

This section shows that the ethics of change-making can be complex and paradoxical. On the one hand, museums are keen to invite new voices in and engage in questions around social justice, on the other hand there are often few mitigations and protections put in place to ensure that these voices are safeguarded effectively and these topics can be explored safely. The lack

of literature offering suggestions for balanced, sector-wide best practice that addresses the full extent of these issues may both be at the root and come as a result of a lack of understanding of these intricacies. Overall, this literature review has found very little academic work written on the ethics of change in museums, especially in co-creation processes that involve a multitude of voices. Most existing research relies on professional insights from museum professionals, and only a fraction shows a level of academic rigour that could turn individual case studies into more general concrete theory. However, as examples from the case studies will show across Chapter 4 and section 7.5, this theme presents significant issues in practical museum and co-creation practice, and so a more fully formed academic discourse around the ethics and risks of change in co-creation settings could make a major impact in this field.

2.3.5. Change and uncertainty

Organisational change processes often involve many factors that are unpredictable, discontinuous or sometimes even unanticipated. These are an inherent part of most transformations, but the complex make-up of organisations such as museums and the multi-faceted sector that they function within increase the number of influencing – and sometimes uncontrollable – factors. This creates an inherent level of uncertainty as to the organisation's exact future, the staff's role in the transformation, and the practical managing of the change process (Kreye et al., 2012).

Uncertainty can be defined as decisions based on information that can either be indefinite, unreliable or even entirely unknown (Kreye et al., 2012). Within the category of unknown information, there can be knowable unknowns (one knows what they do not know yet) or unknowable unknowns (one does not know what they do not know yet) (Chow & Sarin, 2002). Freeston (2022) argues that while the risks around knowable unknowns can be controlled and mitigated through planning, unknowable unknowns can create fear and hesitation across organisations and can therefore be more detrimental to change processes. However, Chow and Sarin (2002) argue that such unknowable unknowns can in fact also provide a risk that appeals more than known risks, as it may open up opportunities and often allows for a more optimist outlook. Nevertheless, the literature around managing uncertainty in decision-making generally agrees that human nature overall prioritises safety over risk and that risks are ideally only taken when there is a base-level of perceived safety, or in other words, when it feels "safe enough to take risks" (Freeston, 2022).

While this may traditionally have been a valid mantra for many organisational change processes, the case studies in this research were followed during the year 2020, when the Covid-19 pandemic brought the world to an unprecedented standstill. With little information about the Covid-19 threat and limited prior experience to learn from, most organisations found themselves in a context full of unpredictability, unreliability, and both knowable and unknowable unknowns (Baker & Engebretsen, 2022). As a result, extremely high levels of risk and uncertainty were forced upon museums and their responses to these were unique to the immediate demands of their staff, projects and audiences. Besides, their responses were

largely secondary or reactive, as the fast-developing nature of the pandemic did not allow time to prepare to prevent risk or to proactively mitigate them in advance (King et al., 2021).

To Freeston (2022), the only approach such organisations could take was to tolerate this level of uncertainty or to go even further by actively embracing it. He suggests that taking such ownership of risk can be done by developing a structured approach that first determines what is known and what is unknown, then looks at what needs to be ascertained still, and finally decides what will happen once that additional information has been acquired. Hence, instead of demanding immediate answers, his approach focuses on determining the questions and the process for finding answers. This approach shows parallels with co-creation processes, where a lack of pre-determined outcomes shifts the focus from such final outcomes to determining the aims and the approach that will end up shaping them (see section 2.2.3; Simon, 2010). As a result, in co-creation a certain level of uncertainty is deliberately retained to allow for input from all participants, as well as for a certain level of creativity (Simon, 2010).

Space for creativity is another important outcome that a tolerance for uncertainty in organisational change processes can achieve. Scoones and Stirling (2020) argue that most controlled change has a clear expectation and transformation path based on a linear idea of progress. They suggest that embracing uncertainty in change processes instead allows for seeing multiple possible endpoints, which can in turn lead to more diverse, creative and agile approaches to finding solutions. While these might not necessarily lead to the most economically optimised conclusions, they may reveal alternative possibilities that could be more innovative, beneficial or impactful in the long-

term. This is echoed by Smyth Zahra (2022), who argues that learning to manage uncertainty can help professionals to master being able to think on their feet and prioritising values-based practice. She suggests that such learning can improve creativity, flexibility and innovation, and can thereby increase the quality of the work. Consequently, Scoones and Stirling (2020: 8) propose that models for managing change should not aim to retain control, but should instead aim to provide a level of "creative care" in which multiple approaches are explored in a facilitated, considered and careful way. Such models should invite stakeholders of the change process to deliberate and make sense of the transformation together, so that an outcome can be found that embraces plurality and that gives a more tailored and representative solution to the issue at hand (ibid.). Again, this proposal shows many parallels with co-creation processes in that a way forward can be found through collaboration and a focus on the process of finding solutions, rather than the outcomes themselves. Thus, it suggests that there may be similarities between co-creation practices and practices that embrace uncertainty, where both approaches may be able to learn from the other. As a result, increasing an organisation's tolerance for uncertainty, possibly by being practiced in co-creation work that already embraces uncertainty at its core, could help organisations to feel more at ease during moments of change.

Most theory about the conceptualisation of uncertainty is set in the context of the wider business sector, and hence very little specifically addresses its implications for museums. Besides, interpretations of how uncertainty was approached during the Covid-19 pandemic are limited still and will take time to solidify. However, what is clear from the limited literature that does exist is that uncertainty, when tolerated and embraced

constructively, can improve the confidence, agility, and creativity of an organisation and its staff, which may in turn lead to more diverse, flexible and innovative outcomes (Scoones & Stirling, 2020; Freeston, 2022). This suggests that within museums going through change processes, uncertainty could be seen as an opportunity rather than a threat.

2.4. Conclusion

This chapter gave an overview of the existing literature on the understanding of co-creation practices in museums and on the relationship between co-creation and organisational change, including the elements that act as enablers and barriers for such change. While it gave insight into existing definitions, descriptions, and paradigm shifts, it also raised a series of questions that the current literature leaves partially or entirely unanswered. This conclusion section will underline some of the most relevant questions, which the results section (Chapters 4-7) of this thesis will address.

In considering the concept of co-creation, some believe that finding a single definition to capture all co-creation forms is a utopian endeavour (Brandsen et al, 2018). They argue that its many different applications create unique forms that are difficult to all contain in a singular description (Walmsley, 2013). Instead, they propose collaboration spectra that compare co-creation practice to other collaborative practices and define it by what it is not (Simon, 2010; Brown et al., 2011; IAP2, 2014; McSweeney & Kavanagh, 2016; Torreggiani, 2018). Alternatively, they take a process-focused approach and describe the key values that are at the core of co-creation practices, rather than its specific forms or outcomes (Baveystock, 2013; Involve, 2019; Burns et al., 2021). One may wonder whether such approaches offer a helpful

framework for understanding co-creation and if it is enough to counter the current over-application of the term within the cultural sector, which is making use of words such as 'co-creation' and 'co-production' both confusing and increasingly meaningless (Brandsen et al., 2018; Rock et al., 2018). And if the conclusion would be that co-creation is too multifaceted an approach to be captured in a single definition, is there use in attempting to find a suitable description at all? Could the conversation between potential co-creation partners about what they each understand co-creation to be, be more meaningful than the actual definition they end up agreeing on for their project? And could this discussion help them in reflecting better on the power relationships between museums and its communities, which may in turn help institutions to build stronger critical reflection tools that can encourage organisational change?

While the search for a useful definition for co-creation may arguably be utopian, co-creation practice in itself has received similar critiques (Jancovich, 2011). Some literature argues that true equality in power between all partners is difficult to achieve and that co-creation is often part of a rhetorical shift more than of an actual transformation in practice (Lynch, 2011*a*; 2019; Coghlan, 2018). Moreover, co-creation work requires significant time and resources, which may be seen as unrealistic within current funding and projects structures (Lynch 2011*a*; Walmsley, 2013). Others also point out the risk of institutionalising community members or putting them in positions in which they are not fully empowered to have a voice, which can lead to tokenistic and even predatory practices, which can in turn be maintained by the false promise of community involvement (Walmsley, 2013; Wajid & Minott, 2019; Singer, 2021). However, many of these challenges seem to take

root in the unwillingness from organisations to truly share power and to genuinely change the way they work. Hence, it begs the question of what factors may enable co-creation to happen successfully and what traditional practices could it challenge in museums? And more specifically, what examples are there of successful co-creation projects and the impacts they have made across organisations? What organisational practices have changed as a result of working with communities? Finally, can this (often new) way of collaborating actually inspire (sustainable) change within such organisations that can bring organisations and community members to a more equal level?

The above questions consider the opportunities, challenges and flaws within the conceptualisation of co-creation practices. However, organisational change processes come with their own challenges too, which in combination with co-creation work will affect the success and long-term impact of this work on the organisations engaged in it. The literature shows various challenges that could limit the impact of organisational change. First, not all organisational areas of museums are equally accessible or open to change and hence a move towards more co-creative working risks being a curatorial turn more than an organisation-wide turn (Bishop, 2006; O'Neill & Wilson, 2010). However, when put into practice, are there other organisational areas that are affected by changes stemming from co-creation work? Are there certain teams or change-makers within museums who are more likely to pick up on its opportunities or to be successful in creating an impact? Second, change may be inhibited by external structural factors, such as policy, governance and funding constraints (Janes, 2013; Bienkowski, 2016; Bienkowski & McGowan, 2021). But to what degree do these elements affect the impact that co-creation work can make on organisational practices? What is their role in shaping

enablers and barriers to change? And third, major change processes are difficult to study at the best of times, but this research was done against the backdrop of a worldwide Covid-19 pandemic and a significant increase in attention for the Black Lives Matter campaign and wider social movements. How did such external push factors impact on co-creation work? How could co-creation work in turn feed into the changes that these events brought about? And could the increased level of uncertainty that such external events created be turned into a constructive force for organisational change?

Finally, the extent and success of organisational change is heavily influenced by the commitment and contributions of individuals, who make up the organisation (Hollows, 2019; Wood & Cole, 2019). Co-creation, similarly, is highly dependent on relationships between people, and the motivations, viewpoints and expectations they bring with them into such projects (Simon, 2019). However, such people-centred processes can be unpredictable and require careful consideration to ensure that all of those involved can feel safe, valued, and empowered (Vlachou, 2019; Wajid & Minott, 2019). It is therefore worth considering what conditions (including values, ethical considerations, and safeguarding measures) enable more impactful co-creation work, and how museums can provide a suitably safe space for making change. Moreover, who – across both staff and community co-creators – are most at risk of being underrepresented, put in difficult situations, or even exploited within museum practices? And what can be done to prevent such imbalances in power, both within the co-creation project and more structurally across the organisation's working practices more widely?

The results section (Chapters 4-7) will offer responses to the series of questions listed, based on situations and examples observed in the three case study museums. Before then, the methodology section (Chapter 3), will outline the approach this research took in determining the case studies, designing the data collection methods, and interpreting the data that was found.

Chapter 3

Methodology and methods

3.1. Introduction

This chapter will outline the methodological approach that this research has taken to address its research questions. Taking a qualitative case study approach (see section 3.2) and using a phenomenological constructivist perspective (see section 3.3), this research has explored questions around museum staff's perceptions of impact, organisational change and the relationship between museums and communities.

This chapter first discusses the study's methodology, ontological and epistemological approach, and reflections around the researcher position, before going on to explain the selection of case studies. It then continues with a section that combines an outline and discussion of the exact research methods – including documentary analysis, interviews and participant observation – and the makeup of the sample and data sources. The chapter

concludes with an explanation of the approach to data analysis, a number of
ethical considerations, and a reflection on the effects of the Covid-19
pandemic.

3.2.   Case study methodology

The focus of this PhD study is on the potential for change in museum practice
that may be brought about by ongoing co-creation processes with community
groups. This study takes a case study methodology approach, which looks at
potential change as a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context
(Yin, 2003), in this case three current contemporary art museums. Case study
methodology provides a suitable approach for a research project focusing on
such complex and nuanced processes, as it offers a good basis for gathering
rich data through a combination of different methods, including interviews
and observational methods (Denscombe, 2010*a*). Moreover, case study
methodology's flexible approach makes it suitable for research conducted in
complex real-life settings that may change and develop organically
throughout the research, and which are based on dynamics that would be lost
if observed outside of their specific contexts (Simons, 2009; Denscombe,
2010*a*). Conversely, a highly naturalistic approach such as a purely
anthropological study might not give the researcher enough agency to
prompt the research subjects to think about specific questions or invite them
to evaluate their practice. The versatility and flexibility of case study
methodology, however, allows using a combination of methods that offer a
suitable balance between focusing the research along specific directions while

also allowing it to be led by the requirements and development of the case itself (Yin, 2014). This adaptability is important in a study that looks at contemporary organisations, which might shift and change throughout the research, and turned out to be even more crucial when the Covid-19 pandemic set off during the fieldwork period, requiring a flexible approach to data gathering and analysis.

More specifically, this study takes an organisational case study approach, which looks beyond individual participant experiences to explore the intricacies of the organisations' wider practices and attitudes. Like Macdonald's (2002) study at the Science Museum in London, it uses elements of organisational ethnography methods to understand practices, beliefs and decision-making processes within the selected organisations and to offer insight into instances of critical reflection and change (Gaggiotti et al., 2017). This study looks specifically at co-creation practices in the case study museums, and goes slightly further than Macdonald (2002) by looking beyond interactions within a single project and outward to the rest of the museum to observe the impact co-creation practice has on the institution's much wider working practices. The study also builds on Morse's (2018) example of an organisational case study, in which staff members' attitudes toward community engagement are analysed through organisational ethnography. This study follows her argument that case study methodology provides a suitable approach to organisational research, as it allows for a perspective that takes into account the entire organisation and for approaching its practices more holistically (ibid.). The arguments presented as results in Chapters 4-7 therefore draw on observations and documentation of impacts seen across the case study museums more widely and are based on

interviews with staff from a wide range of departments, extending much beyond the core co-creation teams.

Whereas Macdonald (2002) and Morse (2018) each chose to go into great depth by studying a single case study organisation, this research uses a multiple case study design. The case studies used in this research, however, are not selected to seek replication (Yin, 2014), but instead complement each other and cover a spread of different organisational situations (see section 3.5 for selection criteria). This would allow further outputs of this study to offer different perspectives, in which readers may find settings that are similar to their own institution or subject of study that would enable them to draw their own comparisons or to support their theories with new examples. At the same time, the combination of the selected cases also raised many common themes, challenging the criticism that case study research can raise difficulties for generalisation (Gerring, 2004; Swanborn, 2010). Between the three cases, the observed co-creation work raised inevitable questions about power, relationships, and deeply ingrained museum structures that are relevant to all co-creation projects, even if the detailed designs of these projects differ. Hence, there is ample overlap in the approaches they take towards co-creation and the challenges they face in their practice.

Therefore, a multiple organisational case study design makes this research relevant and applicable to mid- and large-sized museums with local, regional and national remits, like those of its three case study organisations. Moreover, it provides space to draw shared conclusions about co-creation, while simultaneously being cautious to avoid the risk of overgeneralisation. Case study methodology provides the possibility for a contextualised and in-depth view, that can manage multiple and changing variables as well as

process data from multiple collection methods, to provide a holistic and nuanced picture from which shared conclusions may be drawn (Yin, 2014).

Finally, it is worth adding a note on the potential for including elements of co-creation as part of the methodology design for this research. Specifically, a study about co-creation could potentially apply co-creation to itself and involve its participants in a process that would give them ownership over the narrative. However, the format of doctoral study and examination, which works towards a predetermined aim and requires single authorship, does not necessarily provide space for collaborative ownership and inviting elements of co-creation could end up being tokenistic. In an independent or post-doctoral research setting, the opportunity to include co-research or participatory research (Hartley & Benington, 2000; Legrand & Chlous, 2016) could be reconsidered, but for this PhD project it did not seem suitable. Hence, the methodology for this study was approached with a more traditional case study view that would give the researcher full ownership of the result.

3.3. Ontological and epistemological framework

This study explores the influence of co-creation on the potential for change in working practices by observing and interviewing members of staff in three museums. As a result, the participants' beliefs, attitudes and opinions form a large part of the research data. In order to recognise the value of the different ideas and subjectivities that are likely to be present in such data, this study chooses to take a constructivist approach to fully understand the nuance and

potential contradictions in how the research participants might view co-creation practice within their organisations.

Constructivism acknowledges reality to be a construct and to be made up of complex understandings between the mutually subjective researcher and research subjects (Byrne, 2004; Denscombe, 2010*b*). Being closely aligned with interpretivism (Weber, 2004), it also acknowledges that knowledge and truth expressed by participants "depend on and are co-created by the researcher" (Harrison et al., 2017: 5), and therefore "[m]ultiple 'knowledges' can coexist when equally competent (or trusted) interpreters disagree" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994: 113). This view of knowledge underlines the fundamental characteristics of the research topic, co-creation, by recognising that a plurality of voices and a constant negotiation of understanding and knowledge exchange is part of any interaction or collaborative endeavour.

A constructivist approach allows a researcher to gain understanding of complex processes (Swanborn, 2010) and to acknowledge participant experiences as valid starting points for data gathering (Annasingh & Howell, 2016). In studying working practices at museums, a focus on staff experiences as a source of data is important, and as a result this study takes a phenomenological approach (Connelly, 2010) within the constructivist spectrum. Phenomenological constructivism aims to "understand and explain the social world from the perspective of the actors directly involved in the social process" (ibid.: 39), and while it acknowledges that these perspectives are inherently subjective (Walsham, 1993), it argues that an image of constructivist reality might be "created through consensus" (Howell, 2013: 87) of shared experiences, assumptions and perceptions of the research participants. Moreover, Howell (ibid.) argues that the researcher's perspective

is included in this shared process of construction, which requires a level of reflexivity to identify the researcher's positionality (see section 3.4).

Phenomenological constructivism offers a useful perspective in the context of case study methodology in particular. Whereas some criticise case studies for being difficult to replicate or compare and for limiting the potential to draw themes or generalisations from the data to make comprehensive claims (Denscombe, 2008; Hesse-Biber, 2010), phenomenologists accept that case studies may not include verifiable knowledge (Selvi, 2011), but that they can nevertheless build theory and learning (Yin, 2003). Gomm et al. (2000) argue that while this knowledge construction process is built on complex and embedded data that may be highly specific to its respective organisation or environment, good case study methodology also offers the opportunity to directly interpret, analyse and reflect on this data to generate new understandings and solutions. These solutions may then be transferable to other cases, even if the original data was highly subjective and distinct to its respective setting (ibid.). Indeed, this research considers co-creation work in three fundamentally different organisations, and while the characteristics and application of this work vary (see Chapter 4), Chapters 5-7 find that similar themes emerge from each of the three case studies. While it is unavoidable to lose some nuance in the generalisations that case studies offer, this study acknowledges that reflection on the subjectivity and distinctiveness of the data feeding into case study findings is an inherent part of a phenomenological research process (Denscombe, 2010*a*). Hence, Chapter 4 briefly describes the specific settings of each case study organisation separately, to provide framework that can contextualise any common themes found throughout the rest of the research.

Using a phenomenological constructivist approach to case study research, especially when using interviews and ethnographic methods, raises another consideration around subjectivity, as each interview or data gathering session might raise new themes that could influence the focus of the project. This research therefore regularly reflected on its original topic guide for interviews and themes for observations to be flexible to move along with themes indicated by participants. This follows Davis' (2008: 60) recommendation that "[g]ood sociological/ethnographic research regularly interrogates itself". This was especially relevant when midway into the fieldwork both the Covid-19 pandemic and the increased attention for the Black Lives Matter movement in 2020 changed the perspectives and opinions held by many of the interviewees. Including references to these moments in the interview questions and during observations allowed the research to remain open to new themes, therefore decreasing the risk of forcing the pursuit of original hypotheses or interests of the researcher (ibid.) when the field had moved on to new ways of answering the research questions. Section 3.4 will acknowledge any bias caused by personal values and experience that I will bring as a researcher in this field (Weber, 2004) and show the importance of continued reflexivity throughout the research.

3.4. Researcher position

Researcher positionality is important to consider in this study for multiple reasons. Firstly, as section 3.3 has shown, research is never entirely value-free and an acknowledgement of these values as well as a reflexivity around what

perspectives the researcher brings will help nuance and contextualise the findings and increase the quality of the data and analysis (Greenbank, 2003; Darwin Holmes, 2020). Secondly, as a previous museum worker, I bring background knowledge of museums that is influenced by previous experiences and beliefs and which will affect my current understanding of the field and research question (Darwin Holmes, 2020; Jung, 2021). Thirdly, as a Collaborative Doctoral Award project and therefore with Tate being both the research host as well as a case study in the research, this research grapples with an intricate balance between external and internal research perspectives. For my position as a researcher, being part of Tate presented some unique opportunities and challenges.

Situating the research within Tate creates a rather liminal position between externally being seen as a member of staff at Tate, while internally being seen as a research student and therefore an observer and semi-outsider of the organisation. It is similar to being an "insider-outsider" (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009: 54), or a researcher who is also to an extent a participant. Instead of being both at the same time, I felt that my identity alternated between them, depending on the context. For instance, my Tate staff pass implied Tate's buy-in to the project to any research participants and also made my position as a researcher resemble a staff position. Therefore, I found it important to underline to participants my role as an independent researcher and to maintain a degree of distance to be able to critique the organisation and limit elements of institutionalised bias. I applied the same when working with the other case study organisations, although my connection to their organisations was less direct or visible as a result of that fieldwork being mostly remote and virtual.

My position as an independent researcher suggests an outsider perspective, as I could be described as a "non-member" (Merton, 1972: 10) of the group I was researching. However, in Griffith's (1998: 361) perspective a "shared lived familiarity" may be enough to constitute an insider perspective, in which case my previous experience as a museum worker would put me into that category. Hence, internally among the research participants I would describe myself an outsider to the organisation but an insider to the museum sector and to many of the themes and challenges raised in the interviews and observations. This mixed insider-outsider perspective allowed me to gain the participants' trust by understanding their perspectives, but also maintaining enough distance to critique their contributions and analyse the case studies without feeling a duty of staff allegiance to the organisation.

With two of my supervisors being Tate staff members and Tate also being the site of part of my research, it felt important to agree a way of protecting my status as an independent researcher also within our supervisory relationship. We agreed early on that my supervisors' role was to protect my independent outsider position within the organisation internally, while also supporting me in gaining access to relevant sources and data within the organisation, as if I were an insider.

My personal experience as a former museum professional also helped me to add contextual understanding of museum processes or jargon during the fieldwork period and to be able to keep up with the interviewees' thoughts. At the same time, the distance between my own practice and the co-creation projects I studied was easily maintained, as my previous work had not included co-creation specifically. My previous career was shared between

curatorial exhibitions work and work on learning and engagement programmes, and so I could reflect on my findings from both perspectives.

Hence, being positioned as an "industry researcher" (Grimm, 2018: 214) to study a critical academic question within a real-life organisation requires an intricate balancing of the insider-outsider relationship. However, a balance in which academic and critical independence is maintained and any familiarity with the sector is used to the advantage to build stronger trust relationships with participants and case study organisations, can also strengthen the relevance and reliability of the research findings (ibid.).

Finally, my background as a museum worker also influences how I think about change. This research is based on an assumption that looking at change in museums is not only a way to assess the impact of co-creation work, but that change is also a goal that museums should be working towards. The alternative, of museums remaining entirely static, has not been regarded within this research as desirable for museums, even if it is acknowledged to be a possibility. This belief is informed by wider calls for museums and cultural institutions to decolonise, open up, and become more democratic in order to gain greater relevance and encourage inclusion (Simon, 2010; 2016; Sandell, 2012; Torreggiani, 2018; see Chapter 2), which these voices describe as requiring a change process at organisational or even systemic level. This need for change is also my personal conviction as the researcher, which is based on my experience and understanding of how museums can hold power and often struggle to significantly share it out to others. As a result, the focus of this research has been on *to what extent* and *where* there might be areas of change resulting from co-creation, rather than on *whether* change could be identified at all, which makes my personal

expectation visible that a certain level of change is likely necessary before museums can truly shift power and become more relevant and inclusive. I acknowledge there is a level of activism in my hypothesis, which by evidencing its confirmation, may help call for wider change in museums.

3.5. Case study selection

A case study methodology hinges entirely on a strong selection of case studies that are relevant, representative and can offer productive comparisons (Yin, 2003). In order to select appropriate case studies for this research, scoping research offered an understanding of the options available and further research enabled to narrow down a selection of three. This section will outline the selection process and the criteria that the decisions were based on. A further profile of each case study organisation, including their commonalities and differences at a glance, will be given in Chapter 4.

The first step of the case study selection process was to list co-creation projects currently running in museums across the world, including community engagement projects that highlighted a significant role for their community partners, even if they did not always use the term 'co-creation' to describe them. From over 60 potential case study options identified (see Appendix 1), three case study organisations were included in the research, based on the following selection criteria:

1. The case study organisation is engaging in what this study understands as co-creation work (see section 2.2) during the fieldwork period (December 2019 – February 2021).

2. The case study organisation is a contemporary art museum.[4] Limiting the scope to this type of museum allows for comparisons between projects whose approach to co-creation is embedded in a similar type of museum programme.

3. The case study organisation is willing to give access to me as a researcher to observe their practices and interact with their staff (see section 3.6). Interaction should also be possible in terms of language barriers[5] and travel restrictions.[6] These are merely pragmatic concerns.

4. In order to analyse distinct cases, avoid repetition, and maximise the breadth and applicability of the research findings, the final combination of case studies presents the widest possible range of characteristics across four guiding categories:

    •   *Organisation size:* The size of the organisation is often closely linked to the scale at which it works, the budgets it has available and the speed at which it deals with organisational change. Therefore, the

---

[4] Co-creation work takes place in a wide range of museums, but narrowing down to a single type of museum enabled more reliable comparisons. The growing social turn within contemporary art museums offered a relevant and timely rationale for looking at this type of museum, and would allow the Tate Exchange programme to fit in well as a case study. However, this criterion does not imply that studying co-creation in other types of museums would have been less relevant.

[5] While this favoured museums in English-speaking countries or in the Netherlands, options where French, Spanish, or German would be the official language were considered too. For other options, a translator was considered.

[6] Travel restrictions were only a small concern when the selection was initially made, but became much more relevant after the Covid-19 pandemic set off. In March 2020, it was considered to replace Queens Museum in the current selection with a museum in Europe, but due to the move towards remote working, the criterion around travel restrictions did not hold up.

scale could have a large effect on how the organisation thinks about change or how it puts it into practice.

- *Approach to audience engagement:* The audience remit of the organisation is often linked to the types of communities the museum might work with. The availability of local audiences or audience groups with specific needs might define the approach they take towards community engagement.

- *Project characteristics:* Looking at the specific co-creation project that the research will focus on in each particular case study organisation, the project's characteristics describe what the project sets out to do and how it sits within the structure and mission of the museum. A small, stand-alone, one-off project might achieve different results than one at a museum where the co-creation process might be embedded into everything the organisation does. Similarly, being part of a bigger capital project, a wider programme of organisational change or a flagship funding grant might also influence the project.

- *Museum's external environment:* The museum's external environment is partly defined by the country the organisation is based in, but also by the type of city or town it is embedded in. A national museum in a capital city may have a different audience and social context from a smaller museum in a regional town. Likewise, a museum in the United States will work in a different historical context and funding environment from a museum in the United Kingdom.

After filtering based on the above selection criteria, the most relevant case study organisations shortlisted from the initial 60 options worldwide were based in Western countries. While this delimits the scope of the research, it was not a conscious selection criterion, but arguably rather an effect of where information about co-creation work was most accessible. This was likely partly due to a lack of language barriers and to a more similar use of language around describing community work in the information search.

Considering criteria 1-4 above, the following case studies were selected for this research project:

- Tate, specifically *Tate Exchange* at Tate Modern (London), its platform for socially-engaged art (Tate, n.d. *a*).

- Whitworth Art Gallery (Manchester), specifically their *Constituent Museum* programme, an organisational change programme (Outset, 2018).

- Queens Museum (New York), specifically the lead up to their *Year of Uncertainty*, a community engagement programme run in 2021 (Queens Museum, 2021*a*).

Together, they represent a spread across organisation size and remit, show different approaches to their status as a museum (namely, a national museum, university museum, and a local community museum), present projects that each take a different format, and cover a variety of geographical situations (see Chapter 4). Practical criteria, such as their availability, start and end date, and the level of access they could provide played a role in making the final selection too.

Alternatives that initially made the shortlist included the Van Abbemuseum (Eindhoven, The Netherlands), MIMA (Middlesbrough, UK), and Santa Cruz Museum of Art and History (US). However, the Van Abbemuseum became a partner on the Whitworth's Constituent Museum project and would hence offer much repetition, and recent staff changes at director level at MIMA and the Santa Cruz MAH meant that the timing was not appropriate. As a result, the three final case study choices were also the first choices for this project.

3.6. Data collection methods

This section outlines the research methods that this research project has adopted, providing a short discussion outlining the rationale and justification for the choice of each one. After a general explanation of how the data gathering process was structured (including the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on the overall process), sections 3.6.1, 3.6.2 and 3.6.3 will highlight and describe the strengths and challenges of each chosen method individually and include more specific consequences of Covid-19 on each one.

This study explores a potential shift in thinking and doing among museum staff in relation to the way they work and which stems from co-creation work at the museum. It aims to highlight changes in working practices across different parts of the museum as well as self-reported changes observed by staff involved over a period of time. The period of direct observation and data gathering through fieldwork happened from December 2019 to February 2021. For each organisation, the fieldwork period fell at a

different stage during their co-creation projects as the length of their projects and the structure of the PhD project did not allow the flexibility to align the fieldwork exactly with the start and end of each project at each organisation. Besides, fifteen months of fieldwork merely allows a temporary insight into a much longer organisational change process, which Bienkowski and McGowan (2021) argue generally spans three to five years. The format of a PhD timeline poses limitations to longitudinal research, but nevertheless a single additional data collection session was held in January 2022, to incorporate a major change in one of the case studies. Indeed, when Tate announced the discontinuation of their Tate Exchange project clarification about the decision was needed to provide context to the research outcomes. To cover additional elements of longitudinal reflection, staff throughout the research interviews could self-report changes or reflections on project phases from before the fieldwork period or express their expectations for the future, to address how their thinking or practices might have changed over time.

To explore indications of reflection, change and a challenging of working practices, the research was designed as using three different methods: a documentary analysis, one-to-one interviews, and participant observation. Together, the different methods offer the opportunity for triangulation; specifically Denzin's (1978) process of methodological and data source triangulation, which tests results from one data collection method to that of another to verify and strengthen the analysis (Carter et al., 2014). When these data correspond, they can highlight themes and potential generalisations between the three organisations, but even when they do not, that instance may elucidate relevant reflections on the subjectivity of the research (Denscombe, 2008).

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic that locked down the research field three months into the planned fieldwork year, the research methods were adapted for virtual and remote use. For the documentary analysis this meant a more limited use of internal documents, as the availability depended on staff being willing to send documents by email, rather than me having (a degree of) access to the shared staff drives, as was originally envisioned. For the interviews, it meant conducting them over Zoom and Teams software, instead of in-person, missing out on a layer of interpersonal cues as well as on the development of a deeper trust relationship with the interviewees. Finally, the participant observations were most impacted, with observations only taking place during dedicated online meeting slots, but not in informal spaces, as would have been the case in office kitchens, canteens or corridors, which should not be underestimated as sources of valuable information (Macdonald, 2002). More specific impacts of Covid-19 on each research method are given in sections 3.6.1, 3.6.2 and 3.6.3.

The most significant impact of the pandemic was a decreased potential for triangulation between the data. Originally, the self-reported impacts raised in the staff interviews were going to be compared to findings from participant observations and documentary analysis to be able to make a distinction between rhetorical or performative changes described in theoretical interview settings and actual organisational changes observed in real working practices. Instead of building on all three data methods equally, the pandemic caused the data collection to heavily lean on the interview data, which were rich and most efficient to collect remotely. Conversely, the participant observations were much harder to conduct in an online environment where deliberate invitations to meeting appointments needed to

be sent to gain access to observing staff at work, and therefore created limitations to the number and depth of these observations. To address this shortcoming, Chapters 4-7 compare their findings to existing organisational and sector literature to provide a frame of reference and a level of verification. This is a limitation that could not be further mitigated during the fieldwork, as the data collection had advanced too far at the point of the pandemic to make major changes to the methods. The length of the lockdowns in the UK and US also limited the possibility of postponing the remaining fieldwork.

Finally, the pandemic also impacted the speed of data collection as organisations closed temporarily and staff were furloughed. In order to gather as much data as possible, the main fieldwork phase was therefore extended to run until the very end of 2020 (15 months in total), instead of three 10-week periods, one at each case study museum, as had originally been envisioned. This does not take into account the additional interview conducted in January 2022, which was later added for different reasons.

Table 1 (below) lists the type and number of data collection sessions that were conducted at each case study organisation between December 2019 and January 2022. The documentary analysis (see section 6.3.1) was done throughout the preparation and fieldwork stage and is therefore not listed. Appendix 2 gives a more detailed overview of all interview and observation sessions, while references to the documentary analysis materials are included in the main bibliography.

Number of data gathering sessions per case study museum

Tate	• 13 interviews, of which 10 in-person interviews in January and February of 2020, two online interviews in February 2021, and one more online interview in January 2022. • 12 participant observations, of which three in-person observations in December 2019 and January 2020, and nine online meeting observations between March 2020 and January 2022.
Whitworth Art Gallery	• Eight interviews, of which one in-person interview in March 2020, and seven online interviews between March and May 2020. • 14 participant observations, of which one in-person observation in March 2020, and 13 online meeting observations between March and September 2020.
Queens Museum	• Nine interviews, of which all were conducted online. • 17 participant observations, which were all observations of online meetings.
TOTAL	A total of 30 interviews and 43 participant observations were conducted across the three case study organisations.

Table 1: The number of data collection sessions per case study organisation and per research method.

The following sections will outline each research method in more detail to explain its aims and challenges and relevance to the case study methodology. It will also consider the process for selecting participants and the role of the gatekeeper at each organisation (Davis, 2008). After that, section 3.7 will discuss the approach taken in regard to data analysis for each method.

3.6.1. Documentary analysis

To set each case study within its own organisational context, as well as to determine a baseline for change, the fieldwork was preceded by a documentary analysis (Bowen, 2009), which studied existing co-creation and community engagement practices at each of the case study organisations. While some of the documentary analysis was done throughout the fieldwork and data analysis stages of the research, a large part was done in preparation of the fieldwork, and thereby helped to shape its focus. The documents included in this analysis covered a wide range of organisational documentation, both internal and external (O'Leary, 2014), including vision and mission statements, community engagement strategies, visitor and audience engagement numbers, annual reports, impact performance reports, evaluations, project planning documents, meeting minutes, team presentations, organograms, and evidence of funding or spend related to community engagement work.

These documents gave insight into the organisations' approach towards co-creation, for instance by showing how communities are embedded within its wider mission, which teams are responsible for community work, what proportion co-creation work forms within the museum's general engagement activity, how it is talked about in evaluations, how resources are allocated to this work, and how a return on that investment is conceptualised or achieved. Comparing documents from different years or different areas of the museum gave insight into how current co-creation work compares to previous approaches, whether there have been changes to the approach, and if there are different levels of impact of co-creation work visible in different roles or teams. The documents also gave more insight into recent changes in the organisational context of the museums, including about major capital projects at Tate and the Whitworth within the preceding five years, and about more recent changes of leadership at all three museums, which all contributed to the organisational changes observed.

Moreover, the documentary analysis provided an important framework for comparison against the data collected through interviewing. Whereas the interviews covered subjective aspirations and opinions, the documentation studied could provide references to whether the interviewees' ideas were actually implemented and if they were effective. For instance, interviewees might describe a co-creation project as a success, while its evaluation might highlight challenges or missed opportunities. Evidently, not all written accounts are factual (Prior, 2003), but nevertheless, the discrepancies between the analysed documents and the data from the interviewees were highly informative and often pointed to inconsistencies between intentions and actions. This ability to cross-reference between

documentation and interviews became even more important when due to the Covid-19 pandemic, the participant observations turned out less effective at providing this level of triangulation.

3.6.2. Qualitative one-to-one interviews

Whereas a documentary analysis generally studies static, written data that might be both qualitative and quantitative in representing an organisation's situation, in-depth interviews can be much more nuanced and dynamic, and are particularly suitable for accessing participants' personal values, attitudes and experiences (Byrne, 2004). Since these are difficult to measure objectively, interviews suit a constructivist approach by inviting participants to define their own beliefs and perspectives, using their own language and voice.

Moreover, interviews give the opportunity to go in depth, to ask follow-up questions, and to adjust themes and question approaches depending on what the conversation requires (ibid.). At the same time, interviews are "contextual and negotiated" (Charmaz, 2007: 27), as there is subjectivity in the angles the interviewee takes and in how they reconstruct realities and experiences from personal accounts. The interview is a negotiation that "co-produces knowledge" (Miles, 2019: 3) between the interviewer and interviewee, and works according to rules of conversation, implied expectations and, in the case of organisational studies, the requirements of representing one's organisation and its decisions or policies (Charmaz, 2007). While interviewees were asked to share their own thoughts, and not the opinions of their organisations necessarily, many ended up

drawing on both. Such interviews therefore require a constructivist viewpoint in which multiple realities can co-exist and a critical analysis that can distinguish knowledge from opinions (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

To minimise organisational or other staff members' influences on the interviewees' statements, an interview setup was designed that could offer relative neutrality (Hall & Callery, 2001) and that considered the diverse backgrounds of the participants, geographical differences, institutional sensitivities, as well as my the researcher's own positionality (Sultana, 2007; see section 3.4). The in-person interviews took place at the museum offices to make minimal demands on the interviewees' busy schedules, but always in private and closed-off rooms, so that interviewees could share their thoughts in private. The online interviews were conducted while the interviewees were in their own homes or private office spaces, to give a similar sense of privacy and relative neutrality. Levels of anonymity were also agreed before the interviews.

Being a semi-outsider (see section 3.4) to the staff at the case study organisations led to most interviewees being either very open with me if they found in me an outsider who was willing to listen to their opinions, or rather closed and diplomatic to guard insider information about the organisation to an outside researcher. It was often the staff at the bottom and extreme top of the organisational hierarchy who would be quite open, while middle-managerial staff and heads of departments were generally more guarded. As a researcher, I became practiced at adapting my strategy for interviewing accordingly and tried to build trust in conversations where that was needed by creating familiarity through referring to my own museum background (see

section 3.4), though without leading interview questions or passing any judgement over issues raised during the interview.

Across the three case studies 30 one-to-one interviews took place, with the number of interviews conducted at each museum proportionally corresponding to the size of the staff body at each museum (see Table 1: The number of data collection sessions per case study organisation and per research method. and *Tables 2, 3, 4*). One of the interviewees for the Whitworth case study was based at the Van Abbemuseum, which was a partner on the Constituent Museum project and closely collaborated on the project with the Whitworth. An initial selection of a few interviewees was made upon commencing each case study, which generally included those staff members working most closely on the relevant case study co-creation project, to help me understand the setting and context of the work. The selection was extended to reach interviewees from other areas of the museum who had a view on co-creation or relevant experiences to share. This further selection was informed by recommendations from the initial interviewees, as well as through participant observations at project and team meetings.

The sample of 30 interviewees was carefully selected to maintain a balanced spread across gender, ethnicity and age (where the makeup of the museum's workforce allowed it), as well as professional levels and hierarchies, to avoid bias towards specific cultural values and viewpoints (Davis, 2008). Across all 30 interviewees, 24 identified as women and six as men. This shows similarity with the gender distribution across all three case study museums, where women make up the majority of staff (Whitworth Art Gallery, n.d. *a;* Queens Museum, n.d. *a*). Of the interviewees, 22 identified as white, five as Black, two as Asian, and one as Latinx. Interviewees from

Queens Museum were the most ethnically diverse, those from the Whitworth Art Gallery the least, which also corresponds to their staff bodies (ibid.). In terms of age, the interviewees ranged from those who were in their mid-twenties to those who were in their early sixties. Their roles represented a diverse cross-section of the entire museum workforce, not just from the departments or teams hosting the co-creation projects. They included content-focused staff, such as curators, education producers, community engagement facilitators, research staff, and public programming staff, as well as more operational staff, including those working in visitor services, security, volunteer coordination, partnerships management, and in the museum shops. The sample also showed a diverse range of professional levels, from museum directors to middle managers to junior staff. This range combined data both from those who were involved in the (strategic) planning stages of co-creation work and those involved in the execution, allowing for comparisons between expectations and outcomes. While the samples were representative of the case study organisations' staff bodies, these staff bodies in turn may not have been representative of the wider population and therefore favour specific characteristics that are overrepresented in museums more generally (e.g. a dominance of female research subjects) (Jung, 2021).

Gatekeepers played a role in the initial interview selection (Walsh, 2004) at each case study by creating space for me to introduce myself to the team and announcing that I would be inviting some of the staff to interviews. I then tried to use the gatekeepers as little as possible when making appointments, to avoid the risk of staff feeling pressure to take part (McFadyen & Rankin, 2016), as most of the gatekeepers were relatively senior staff. Moreover, going beyond the gatekeeper's recommendations helped

avoid the risk of biasing the findings by interviewing colleagues with similar experiences (Bloch, 2004). However, the gatekeepers were crucial in helping me to secure interviews with the museum directors and senior managers, and as a result of their introductions, I gained invaluable access to the senior leadership teams in all three institutions.

The interviews followed a semi-structured topic guide with prompt questions, even though the order of the questions was occasionally adapted to adjust to the flow of the conversations or to the level of involvement that the interviewee had with the relevant project. Having a pre-set guide helped to maintain uniformity of themes in the data across all three case studies, to allow for comparisons both between interviewees within and across the case studies. While common themes emerged between the three museums, the distinct voices of the interviewees generally provided different angles on these themes (Byrne, 2004). The interview questions focused on the interviewees' awareness and experiences of co-creation projects at their museums, their attitude towards community engagement approaches, their experiences of organisational change within their museum, their reflections on the challenges and impact of their own community engagement work, and their reflections upon the role of the museum in relation to community groups. An exercise included in the in-person interviews asked the interviewees to draw an agency map for their co-creation project in the shape of a pie chart. This exercise was later taken out due to the limitations of visualising the drawing process in remote online conversations, but offered some useful results initially (see section 7.6). The full topic guide is available in Appendix 3.

Interviewees were allowed to still retract all or part of their contribution within two weeks of completing the interview. After that, the interviews were anonymised and transcribed for qualitative data analysis. Upon request, these transcripts could be made accessible to the respective interviewees for information and fact checking, adjustments to subjective data were not usually permitted (nor were they requested).

The research interviews invited museum staff members to actively reflect on their own practice, which seems to be a process that staff in museums generally do not often formally engage in otherwise (Hitchings, 2012). Their teams may run evaluative sessions for projects, but some of the interviewees stressed the rarity of having more than an hour for dedicated personal reflection (TI3, 9; WI1, 4, 7; QI8, 9).[7] In fact, some stated that the research interview prompted new reflections and that they had come away from it with a better formed understanding of their own position within co-creation and community engagement practices (TI7, 9, 10; WI3, 4; QI6, 8). As a result, this research, by inviting participants to reflect on change, may enable them to take action to address that change or achieve further transformation. In other words, the critical approach that this study takes may have invited and potentially empowered participants to challenge current situations and address concerns about existing organisational practices or structures more readily than they would otherwise have done. It could therefore amplify the change it studies (Berg & Lune, 2014: 210).

---

[7] References to data collection interviews and observations are abbreviated by the letter of the organization (T for Tate, W for Whitworth, and Q for Queens), followed by the distinction between interview (I) or observation (O), and then the ID number of the respective interviewee or observation session. These codes will be used throughout the research.

3.6.3. Participant observation

As Davis (2008) suggests, interviews combine well with ethnographic methods, especially for studies of organisations and professional practices. They allow for comparisons between how research participants self-define their views and how they consequently behave (ibid.). Hence, this combination can address subjectivity in interview sessions for this study, which might show how the discourse around co-creation can be different outside the interview setting, in real-life situations or while interacting with different people than the researcher. Finally, interviews might only afterwards touch upon what decisions were made, whereas ethnographic methods can study the decision-making process as it unfolds (Tonkiss, 2004). This was especially relevant during the Covid-19 pandemic, when the case study museums were forced to make changes to their work and delivery of co-creation projects at a rapid pace, which a single interview with each interviewee could not have captured.

Consequently, in addition to interviews, the second element of the fieldwork was a small-scale organisational ethnography using overt participant observation as its method, which ran throughout the fieldwork period for each museum (see Table 1). This approach fed into the research questions by discerning changes across the observation period that helped to understand the shape and extent of any transformation caused by co-creation. Moreover, the ethnographic findings from early on in the fieldwork informed themes for later interviews, as well as allowed for verifying and contextualising statements expressed during the interviews. Running the

methods concurrently therefore interwove the two different approaches and worked as part of a triangulation process.

As noted earlier, this method was largely impacted by the Covid-19 pandemic, which forced all in-person activity to pivot to digital interactions in all three case study museums. The research did not become a digital ethnography, as it did not make use of new, purposely developed digital methods. Instead, it used traditional ethnography methods, but executed them in a remote, online context. This led to a much-decreased opportunity for observation. This was partly because many interactions between museum staff did not happen at all (especially those of a more informal nature, which can usually be very informative (Macdonald, 2002)), and partly because as an external researcher I was less visible within the organisation, which sometimes led to missing out on invitations to meetings or on the opportunity to build trust among the organisations' staff. A lack of trust was highlighted for example when the team running a co-creation group for parents with experiences of stillbirth already felt the pivot to virtual meetings impacted the trusted and safe space they had carefully crafted at the earlier stages of the project, and were worried the presence of a researcher would break that frail space (WI3), hence denying access to the meetings.

Indeed, the relatively passive "observer as participant" model (Walsh, 2004: 230) could create a feeling of scrutiny or even raise distrust among other participants in meetings. This was even more prevalent in small online meetings, where a faceless virtual avatar could create a sense of someone lurking in the background and impact on the perception of a safe discussion space. I therefore always had my camera on to increase transparency and practiced "engaged listening" (Forsey, 2010: 69), while also being conscious

131

not to influence the conversation to avoid biasing my data. While abstaining from joining in meaningful discussions, I did take part in informal chatting at the beginning and end of meetings and occasionally asked for more information or clarification, which often seemed to help other participants to trust my role as a researcher more (WO6, 9-12, 14). I had originally expected – in an in-person setting – that I would achieve a "marginal native" perspective (Walsh, 2004: 233), in which there is a familiarity between the researcher and participants that builds sufficient understanding, yet maintains a distance that helps the researcher to step back and reflect from the perspective of an outsider. However, the forced digital approach led to maintaining more distance, which in turn led to a much more external observer perspective and to many research participants seeing me as an outsider too (TI5; QI5). In others, though, my background as someone who had previously worked in museums (see section 3.4) helped to establish added familiarity and trust (TI6-10; WI2, 4, 7, 8; QI1, 3, 6-8). This practitioner background, however, also required me to seek active defamiliarisation with some of the observed museum practices to avoid confirmation bias (Macdonald, 2002: 7). Ultimately, the distance that the online approach created took away all risk of "going native" (Walsh, 2004: 229).

The move to online observations and the reduced data collection opportunities also eliminated the risk of collecting excessive quantities of observation data, with the original (pre-Covid) plan for the participant observation work initially being at risk of becoming time-consuming or even unmanageable (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). The Covid-19 adjustments led to a more limited data pool, which was already quite large due to including three case studies and three different data collection approaches. It

may have made the data collection process for the study more feasible, even though it has also limited the possibilities to let the observations help triangulate data and provide context to other findings.

The selection of events chosen for observation was based on the projects that were running and available to join online at the time of the fieldwork in each organisation, which reduced the scope of the data gathering method through practical constraints (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995; Jung, 2021). At the Whitworth, the observations consisted largely of two meeting series: the weekly team meetings by the Art in Action group, which shaped the museum's Covid-19 response in relation to community engagement, and the bi-weekly meetings of the Whitworth Voices group, which was a community panel that helped inform the Covid-19 response and future strategy of the museum. The first series consisted of conversations between staff, the second series showed direct contact with members of the communities and put the community engagement strategies in action. At Queens Museum, most of the observations were conducted at weekly all-staff meetings, which – with a small staff team – was the main platform where staff shared information about their practices, progress and challenges, as well as were discussions happened about where the museum and its community engagement programme could go next. At Tate, the observations were conducted across the full fieldwork year, as the main focus was on the bi-monthly Practice Day meetings, at which all co-creators of the Tate Exchange programme came together, and on the Community Practice Group meetings, at which staff from across Tate came together to plan community engagement strategies. These two meeting series included Tate staff from a wide range of

departments as well as the Tate Exchange Associates and their community members.

Following such meeting series across all three organisations allowed me to see projects develop over time and for gaining more insight into their context and complexities. The longer-term exposure also helped with gaining the trust of the participants, which helped them lose their awareness of the researcher in the room and made for more genuine data (Watts, 2011). However, in all three case studies additional one-off observations took place where relevant, including of staff tours, evaluation meetings, community workshops, artist presentations, curatorial and content planning groups, and Equality, Diversity and Inclusion (EDI) committee meetings. The process of data collection was through taking notes during observation sessions, which were later written up and analysed fully (see section 3.7). A full list of participant observations conducted is available in Appendix 2.

A note around the ambiguity of organisational ethnography should be added to acknowledge that studying the behaviour of staff within their everyday environments will show that such day-to-day practices are heavily influenced by inconsistencies and ambiguities that can dominate and change the staff's behaviour, even if they had previously disagreed with the decisions they ended up making (Ybema, et al., 2009). The role of managerial power and the limitations to potential resistance that can exist in organisations with pronounced hierarchies may cause inconsistencies between its staff's ambitions and the actual activity observed. While the research found many examples of this, it would be too hasty to conclude the staff did not want to put their beliefs in action, but often pointed to an inability to do so, due to limitations in organisational structures, ownership of decision-making

processes, or the unavailability of resources (ibid.). Yet, it is often these instances of inconsistency that bring out structural challenges and barriers to change, and are therefore a highly important part of this organisational analysis.

Finally, contrary to Macdonald (2002), this study does not focus on direct reflections from audience or community members as a data source, as it would have made the dataset vast and unmanageable. Instead, it takes the views, beliefs and practices of museum staff as its central focus point (see section 1.6). However, the community members' views inherently came through during the process, by them being present at some of the observed events and as a represented voice in decision-making processes within the co-creation project.

3.7. Data analysis

A combination of the documentary analysis, interviews, and participant observations yielded a large amount of data that together presents a complex and highly nuanced image of the current state of co-creation practices and how these might impact working practices within the case study museums. While all data gathered was qualitative, the interviews provided semi-structured data and the participant observation mainly unstructured data (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Hence, the data, once written up or transcribed, was coded into themes to determine patterns and synthesise findings.

The data analysis was conducted through a multi-stage process. An analysis of a large set of available internal and external documents published by and about the three case studies was conducted before the fieldwork started (see section 3.6.1). This raised themes that initially informed the data collected via other methods, such as the interview topic guide (see Appendix 3), and later also formed inspiration for the coding framework that informed the thematic analysis of the data (see Appendix 4). Indeed, after each fieldwork period with a case study was complete, a preliminary thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) was done of that case study to highlight the emerging themes and inform the following case study data collection (if any). This analysis was informed by data from the interviews, which had been transcribed following each case study, and notes taken during participant observation, which had been typed up digitally. Moreover, the analysis included written reflections on the interviews, which I had noted down immediately after each interview to highlight the themes that stood out, that were surprising, that connected to existing data or that offered new breakthroughs. Those reflections also listed where interviewees could have been biased or influenced by my presence, or where their answers had felt performative and insincere. These immediate notes helped me to re-imagine and interpret the tone and context of the conversation and summarised some of the key findings to help me distinguish key themes from details.

The preliminary thematic analysis was then achieved by reading through all interview transcripts and coding them into 13-17 themes, the number depending on each case study (Braun & Clarke, 2006). For each case study, a mind mapping technique by use of Miro software consequently helped to compare these initial codes with themes found in the observation

data and documentary analysis. An individual case study report was produced about each organisation separately, which described the main themes and findings from each case study museum. Initially, these reports were meant to form the basis for separate results chapters (one for each case study), but they were finally restructured to integrate findings from all three case studies in each of the chapters. The reason for this was to achieve an "integrated" analysis about the relation between co-creation and changes to museum practices, rather than a mere comparison of different examples (Sandelowski & Barroso, 2007: 204).

When the data collection phases for all three case studies were complete, the initial coding frameworks resulting from the preliminary thematic analyses of each case study were developed into a coding framework that covered all three case studies. This was done through an inductive, second line-by-line read-through of all interview transcripts and observation notes, coding all data with significance to the research questions into descriptive, thematic categories (Thomas & Harden, 2008). This led to a revision of the initial coding into 21 main themes across all three case studies, each with about 3-6 related subthemes, which then provided a coding framework for comparative data analysis.

Synthesising the themes and findings between the three case studies offered a better understanding of the relations between the three cases. This round of inter-organisational analysis (as opposed to the analysis of individual case studies) helped to move from descriptive themes to analytical themes (Thomas & Harden, 2008) and provided a more latent interpretation of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The representation of each theme differed slightly between the three organisations, and discrepancies between the case

studies often highlighted relevant findings or discussions – such as the different approaches to the curatorial-versus-pedagogic divide (see section 5.3.2) or to structuring shared decision-making (see section 6.4.1) – which helped to narrow down the themes and to focus on these debates within the thesis results (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Moreover, this inter-organisational analysis led to an interrogation and updating of the coding framework to add analytical themes and highlight connections between the case studies to achieve the final version as it appears in Appendix 4, which divides the full research dataset into 15 themes and 93 sub-themes.

Finally, mind maps and argumentation outlines were used again to link the established themes and findings to existing literature and debates to generate theory and determine gaps in existing literature that the analysis could fill (Smith & Firth, 2011). This integrated analysis then informed the structure and write up of the thesis document, though following a recursive process in which the coding framework and analysis were evaluated regularly during writing (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

As this section has shown, the aim of using thematic analysis to analyse the findings of this research was to understand which themes came up and why, how they interconnected, how they compared, and how they related to the research questions (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). While there were many similarities in themes between the three case studies, the angles, approaches and contexts of each specific organisation showed nuanced differences and heterogeneity. Indeed, paradoxes and incoherence should be recognised as an inherent part of organisational studies and of case study methodology, and according to Morse (2018), it is exactly the discourse around these competing interests and logics that gives the most valuable

results. Moreover, the approaches within each case study museum sit within the wider context of the museum sector, and therefore findings were placed within that context too (ibid.), by drawing comparisons between the three case studies and by making connection to literature and examples from the wider co-creation, museum and cultural sectors.

3.8. Ethics and consent

Studying current projects in real organisations and the views of people whose livelihood might depend on the jobs they hold in these organisations raises some ethical issues, principally around consent, confidentiality, anonymity, and the relationship between the researcher and research participants. To address those, a detailed ethics plan was written for this research project and it consequently obtained minimal risk ethics approval, granted by King's College London under ethics clearance reference number LRS-19/20-14664.

The research was conducted overtly, and participants were informed when they were 'on record' and for what purposes the data was going to be used. All participants received information sheets (see Appendix 5), whether over email beforehand or physically at the data collection session. All participants were assured before taking part that their participation was entirely optional and that their choice would not affect their working relationships. This statement was especially crucial to avoid the risk of staff feeling pressured to take part on account of the gatekeeper, especially if this person was higher up in the professional hierarchy (McFadyen & Rankin, 2016).

At the interviews, all interviewees were asked to complete a consent form (see Appendix 6) at the start of the interview. In some of the online interviews, participants returned a signed digital copy after the interview. In the case of the participant observations, the administration of completing individual consent forms was judged as too time-consuming and obtrusive within the settings of the observed meetings (Bryman, 2004). Hence, special consent forms were developed in which the convenor or chair of the meeting could sign off on consent for the group, which saved significant time at these meetings. This type of consent could only be achieved after providing all attendees with a copy of the research information sheet (usually done in advance), giving a short introduction to the research at the start of such meetings and allowing time for questions, and after this, giving any of the attendees the option to opt out of being observed. Anyone who would raise their hand at such point would not have their contributions included in the observation notes. The convenor or chair of the meeting could then sign off for the group, potentially listing any specific requests on the consent form. Across all 43 participant observations, zero attendees opted out of being included. This was partly because in all participant observations participants were guaranteed anonymity, with their only signifier being the potential naming of the case study organisation that they related to.

Anonymity was more complex for the interview participants (Ali & Kelly, 2004). As a default, their contributions would not be attributed to them by name, but in some cases that could not prevent identification entirely. Mainly, it was impossible to anonymise the case study organisations themselves, and so in the thesis, participants are generally linked to their organisations unless it bears no value for the argument being made. The

consent form also asked them to consent to their departments or job titles being used, wherever a mention of these could not be avoided to make the argument. That meant that for those who worked in small departments or who have unique roles in these organisations, such as its directors, a mention of a team or job title could give away their identity. In such cases these were given a version of the consent form that asked them to approve of the occasional use of their name, where it could not be avoided. However, in the thesis, these contributions are referenced by job title rather than interviewee number, so that they would not impact the anonymity of any other statements they made across the thesis, where their interview number had been used.

Apart from anonymity, another ethics issue for this research was the role of the gatekeepers. Hence clear agreements were made with the gatekeeper before starting the fieldwork, not only to protect the participants' free choice to participate, but also to limit the pressure on the gatekeeper's workload. To depend less on a single person – including their personal biases about who should be involved in the research – they were often only asked for support with initial introductions only. The relations with the potential participants were then developed without the gatekeeper present, and further contacts for potential participation were snowballed (Parker et al., 2019) via other participants, to rely less on the gatekeeper there too.

To achieve the right level of trust, where participants feel invited to share their views, but do not forget that they are providing them in the context of a research project (Ali & Kelly, 2004), a professional distance was maintained and it was clarified when participants were speaking on and off the record. Moreover, trust was built by explaining that the research aimed to develop knowledge within the case study organisations and the sector by

understanding their work better, so that it would benefit all involved. Walsh (2004: 231) warns that "it is particularly important as to whether the host community sees the researcher as an expert (and thus a person to be welcomed because he or she is helping to sort things out) or a critic and very unwelcome". Being open about the research aims, their critical approach, and the relevance of it for the organisation and the sector therefore helped to support the research.

Following that argument, the case study organisations may ask to access more detailed data once the research comes out, so that they can get more out of their involvement, but this will be approached with care. Firstly, it would be against data sharing guidelines to share any raw data and even with anonymisation it would be easy for case study museum staff to uncover the voices behind particular remarks from the small group of research participants. Data sharing guidelines (Ali & Kelly, 2004) were followed not just between the researcher and organisation, but also in how data are saved, stored and disposed of. And secondly, requests for more detailed data or additional work could not be part of the PhD, as the position of independent researcher (with an independent research grant) should protect against exploitation to serve the museum as an evaluator or member of staff would. However, recommendations for each case study may be shaped later, at the request of the case study museums.

A last ethical concern is around the relationship with the case study organisations and the possible situation that the research presents findings that may not match the aims or expectations of the case study museums. As a precaution, the researcher and the case study organisations have shared each of their objectives and expectations when the research project was first set up,

and maintained this understanding throughout the research. Academic integrity and institutional distance during the research process and the data analysis stage were maintained additionally to protect the independence of any conclusions. Moreover, findings that do not correspond with the objectives or expectations of any of the case study organisations could be discussed with the case study's gatekeepers or the supervisory team, but the findings – apart from factual inaccuracies – were not edited or omitted.

3.9. Fieldwork during a global pandemic

Between when this study was designed, or even when the fieldwork was begun, and when the fieldwork ended, the world became entirely different. The Covid-19 pandemic had a major impact on how and where museum staff worked, and so the location of the fieldwork entirely moved to virtual meeting spaces. This had an enormous impact on the way the fieldwork was conducted, for example, I was unable to visit Queens Museum in New York, and I was required to conduct part of the Whitworth case study and all of the Queens Museum case study remotely. This called for new, innovative methods to become familiar with the case study museums, which for example included seeing the museum galleries in Queens via a walk-through tour given by a curator and conducted via a video call on their phone (QO2).

Even the term 'fieldwork' seems inaccurate, when about two-thirds of the work in the 'field' was conducted from my own home (Günel et al., 2020). I have maintained the term, because of the meaning it has in academic methodologies, but an adapted term would have been more suitable. Where it

felt necessary to emphasise the geographical distance, I have used 'remote fieldwork' or 'virtual fieldwork'.

As the Covid-19 pandemic continued, the availability of data collection opportunities changed. During the initial months of lockdown, which mainly covered the Whitworth fieldwork, some interviewees seemed quite grateful to have an opportunity for interaction and took their time to have a reflective moment that was relatively undemanding and possibly more conversational than most of their regular meetings (WI4, 5, 7, 8). Later in the pandemic, however, when I focused on Queens Museum, some interviewees kept the conversations short in order to limit their screen time (QI4, 5), felt they lacked the capacity to reflect critically on their work (QI6), or felt the intensity of their own pandemic workload had an effect on their answers (QI7). This increased feeling of vulnerability during the pandemic can cause reluctance to engage in research (Parsons et al., 2022), and although only one Queens Museum staff member did not accept my invitation for an interview (the only one across all three case studies), similar feelings of vulnerability as an effect of the pandemic may have impacted the interviews that I did conduct (Góralska, 2020).

The unprecedented pandemic setting highlights the importance of reflecting on the temporal positionality of the research to determine the level of influence that certain moments in time can have on the information gained from interview participants (Sultana, 2007). This is not only the case when contextualising the state of mind of the interviewee, but also the changing context of the projects that they were working on. Information that interviewee would give me about programmes they were working on could change within days or weeks, depending on new government guidance or

strategies implemented by their museum. I was therefore careful to focus more on their work at a meta-level, for example their wider perspectives on museum and co-creation work, as focusing on project details may not have given me consistent data. I only used examples from projects where those projects had been fully designed and delivered by the time I interviewed the responsible member of staff (WI1, 3, 6; QI2, 8, 9) or where I could do multiple observations over a longer time span (WO2-12, 14; QO1-3, 5, 12, 14-17).

As a result, an awareness of the pandemic phase and lockdown levels was embedded in analysing all of the interviews, regardless of whether the interviewees made reference to specific details of Covid-19. Moreover, I also reflected on how the interviews showed the impact that Covid-19 and homeworking had on the interviewees' workloads and on the demands that co-creation work made on staff as they were struggling to combine producing inherently social community engagement work with lockdowns and social distancing regulations.

Similarly, the pandemic affected my own situation as a researcher, with particular limitations to accessing the university, my workspaces there and at Tate, as well as a physical presence of colleagues to bounce ideas off when considering the meaning of my findings. Additionally, it delayed and then stretched out my fieldwork, while I was uncertain if I would have the option to continue some of it in person still, and which required additional and time-consuming cycles of planning and re-planning throughout the summer of 2020. Being physically disconnected from my both my research field and research base made the experience of data collection a lonely one, and I had to critically reflect on my experience to ensure my feelings did not

influence my reading of the research data I was collecting about my participants' Covid-19 pandemic experiences.

Finally, the pandemic offered many paradoxes between downtime and stress, action and reflection, and support responses and emotional vulnerability. In many cases the interviewees and observed participants indicated feeling uncertain about what was going to happen next, while some also highlighted that the pandemic was allowing them a level of downtime that could help them reflect on where to go next (WI4, 7, 8). Queens Museum's Year of Uncertainty was built on a similar premise, where the chaos of the situation was used as a force to catalyse deeper reflection and new ideas. Hence, the pandemic has been both a threat and an enabler to this research project. Section 5.4.3 will look at this in more detail. It has limited the options for fieldwork and disrupted many of the projects that I had expected to study, but it also provided a more reflective space in which museum staff was forced to reconsider their practices and goals. At the same time, the unique circumstances under which this research project was produced, will have impacted its potential for replication, with the case study museums being inherently changed since the events of 2020.

3.10. Conclusion

This chapter has considered the methods and methodological frameworks used to completing this study. It suggests that a case study approach including Tate, the Whitworth Art Gallery and Queens Museum offered a contextualised approach for understanding change processes at these

museums stemming from their co-creation work. The intervention of a worldwide pandemic, however, changed the execution of this approach as well as the balance between the different data collection elements. For instance, the research was meant to be a limited organisational ethnography in three museums, but ended up being less immersive due to the museums' closure periods and social distancing guidelines. From offering an ethnography of three organisations, the project became an ethnography of staff interactions and reflections, based on accounts written in documents or spoken in interviews and staff meetings and events. The participant observations had originally been included to provide an ethnography of actions, but Covid-19 allowed less opportunity to see the museum programmes in action. In fact, the projects available for observation largely took the shape of online meetings with community groups, which were still based on conversations more than actions.

The following Chapters 4-7 will consider findings from the fieldwork conducted at the three case study organisations and interpret to what extent staff engaged in reflection and distinguished institutional change stemming from co-creation work.

Chapter 4

The case studies at a glance

4.1. Introduction

Case study research is highly contextualised by the exact circumstances and conditions of usually complex organisational environments. To help convey a sense of these exact contexts, this chapter places the three case study museums in their individual settings. It gives insight into the histories, visions, and infrastructures that these three case studies are built on, which will help to frame and nuance the data shared in the following results chapters (Chapters 5-7).

Each section will explain in more detail what models the organisations were using to conduct co-creation work, how this work fit into their visions at the time, to what degree they hoped to enact organisational change, and what conditions facilitated or challenged the legacy of their change process. While the chapters make connections between the case studies at points of similarity

or contrast, the conclusion will bring together all three and outline the main conditions that influenced organisational change stemming from co-creation across all three organisations.

4.2. Tate Exchange at Tate Modern

Table 2 gives a brief profile of the key characteristics of the Tate Exchange programme. It is followed by a short narrative discussing some of the core features of the programme, its progression during its 5.5-year existence, and the conditions leading up to its eventual discontinuation. It also introduces staff expectations for the programme to be an agent of organisational change.

Case study profile: Tate Modern
Relevant project: Tate Exchange at Tate Modern
Tate Exchange at Tate Modern was a dedicated space and programme in the museum to give external Associates and communities a space to tell their stories and make their voice heard (Tate, n.d. *a*). It opened as a physical space in Tate Modern after a major building extension, and had a sister space at Tate Liverpool, which is not included in the scope of this research, as its more regional/local scale and remit are covered by other case studies. Tate Exchange's programme consisted of annual series of weekly programme rotations devised and delivered (often in collaboration with Tate) by over 80 Associate organisations from across the UK, and from

across the arts, education, health and wellbeing, and community development sectors (ibid.). Tate Exchange was a stand-alone team within the wider Learning and Research directorate. In January 2022, the programme was discontinued after a reprioritisation as a result of the pandemic (Tate, 2022*a*).

Project timeline

Tate Exchange at Tate Modern was soft launched at the opening of the Tate Modern building extension in June 2016, then launched officially as a programme in September 2016, and was discontinued in January 2022 (Tate, n.d. *a*). From March 2020 it almost exclusively ran as an online programme due to Covid-19.

Organisation type

Tate Modern is one of four Tate sites, with Tate being a historic and contemporary art gallery that has the status of a national museum (Tate, n.d. *b*). It receives a substantial proportion of its income as Grant-In-Aid income from DCMS.

Location

London, UK. It is based in the centre of a major global capital.

Organisation size

In 2020 Tate had a staff base of around 1600 people working across all sites and the Tate Exchange team had a core team of 10. Tate Modern attracted just under 6.1 million visitors in 2019 (ALVA, 2020), the last known number

uninfluenced by Covid-19 (Bailey, 2021), of which 136,000 people visited the Tate Exchange project (Tate Exchange, 2021). Since Covid-19, the Tate Exchange programme was moved online and struggled to gather reliable visitor numbers.

Approach to audience engagement

Tate Modern attracts international, national, and local audiences. By working with mainly regional and local Associates, Tate Exchange's programming remit has been largely within the UK (Tate, n.d. *a*).

Recent organisational and leadership change

In 2017 Maria Balshaw became director of Tate with a vision to make the gallery "speak to the whole of our society" (Pool, 2017). Earlier in 2016, Francis Morris was appointed Director of Tate Modern, with a similar vision to diversify audiences for this Tate branch (Jones, 2016). The Tate Exchange programme was about to go live when Morris joined and had been in the works for almost 10 years at that point. In spring 2019, Balshaw announced a new internal vision and 5-year plan, which prioritised being "open, bold, rigorous and kind" (Balshaw, 2019: 2) in all of its practices. In 2021 Tate went through a major restructure, catalysed by income losses due to the Covid-19 pandemic, in which Tate cut almost 120 gallery jobs and another 295 in its commercial arm (Bakare, 2020). The discontinuation of Tate Exchange was announced in January 2022 after the redundancy process finished. Morris later also announced her departure, planned for April 2023 (Jhala, 2022).

Table 2: Tate's case study profile outlined against the guiding selection criteria.

Staff in the Tate Exchange team described Tate Exchange as a *"platform"* (TI12: 2), as it gave a platform to the voices of over 80 different Associate groups, who were invited to put on programmes in the space, sometimes alongside other Tate teams, often from the Learning or Curatorial departments. The idea of a 'platform' implies Tate Exchange offered an access point to a bigger community of both audiences and fellow practitioners, who could come together in the space with the purpose of exchange. The Head of Tate Exchange described: *"I saw it as a community of practice, and that was what I really wanted to strengthen. Its collaborative way of working was a real strength."* (Head of Tate Exchange interviewee: 4). To this interviewee, the concept of the Tate Exchange model was expressed through a specific practice, captured in its design as a platform, rather than merely a physical space or a tangible events programme.

Staff outside of the Tate Exchange team, however, described the initiative as a *"space"* first and foremost (TI1, 3-5, 7-9), possibly because its physical features are what made it unique within the museum and what laid the foundation for its claims to be the "first of its kind in an art museum anywhere in the world" (Tate, n.d. *a*). Although community voices have been present in Tate's learning and outreach practices for much longer (Cutler, 2010; n.d.), including through the work of its Communities and Social Practice team, having a dedicated, permanent space reserved solely for this purpose was new. With the space covering an entire floor in the Blavatnik building, the scale of it stood out too. When asked about the difference between Tate Exchange's conceptualisation as a platform and as a space, one interviewee said: *"the space of Tate Exchange is probably more understandable across the*

organisation than what it does and what emerges from it, or what the practice is" (TI9: 3). It suggests there is a defined practice that constitutes Tate Exchange, in addition to being a platform and a community of practice (see section 6.2.2), but also that the physical space makes up a significant part of its definition.

This became even clearer when due to the Covid-19 pandemic the physical space closed for an extended period of time. A Tate Exchange team member explained:

"The kind of work that we do at Tate Exchange was made almost impossible by the pandemic, in terms of the social engagement of the work. It really excels when it's face to face and one of its functions was to be that gathering place. But people couldn't gather." (TI13: 2).

In the end, the forced temporary closure of its physical space is one of the reasons that contributed to the discontinuation of the entire programme.

In addition to being a platform and space, Tate Exchange was also described by interviewees as a *"strand of activity"* (TI6: 2) or "programme" (Tate, n.d. *a*). This programme had a clear content remit to "connect art and society" (Tate, 2020) and a set format that invited each of the participating Associates and teams to bid to use the space once a year to run a 3-5 day programme within the context of an annually chosen theme, which during Tate Exchange's course were "exchange", "production", "movement", "power", and "love" (Tate n.d. *a*). Each season, in turn, was led by a lead artist, who would inspire artistic and curatorial coherence across the annual programme, and this coherence was further ensured by the programme

design process, where Associates submitted proposals for the activities they wanted to put on in the space. Once confirmed, the participating group was then given substantial autonomy to determine the exact content of their programme, with the Tate Exchange team playing a largely facilitating support role in the production process, offering professional expertise, staff time, and (largely in-kind) resources (TI7, 12).

Tate Exchange distinguished itself from other curatorial and education programmes not only by having its dedicated, permanent space, but also by combining two traditionally separated practices: *"[Tate Exchange are] a programming team […], but they also have the knowledge and experience of Visitor Experience"* (TI9: 7), and work quite uniquely at the *"intersection between programming [and] speaking to people on the frontline"* (ibid.). Indeed, the Tate Exchange team drew upon various practice traditions, including curatorial or programming expertise, learning from education and public engagement programmes, and experience of operational welcome approaches and accessibility. As a result, its practices connected to many different teams at Tate and this in turn widened the impact it had on organisational structures and practices across the museum (see sections 5.3.2, 6.2.1 and 6.3.2).

The other element that set it apart from most other programmes at Tate was its highly collaborative way of working. Following the collaboration spectrum as outlined in section 2.2.3, the design of the Tate Exchange programme falls within the co-creation and community-led categories. The individual activities of each participating Tate Exchange Associate group might be classed as community-led creation, as these Associates develop the programmes with their own community members largely independently before they are brought into the Tate Exchange space. However, the Tate

Exchange programme overall largely shows a commitment to co-creation, as the process of programming and creating curatorial coherence is a negotiation between the Associates on one side and the Tate Exchange team, lead artist, and the curatorial framework of each themed season on the other. Moreover, co-creation is also visible in the collaborative approach to shaping what Tate Exchange stands for, its values, the interpretation of those values in its programmes, the programme themes, and the conditions for collaboration, which are discussed and workshopped during Practice Days at which Associates and Tate staff come together to brainstorm (TO3-7). Finally, co-creation also takes place between the Associate organisations and the communities that they often represent, as well as with the audiences who attend their Tate Exchange programmes, and so the Tate Exchange platform supports co-creation practice by extension too.

While these co-creative and community-led models seem highly collaborative in spirit, in practice there were moments in which the Tate Exchange team could exert significant power over its programme. This begins at the recruitment of the pool of Associates, which was done through an open call and attracted hundreds of applications for each round to fill just 80 spaces across its 5.5-year existence (Tate, n.d. *a*), allowing Tate Exchange the power to curate their desired list of groups. After the recruitment phase, Associates would submit proposals for activities to bid for time in the space, and at this point the Tate team technically had the power to veto such projects. While generally the Tate Exchange team's attitude was to try and make each proposal happen, they did have to set limitations to what was feasible within the space and programme (TI7, 12). Finally, the announcement to discontinue the programme midway throughout its sixth year and with little prior

notification to the existing Associates shows the overall power that, not the Tate Exchange team, but the wider Tate management, had over the fate of the programme and the platform it could give to Associates.

Tate Exchange's cross-disciplinary approach and aim to centre its work around collaboration played with traditional hierarchies in museum spaces, divisions between museum departments, and power-structures between museums and communities. It provoked new ways of considering these practices and built on critical museology (Tate, 2018) to ask questions about what it means to be a museum and to challenge existing notions of museum spaces and practices. One of Tate Exchange's Associates described it as *"we're a bit like pirates: we're here to […] break through standard practice"* (TO3: 2), which illustrated the perception of the programme as ground-breaking. Moreover, Tate Exchange presented itself as "an open experiment" (Tate, 2020: 3; see section 5.4.1) that explored new ways of working with communities and could potentially develop new examples of good engagement practice (Tate Exchange, 2018). But did it achieve the change it set out to make?

A 2018 evaluation of the first two years of Tate Exchange showed evidence of the programme leading to new ways of thinking, new museum practices, new relationships, and new perceptions of art and museums. It stated that Tate Exchange was "affecting change at Tate" (ibid.: 15), although it also added that still "more could be done to capitalise on the potential of Tate Exchange to act as an agent of change" (ibid.: 16). This potential, however, was also picked up on by staff interviewees, who believed it could be *"a space for impact, in society, but also within the institution"* (TI7: 1) and *"a vehicle for a lot of organisational change at Tate"* (TI8: 1; echoed by TI6-10). Moreover, they suggested Tate Exchange would have the capacity to support

new ways of *"thinking about what the future of the museum might be"* (TI9: 2). In 2018, even the director of Tate Modern expressed her hope for "Tate Exchange to guide and shape how the institution changes over the next ten years" (Tate Exchange, 2018: 16), suggesting it had potential for affecting wider institutional change in the long-term. She did not know then about the Covid-19 pandemic and the consequential budget cuts, which five years later led to the closure of the Tate Exchange programme.

Chapters 5-7 will discuss the extent of change Tate Exchange made across Tate two years on from the initially promising statements from 2018. It also looks at the durability of this change, as its legacy has been highly impacted by the sudden discontinuation of the programme in 2022. The official closure statement read:

> "In the context of the devastating impact of the pandemic on Tate, we have come to the decision that it is no longer financially viable to continue Tate Exchange as it was originally conceived, with a separate programme, resourcing and operating budget. Instead we are looking to embed the groundbreaking practices developed through this programme into existing workstreams within Learning and Curatorial, and discontinue Tate Exchange as a separate programme." (Tate, 2022*a*).

The announcement shows that the legacy of Tate Exchange was deemed important, yet the entire learnings of the programme were expected to be embedded through the redeployment of just two of the original (and relatively junior) staff members to other Tate teams (TI13).

Moreover, the closure of the Tate Exchange programme, shows further cracks in the core co-creation legacy and values that the programme aspired to maintain throughout its work with Associates. The decision to discontinue may have been linked to a court claim from the 2020-2021 Tate Exchange lead artist and two associate artists, who did not only feel censored by the limitations Tate put on their creative process (Sharrocks, 2020; 2022), but also accused the museum of discrimination, victimisation, and harassment as a result of it (Quinn, 2022). A six-figure settlement was agreed with them after they filed a claim in January 2022 (ibid.), at the same time that the closure of Tate Exchange was finalised and announced (TI13). Tate has not commented on whether the events were linked, but even if they were not, the dispute shows there were difficulties around sustaining a relationship which honoured equality, diversity, trust, and other values described as central to co-creation (see section 2.2.4).

Hence, in discussing what changes in practice were discernable in 2020 and to what extent these reached across the breadth of the organisation, Chapters 5-7 will also keep the recent closure of Tate Exchange in mind in order to pay particular attention to the sustainability of this potential change and to limitations that made the programme vulnerable to premature closure.

4.3. The Constituent Museum at Whitworth Art Gallery

Table 3 gives a brief profile of the key characteristics of the Constituent

Museum[8] programme at the Whitworth Art Gallery. It is followed by a short

narrative discussing the key ideas that shaped the programme, the progress

made during first half of its 1.5 year run, and the impact it was making during

that time. It considers staff's expectations of it as a change programme, and

the potential impact of the Whitworth's director's departure in 2022.

Case study profile: Whitworth Art Gallery
Relevant project: The Constituent Museum
The Constituent Museum was an organisational change project by the Whitworth, aiming to radically transform its core protocols by redrawing relationships with local constituency groups to create shared agency over the museum (Arte Útil, 2019). The Constituent Museum was built on a one-off transformative grant from Outset Partners to invest in changing the structures of the museum (Outset, 2018). While the project had a dedicated budget and curator, it aimed to embed its outputs into the museum more widely (ibid.). An equal Constituent Museum grant was awarded to the Van Abbemuseum in Eindhoven, The Netherlands, with the understanding that both museums would share knowledge (Arte Útil, 2019).[9]
Project timeline

---

[8] Capitals will indicate when reference is made to the specific Constituent Museum project at the Whitworth or Van Abbemuseum, whereas a lowercase spelling refers to the general constituent museum concept and model.

[9] One team member from the Van Abbemuseum was interviewed for this research, but the focus of the study remained on the Whitworth, as adding a fourth case study museum context seemed unfeasible.

The Constituent Museum programme ran from October 2019 to April 2021. Originally planned to run for a year, it received a grant extension due to Covid-19.

Organisation type

The Whitworth is a historic and contemporary art museum and is one of multiple galleries operated by the University of Manchester (University of Manchester, 2018).

Location

Manchester, UK. The gallery is situated near the city centre, within the Whitworth Park, and aims to be part of the ecology of its surrounding neighbourhood and green space (Whitworth Art Gallery, n.d. *b*).

Organisation size

In 2020, the Whitworth had a core team of 56 staff members, while the university had over 12,000 staff members (Whitworth Art Gallery, n.d. *a*). In 2018/2019, the last year uninfluenced by Covid-19, the gallery attracted 381,234 visitors (University of Manchester, 2019). In 2019/2020 it counted 205,170 visitors (including virtual visits) (University of Manchester, 2020).

Approach to audience engagement

The Whitworth attracts mainly national, regional and local audiences and is closely linked to the local community in Manchester and the university (University of Manchester, 2019).

Recent organisational and leadership change
Alistair Hudson, a champion of Arte Útil ('art as a tool' or 'useful art') (Bruguera, n.d.), was appointed as new director of the Whitworth in 2017, and drew on his previous work at the Middlesbrough Institute of Modern Art and with the Van Abbemuseum to set up the Constituent Museum partnership (Arte Útil, 2019). He launched his new vision for the Whitworth in 2018 (Hudson, 2018). In January 2022 he was pressured to step down due to a curatorial dispute (Wolfe-Robinson, 2022), and although he remained in post for a little time afterwards, he announced his departure from the Whitworth in July 2022 (Kendall Adams, 2022).

Table 3: Whitworth's case study profile outlined against the guiding selection criteria.

The Whitworth Art Gallery aims to provide a space to bring together the university and the people of Manchester (Whitworth Art Gallery, n.d. *c*). It is located in South Manchester, and works closely with many of its local neighbours, which includes a large South Asian diaspora among various other global majority communities. In 2015, the museum completed a major redevelopment, which doubled its public space, including for galleries and learning programmes (Whitworth Art Gallery, n.d. *d*). The aim of the refurbishment was to make the gallery more open and accessible, or to bring "the inside out, and the outside in" (ibid.). In 2018, Alistair Hudson was appointed as the new director of the gallery after Maria Balshaw left to direct Tate. The University of Manchester, who made the appointment, elaborated on the motivations for their choice: "Alistair is dedicated to the idea of cultural institutions as a force for promoting social change, and this fits

precisely with the mission of the Whitworth" (University of Manchester, 2017).

Indeed, Hudson's social change agenda contributed to winning the gallery a major Transformative Grant from Outset Partners in 2018, which they shared with the Van Abbemuseum in the Netherlands (Outset, 2018). The grant, which was funded by individual philanthropists, specifically invited proposals that would work towards institutional change. The sponsored project indeed aimed to transform both organisations into 'constituent museums', by allowing the institutions to build new relations with its local communities, or constituents, and to give them agency in informing the museums' "collecting, curating and presentation" practices (ibid.). This term 'constituent museum' is used in the context of the Arte Útil tradition, first developed by artist Tania Bruguera, that sees art as a tool for social change (Bruguera, n.d.) (see section 2.2.1).

In short, the constituent museum is a museum model that puts "relationships at the centre of their operation" (Byrne et al., 2018: 11). It regards its audiences as being part of a wide range of constituencies and aims to build relationships with these constituents that are based on "collaboration and co-production" (ibid.) to give the museum a purpose that is based on being "useful" to them. This idea of "usership" (Wright, 2013: 66) attacks three elements of traditional museum practice; that of "spectatorship, expert culture, and ownership" (ibid.) and replaces them with engagement, democracy, and shared value, respectively. This notion shares these key principles with co-creation work (see section 2.2.4) and shows further parallels with co-creation in that it challenges hierarchical relationships between museums and community constituents in favour of creating more

equality between them. Constituent museums hope that their approach helps the "relative positions of both the museum and its constituencies [to] begin to shift and change" (Byrne et al., 2018: 10) in order to create conditions in which useful social change can happen.

The Whitworth's ambition to be a constituent-led museum compares to the community-led level in the collaboration spectrum outlined in section 2.2.3. However, at the time the research was done the Whitworth's programmes mainly showed elements of participation and co-creation levels. Most projects that ran during the Constituent Museum year were centred around co-curating exhibitions, and in many of them curators and other museum staff still had a high level of agency in shaping the outcomes or the power to veto important decisions (WI1, 6) (see sections 5.2.1 and 6.4.1). This might have been largely due to community-focused practices having been relatively new to many of the museum staff still at that point, with Hudson's community-led strategy having been implemented from 2018 only (WI7; Hudson, 2018). For comparison, Tate Exchange had been running for four years at that point (and the plans for it had been in the making for ten years before its launch at least (TI12)), and at Queens Museum community-led working had been highly centred since as far back as 2002, with the commencement of Tom Finkelpearl's directorship (Finkelpearl, 2013).

The ambitions for constituent-led work at the Whitworth seemed to not yet match the experience and expertise of the museum's staff body, and the interviewees indeed acknowledged they were still going through a learning process: *I think it's still quite early in the learning process for us, because this is, in some way, quite a pioneering project, certainly for the Whitworth."* (WI6: 5, echoed by WI4, 7, 8). Especially among the curators, there was a sense that

a lot of what they were doing felt quite new. One of them, who was working on a project within the Constituent Museum project portfolio, emphasised that:

> *"For me, this is the first fully constituent-led project that I've worked on [...]. I'm going to continue going on my instinct for now. At the end, I think we really need to do some strong evaluation on what it has produced because I'm really keen to learn. I think because this is an absolute constituent-led project that I think it's a really important learning base for me."* (WI6: 13-14).

Not all staff was equally open to these changes and section 5.2.1 elaborates on the doubts, worries, and antagonism the project experienced. This complicated process of acceptance shows that the organisational change stages of 'full commitment' and 'internalisation' of such practices, as described by Conner and Patterson (1982), were still a long way off.

The Constituent Museum project, however, was specifically set up to achieve quite fundamental organisational change, as its objective was to "radically transform their core protocols (which, as with most museums, are rooted in the 19th century)" (Outset, 2018). An interviewee confirms this view:

> *"The overarching ambition of the Outset project is, rather than just creating another project for spaces like the Whitworth, to instigate some kind of organisational change, which makes [constituent-led] work fundamental to the way of working, as opposed to a project."* (WI8: 7).

However, rather than prescribing funding for a systematic and long-term strategic redesign, the grant's format showed more resemblance to a one-off project grant. It covered the appointment of a temporary part-time Constituent Curator (initially called Agency Curator) for the duration of the grant, the running of one individual and one collaborative project between the two museums that exemplified co-creation and community-led working, the acquisition and development of the Arte Útil Archive of socially-engaged art, and a joint publication of the learning process that might inform museum practice more widely across the sector (Outset, 2018; WI5, 8). Moreover, the Transformative Grant was given on the basis of a mere one-year project timeline, although it was later extended to 1.5 year due to the Covid-19 pandemic interrupting the project within its first six months.

This short-term project view seems at odds with the ambition to bring about a complex process of embedded, systemic change. Compared to Tate Exchange, which was always meant to be a multi-year programme and was installed with a more permanent space for programming and a dedicated team, formalised network, and extensive evaluation strategy, the Whitworth's approach seemed to want to achieve more in less time and with fewer means. It poses questions about the level and extent of change that it aspired to achieve. In fact, it suggests the Transformative Grant was merely seed funding for a much larger change process, and was Hudson's starting shot to a more long-term campaign to fully become a constituent museum.

Indeed, the interviewees at the Whitworth confirmed that the aim of creating organisational change through community involvement was a multi-year goal (WI5, 7), with the specific funding grant functioning largely as an

accelerator of an existing change ambition, rather than a kick-starter of an

entirely new process. One interviewee said:

> *"You can't do this overnight, but obviously what we're aiming to do is*
>
> *to create a body of activity and a way of working that is driven and*
>
> *developed organically between all these different people, between the*
>
> *users and between the constituents"* (WI5: 3*)*

This interviewee sees the grant as an investment into a larger co-created

portfolio and the Whitworth director makes a similar point, emphasising that

the grant is just an accelerator in a change strategy that stretches far beyond a

single project:

> *"They [these changes] would have happened anyway, because I was*
>
> *pushing for this from day one. I was recruited on this premise. In my*
>
> *interview I said, you know what I do, don't you, this is what I do. But*
>
> *obviously this [grant] is like a turbo boost."* (Whitworth director: 10).

Hence, the Constituent Museum project seems to be embedded within a much

larger change agenda, and will therefore likely leave an impact beyond the

course of its project timeline. One interviewee argues that the grant *"supports*

certain areas of change, but ideally they will then infect other areas of the

organisation, by demonstrating principles but also acting as thought pieces, which we

can reflect upon" (WI5: 10). It also shows how this initial stage of the

Constituent Museum project is not just focused on producing co-created

work, but also provoking reflection on current practices and experimentation

with methods and ways of working to challenge them. Hence, arguably, the grant money might be seen as a means of creating a provocation, that will then set in motion a much slower and more long-term organisational change process over the next few years.

One key question that this raises, and that is also raised by the setups of co-creation work at Tate and Queens Museum, is whether time-limited, one-off, dedicated projects can ever bring about wider institutional change, which relies so much on systematic and long-term implementation. By their very nature, do activities in a 'project' format operate in the margins rather than the core of an organisation? To what extent can they catalyse more structural change? This will be reflected on further in section 6.4.2.

A second key question is raised by an incident that happened at the Whitworth in February 2022, which prompts the question of to what extent this more embedded change process depends on the leader or director who is actively pushing for it? The incident was the result of one of the gallery's 2021 exhibitions becoming the arena of a political row about the Israel-Palestine conflict. The exhibition featured pro-Palestine statements, on the basis of which director Hudson was accused by a Jewish community of not following adequate fact-checking protocols, while the lead creative organisation featured in the exhibition called upon the right to artistic freedom (Wolfe-Robinson, 2022). After various unsuccessful reconciliation attempts, the Jewish group requested from the University of Manchester that disciplinary action should be taken against Hudson. The University, in turn, did not force a resignation, but it did seem it created tensions, as five months later, Hudson announced his departure from the Whitworth (Kendall Adams, 2022).

As the movement to build a Constituent Museum was still relatively young and was also heavily shaped by Hudson's own professional background, this change in leadership will have an effect on the future of co-creation at the Whitworth. If a new director chooses to follow the same course, the change process might be slowed down or interrupted while the new leader settles in. And if a new director brings an entirely new direction, it is to be seen if Hudson's four-year tenure embedded co-creative change deeply enough to leave a long-term impression on the organisation. In that case, it faces similar questions at Tate as the discontinuation of their Tate Exchange programme, about how the learning from their new ways of working will remain present and embedded within future practices. These questions will be unpicked further in sections 5.2.2 and 6.4.1.

4.4. The Year of Uncertainty at Queens Museum

Table 4 gives a brief profile of the key characteristics of the Year of Uncertainty programme at Queens Museum. It is followed by a short narrative discussing Queens Museum's history as a community museum, the ideas that informed the Year of Uncertainty programme, and the impact it made during the pandemic. It considers how the programme might represent a larger change process that the museum is embarking upon.

Case study profile: Queens Museum
Relevant project: The Year of Uncertainty

Queens Museum launched the Year of Uncertainty programme in 2020, which invited artists, community groups and thinkers from across the borough of Queens to produce artistic commissions for the yearlong programme (Queens Museum, 2021*a*). The fieldwork period captured the preparations and the initial launch of the programme, as part of the Year of Uncertainty fell into 2021. In addition to looking at this period of programme design, this research therefore also takes into account other projects in the museum's community co-creation portfolio at that time: their flagship food bank service called the 'Cultural Food Pantry' (Queens Museum, 2020*a*), a young people's development programme called 'Queens Teens' (Queens Museum, n.d. *b*), and a local makers development programme called 'Hecho Local' (Queens Museum, 2020*b*). Moreover, this research acknowledges Queens Museum's long history of engaging the local community in Queens through collaborative working (Garz, 2013; Wallis, 2018).

Project timeline

The Year of Uncertainty was launched at the end of 2020, with a call out for community projects to take place across 2021.

Organisation type

Queens Museum is a historical and contemporary art museum. It is set up as a local authority museum and receives around half of its budget from the city of New York (Dafoe & Boucher, 2019). The other half is largely made up of private funding.

Location

New York, US. It is situated in Corona Park, previously a World Fair ground and now a large park, which is located centrally in the borough of Queens. Queens is the most ethnically diverse large county in the US (Algar, 2019), with the Latinx community making up 72% of the Corona neighbourhood in which the museum is based (Statistical Atlas, 2020).

Organisation size

Queens Museum had a core team of around 40 staff members in 2020, in addition to occasional freelancers and contractors, and attracts around 200,000 visitors annually (Queens Museum, n.d. *a*).

Approach to audience engagement

Queens Museum's mission statement describes its audience remit as being people in the New York metropolitan area, and particularly residents of Queens (Queens Museum, n.d. *c*). It has a strong local focus, though with an international outlook in regard to the art it exhibits.

Recent organisational and leadership change

Sally Tallant was appointed as Queens Museum's new director in 2018, after Laura Raicovich, the previous director, resigned from the museum following a political conflict with the museum's board (Boucher, 2018*a*; 2018*b*). Tallant brought expertise around increasing diversity and international exchange across the arts (Pogrebin, 2018). She launched her new formal vision for the museum in 2020 (Tallant, 2020), which focuses on

building a "situated practice" (ibid.: 14) around social justice themes and positions the museum as both "hyper-local and international" (Baldwin, 2021).

Table 4: Queens Museum's case study profile outlined against the guiding selection criteria.

Based in the borough of Queens in New York, Queens Museum claims to put its local community at the centre of what it does. In its mission statement, the museum declares to be dedicated to presenting its work to the people of New York, and to the residents of Queens specifically (Queens Museum, n.d. *d*). Within its portfolio, it shows to give priority to even more hyper-local areas such as Corona Plaza, a public square and accompanying regeneration programme in the nearby Corona neighbourhood (ibid., *e*), and the Flushing Meadows Corona Park, in which the museum is situated (ibid., *f*).

While this shows a local, and at times even hyper-local outlook, the community in Queens is described as "uniquely diverse, ethnic, cultural, and international" (Queens Museum, n.d. *d*), and hence the local focus comprises many international cultural influences and represents a large global community. Indeed, with 48.5% of its population being foreign born and 56% speaking a language other than English at home, a core aim of the museum is to embrace this diversity and provide access widely across the borough through being an inclusive museum (Tallant, 2020).

The specific geographical context that Queens Museum operates in has led it to build a highly developed outreach programme, which puts inclusivity at its heart. While increasing creative engagement and outreach form a priority at all three case studies, both Tate Exchange's and the Whitworth's co-creation projects also prioritised making links to the

collection and curatorial themes (TI12; WI7), while at Queens Museum its community-focused projects primarily aim to engage locals with cultural activity, regardless of the museum's collections or exhibitions. Examples are the 'Hecho Local' workshops, which helped local makers to set up their own businesses (Queens Museum, 2020), the 'New New Yorkers' programme, which still supports new migrants to integrate and learn English through arts and crafts workshops (ibid., n.d. *g*), or the 'Cultural Food Pantry', which is a food bank project first and foremost and only later added an accompanying programme of cultural activities for families (ibid., 2020*a*). The difference perhaps, is that in its community engagement work, Queens Museum strives to be fully led by what content communities ask for, and not by what content curators or collection staff prioritise, as one interviewee suggested:

> *"There were very few, in my opinion, organisations in the world*
> *[besides Queens Museum] who were doing work that genuinely asked*
> *the question of whose culture do we value? Whose voices do we centre*
> *and how does community define the curatorial conversation?"* (QI5: 3).

This strategy stems from the museum being founded as a result of community activism and builds on a long history of being what the staff call a "community museum" (QI3, 5-8; Calouste Gulbenkian, 2018). This is a term that was already established in the 1960s, which found popularity in the US and often refers to museums that are primarily concerned with representing and creating access to art for local minority and marginalised communities (Moreno, 2003). The interviewees defined the term as being for a museum that

combines a deep connection to its local community with a commitment to social justice:

> *"Queens Museum is known as the community museum. It's been dubbed the community museum, not just in Queens, but in New York in general. It has this reputation of being the art institution in New York that really caters to the local community, as well as being part of Queens. It's very hyper-local [and it has] this very deep connection to community, as well as social justice."* (QI3: 7, echoed by QI5).

In this understanding, the museum is dedicated to responding to the needs of the local community, both through and in addition to its art programmes, as the following interviewee explained:

> *"Yes, you go to museums to look at the pretty art, and to be inspired, and for culture, and all of these things, [and] I think a community museum does that, but they also have programmes and events and activities that really connect on a very local level, on a very simple level to the needs of the community."* (QI3: 8).

Other interviewees noted the aforementioned distinction between arts-centred programmes and community engagement programmes, and argued that currently only the latter of the two is truly informed by communities at Queens Museum (QI1, 7, 8). They described the education and public programmes teams as having been closely *"embedded"* within their communities for a long time (QI8), but that the exhibitions and curatorial

strands of work have remained quite *"siloed"* away from that and are currently not fully informed by community voices (QI5, echoed by QI8). As a result, the museum seems to be two things at once: a high-calibre contemporary arts museum with an international outlook as well as a dedicated community centre with a very local social justice mission. This contradiction between more curatorial-focused traditions and more community-focused pedagogic ways of working has come up in each case study and will be further explored in section 5.3.2.

Whereas Queens Museum's community engagement practices are highly developed within its education and outreach programmes, its curatorial programmes take quite a different approach to co-creation and community-led working. To invite community voices into these programmes, the museum runs a programme of socially-engaged arts projects,[10] which feature social practice artists working with communities on creating 'useful' artworks together to create social change (Reddy, 2011; Arte Útil, 2013; Finkelpearl, 2013; Bruguera, n.d.). This type of work shows great potential for co-creation, however in the case of Queens Museum the co-creative process is often conducted between the community and the artist, rather than the community and the museum directly. This is different from Tate Exchange, where the Associates were direct community groups (even if they may subsequently choose to contract artists) and from the Whitworth, where its

---

[10] Socially-engaged art, or social practice, is an artistic practice that creates artworks through social discourse, often with community participants (Helguera, 2011; Bishop, 2012). It leaves the responsibility of community engagement to the artist, rather than to the museum directly. Even though many museums may commission artists in such roles, this thesis is concerned with museum practice, rather than art practice. It will therefore not give a full contextualisation of socially-engaged art, but limit itself to focussing on the areas in which this art practice has informed museum practice.

Constituent Museum projects focused on building relationships more directly between museum staff and community constituents too. By outsourcing this work to artists, the Queens Museum maintains the option to disengage from the power renegotiations that characterise co-creation so much, which may prevent deep and long-term organisational change from happening. The interviews with Queens Museum staff showed that the museum has given many opportunities to artists and "hosted" (Simon, 2010) much community work, but often did not engage the communities directly in its own organisational practices (QI1, 3, 7).

As a result, co-creation at Queens Museum took place mostly within education and outreach departments, while most community engagement coming from the more curatorial teams would be better described as 'community-led creation' (as outlined in section 2.2.3) by merely hosting projects and events that were entirely designed and produced by community groups themselves, without the museum investing significant resources. Examples of this were when local cultural groups requested use of museum space to celebrate cultural holidays, such as a Dia de los Muertos celebration in 2020 (QI2), or when local community groups used the Partnership Gallery to mount a temporary exhibition (Bermeo, 2010). It shows a hands-off approach, which allows for grassroots initiatives to find space, but does not necessarily engage in deeper exchange or shifts in power between the community and museum.

The risk of creating such arm's length programmes is that they may not make an impact across the museum more widely. And so in response to this, Queens Museum launched its Year of Uncertainty programme in late 2020, dedicated to making change within the museum. The content of the

year-long co-creation project invited communities into a situated discourse around the effects of the pandemic and the social debates surrounding that, but its design and implementation aimed to create more direct ways for community members to co-create with the museum. The Year of Uncertainty programme – its name referring to the ambiguity that came with being in a global pandemic and working towards its open-ended recovery and 'new normal' – existed of an artist-in-residence programme for six socially-engaged artists, a commissioning programme for nine community partner organisations to work on social justice projects, and the creation of a steering group of twelve 'co-thinkers' from a wide range of backgrounds to help the museum and its partners through this "period of experimentation" (Queens Museum, 2021*a*). The programme aimed to bring together both socially-engaged curatorial work streams and community-focused education and outreach work streams, thereby addressing the silos within the museum's co-creation mission.

Despite Queens Museum's strong international reputation for community engagement work (Calouste Gulbenkian, 2018), the Year of Uncertainty programme description was the first time the museum formally used the term 'co-creation' to describe its work, with the programme being branded as a "learning and co-creation process" (Queens Museum, 2021*a*). Moreover, the programme was expected to lead to change across the museum through stimulating "experimentation, leading to new, flexible, working methods that will help QM sustain and grow our commitments to culture, accessibility, equity" (ibid.). However, as the Year of Uncertainty project was launched towards the end of 2020 and largely look place in 2021, when the fieldwork for this study had finished already, the research data mainly cover

the run-up to the programme. Additionally, the body of work and projects that directly informed and lead up to the launch of the Year of Uncertainty, including the Cultural Food Pantry (Queens Museum, 2020*a*), Hecho Local (ibid., *b*), the Queens Teens programmes (ibid., n.d. *b*), and the work done by a dedicated 'community organiser' on the staff team, will be considered as part of the case study's remit.

In fact, it could be argued that the Year of Uncertainty was largely a consolidation of a strategy that has been set in motion since Tallant's arrival at the museum in early 2019 already, and had been forming throughout 2019 and 2020. Focusing on listening more closely to what communities needed, creating more equality in such interactions, and encouraging more collaboration within the organisation, Tallant was keen to cause a "culture shift" (Queens director: 6) that would enable the museum to address issues of power within the museum. Tallant describes it as follows:

> *"I wish to see change in the world and I wish to ask questions about*
> *whose culture is valued, how we do that, and whose voices are*
> *privileged. […] Our communities, they're really open and wanting to*
> *work with us. Where I find resistance is with curators, who get in the*
> *way of this work. Not anyone else. It's not the educators. It's not the*
> *artists. It's curators who think that they are gatekeepers to our*
> *institutions and they should be there to facilitate relevant and*
> *interesting conversations and to support artists. […] I don't*
> *understand why people think that they have the right and privilege to*
> *exclude people. We're here to include all people. My big project is how*
> *do I dismantle those structures and present and create new institutional*

and organisational structures that ask, in my mind, more important
questions around the value of art. How we make it possible for people to
participate in cultural production beyond the art market and move
away from instrumentalisation that doesn't enable many people to be a
part of the cultural process. That's the focus." (Queens director: 10).

Tallant is keen her culture shift reimagines traditional power structures in museum to allow for equality and inclusivity, both within and going out from the organisation. To achieve this, she introduced more opportunities for co-creative working, as well as space for learning and reflection to inform organisational development and change. The Year of Uncertainty, in many ways, sums up these ambitions by offering the floor to communities, artists and co-thinkers who are invited to be critical of the museum and offer new ways of working for the future. Moreover, the programme ranges across curatorial, education, outreach, and social practice teams, aiming to address the divide between such traditions (see sections 5.3.2 and 6.2.1) and make Queens Museum more collaborative and community-focused across all of its strands of work.

The Year of Uncertainty case study offers an example of the impact and barriers encountered through the organisation-wide change programme, or 'experiment' (see section 5.4.1), using co-creation as a vehicle for achieving institutional change. Tallant's recent tenure as director also highlights the role of leadership in steering the direction of such change (see section 5.2.2). Finally, while the sustainability of change results (see section 6.4.2) is difficult to measure for a project that had not finished yet at the end of this research's fieldwork period, more recent developments at Queens Museum suggest that

it continues to "respond to the evolving needs of the many communities we serve" (Queens Museum, 2022*a*) by opening a children's museum at its premises within the next few years.

4.5. Conclusion

This chapter describes three co-creation programmes (or rather portfolios, in the case of Queens Museum) that have all been described by their directors and by the research interviewees to have potential to make organisational change in their respective museums. However, the three organisations show a wide range of different conditions in which these projects take place, which may influence the extent and effectiveness of the change they may bring about.

First, the three case study projects – Tate Exchange, the Constituent Museum, and the Year of Uncertainty – were all set up and structurally embedded in very different ways. While Tate Exchange had its own space and dedicated team to form its own contained programme, the Constituent Museum only had one dedicated curator and aimed to be implemented across the entire museum, and the strategies informing Queens Museum's Year of Uncertainty were expected to emerge in every team's work. Perhaps as a result, this meant that the decision to discontinue the Tate Exchange project meant losing unique experience, while at the Whitworth the staff who have been part of the project remain, even after the project has ended and the director has left. The change at the Whitworth and at Queens Museum is aimed at all parts of the organisations, which is perhaps hardest to achieve,

but may also end up being embedded most deeply there. The extent to which learning from these projects can be implemented for the long term will be further discussed in section 6.4.2.

A second condition that very much impacted the potential for these case study projects to make change was their duration, especially in combination with the level of buy-in they received from their respective leadership. Tate Exchange was meant to be a long-term project that was hoped to inform change across Tate for another decade, according to Tate Modern's director Frances Morris (Wilmot, 2018). Its unexpected discontinuation after five years meant that it not only missed out on the more long-term impacts that were envisioned, but the sudden way in which it happened may also have lost the organisation valuable knowledge, networks and relationships. At the Whitworth, similarly, the (presumably) early departure of director Alistair Hudson may have lost the museum the engine power behind carrying the learning from the 1.5-year initial change project into subsequent long-term change work. The role played by the Year of Uncertainty project in catalysing a larger change process for Queens Museum remains to be seen, but the influence of Tallant's vision in that is evident. The role of leadership in organisational change processes in these case study organisations is further discussed in section 5.2.2.

Third, all three case studies struggled to determine the balance between giving communities a voice with a certain freedom of speech and their own obligations to remain a politically neutral safe space, in as far as neutrality is possible at all (Murawski, 2021). Their ambition to let Associates, artists and community members be vocal about their beliefs triggered critical questions from their boards or from other communities, and at all three

organisations this had severe consequences. Tate Exchange's court case, Hudson's near-dismissal and even Queens Museum's previous director's dismissal all fell outside of the original data collection period, but suggest that an unsuccessful balancing between community and institutional voices has had consequences for all case studies that interrupted their work and thereby limited the impact of their change projects. It is recommended that the impact and complexities of such ethical questions will be further explored through future research.

Finally, in profiling these case studies the influence of the Covid-19 pandemic has only briefly been touched upon, as the pandemic was not unique to any single case study, but forms much larger theme across Chapters 5-7. However, the fallout from the lockdown closures, staff losses and funding losses naturally affected each of the three museums significantly. If anything, it contributed to Tate Exchange closing, extended the duration of the Constituent Museum project, and inspired the theme for the Year of Uncertainty programme. The impacts of the pandemic will be discussed in more detail in section 5.4.3.

Chapters 5-7 will highlight shared themes across the findings and offer more in-depth analyses of how co-creation work may have challenged assumptions, conditions, and the language around co-creation in the three case study museums.

Chapter 5

Challenging assumptions: Co-creation as a catalyst for critical reflection

5.1. Introduction

This study considers the extent to which co-creation may effect organisational change in museums. It analyses the extent of change in three different areas, which align with the study's three research sub-questions: a change in assumptions held (co-creation instigating critical reflection), a change in conditions created (co-creation instigating changes in museum practices), and a change in how co-creation is understood (co-creation instigating changes in language and conceptualisations of community engagement work). This results chapter will explore the first type of change by looking at how co-

creation work in museums might lead to museum staff engaging in critical (self-)reflection about the assumptions they hold in and about their work. It thereby answers research sub-question 1: *How might co-creation be a catalyst for encouraging and embedding critical reflection in a museum context?*

Across this chapter, section 5.2 looks at complexities and challenges in how staff adapt to a new co-creative turn, including the influence of leadership and funding structures. Section 5.3 then highlights how co-creation work demands from museum staff a level of reflection on the divisions of power and agency in their work, including around their understanding of what constitutes expertise. It considers how a new approach to that might deconstruct the more traditional divides between curatorial and pedagogic museum practice traditions. Finally, section 5.4 reflects on to what extent museum structures are set up for the open-ended nature of co-creation projects, which embrace change, risk and uncertainty, especially in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic.

By exploring how co-creation may be inviting museum staff to reflect on and reconceptualise their organisational practices, this chapter will provide a context for the change in assumptions that has been observed and help to ascertain to what extent co-creation work is a driver of this shift.

5.2. Adapting to a co-creative turn

This section explores the assumptions with which a turn to collaborative and co-creative practices was met across the three case study organisations and how these have informed the development of such practices. First, it describes

the original reactions to implementing co-creation at the case studies, then it looks at the role that leadership and other change-makers play in bringing museum staff on board on a move towards more co-creative working, and finally it looks at the influence of funding structures on the creation, continuation and sustainability of co-creation work. Overall, this section gives a more nuanced understanding of what underlying beliefs, motivations, and infrastructures shape co-creation work and its potential to bring about structural and organisational change.

5.2.1. The reception of a co-creative turn

Section 2.2.1 of the literature review highlighted how the museum sector has been going through social and participatory turns during the last decades, which have made museum practices more focused on their relationships with audiences and communities (Vergo, 1989; Bishop, 2006; Bherer et al., 2016). The section also highlighted that more recently there have been signs of a new co-creative turn, in which communities are invited to contribute more meaningfully to decision-making processes and their opinions and voices are being valued as those of important stakeholders (Simon, 2010). Overall, museums following this trend aim to tell more democratic and representative stories about and together with the communities they serve (Heumann Gurian, 2020).

The shift that is described in literature on participatory, collaborative, and co-creative museum practices is echoed by the interviewees from the three case study organisations. When asked about where the museum sector

is going, almost all interviewees described seeing signs of a shift towards more community-focused working, irrespective of which departments they worked in or what level of seniority they carried in their role. A senior manager from Tate for instance stated that *"how we work with community stakeholders will become increasingly important"* (TI4: 15), and a curatorial staff member from Queens similarly described the development they see the sector going through: *"I'm not seeing as many big institutions having structural forums of listening to communities set up in that way. I think it's something that we're all working towards though."* (QI8: 12).

Especially among education, engagement, and community outreach staff, co-creation and related collaborative practices were often mentioned as key ways for museums to become more embedded into their communities and neighbourhoods (TI5, 6; WI4, 7; QI3), and to play an active role fulfilling the needs of their visitors (TI12; WI5, Queens interviewees 2, 9). While not everyone used the word co-creation, the concept of bringing communities into the museum and into decision-making processes is something all of these interviewees regarded as important, even if in practice that belief manifested itself in different ways in their work and if their projects showed different degrees of power sharing with community groups.

However, other interviewees, notably mainly those coming from curatorial backgrounds, were more hesitant about the increased focus on co-creation practices. They generally agreed that the shift was happening, but talked about the (initial) resistance to it that they felt and noticed within their teams. One interviewee from Tate's curatorial department felt that with its highly collaborative and open-ended way of working, co-creation sits in an *"undefined area, which makes other people in the institution a bit nervous"* (TI3: 1).

Another Tate interviewee describes their initial doubts when Tate Exchange what first introduced: *"There was quite a lot of, not mystery, but people were puzzled by, I think, its clear end."* (TI4: 12). Both comments illustrate a hesitation borne out of a lack of understanding of the purpose of co-creation or out of the perception of co-creation as having an undefined purpose.

At the Whitworth curators were similarly unsure about the conceptual framing of co-creation practices, but this continued even after gaining a better understanding:

"Talking specifically from a curatorial point of view, before Alistair [Hudson, director] started, there was a great deal of reading and thinking about the 'constituent museum', or the 'useful museum', and working through issues that people had with it. And that was largely an intellectual resistance to some of the ideas. […] There's been resistance around conceptual framing of the useful museum and constituent museum and how that plays out on the ground." (WI7: 3).

The interviewee argued that the curatorial team saw a disjunction between the intellectual conceptualisation of co-creation on paper, and the reality of doing co-creation work in curatorial contexts. Moreover, their critique was gendered: *"There's an intellectual labour that goes on, that – with the exception of Tania Bruguera perhaps – is often carried out by white men. And there's the reality of the constituent work, that is largely carried out by women."* (WI7: 3). This feminist criticism seems to be unique to the Whitworth, where director Alistair Hudson joined the museum as a white male director with a philosophy he had co-developed with Charles Esche, another white male museum director

of the Van Abbemuseum in the Netherlands. At the other two case studies the senior leadership investing in and supporting co-creation projects were all women, which did not solicit gendered critiques of co-creation work from the interviewees. Similarly, the literature review in Chapter 2 confirms the majority of theoretical work on co-creation seems to be done by female academics and researchers, and although this group seems overwhelmingly white, criticism on the basis of gender may be unfounded.[11]

Such resistance to a new way of working – whether gendered or not – is to be expected, especially in organisations that are completely new to working in co-creative ways. It may come forth of insecurities that staff hold around new ways of working, which require time for building confidence and trust. It could also highlight a level of territorialism among staff with different ways of working, which will be further explored in section 6.2.1.

At Queens Museum, the reception of the museum's drive to engage more in co-creation was almost the opposite: some of the staff felt it did not happen quickly enough (QI1, 3, 5, 7). With a strong reputation for community-led working, staff at Queens Museum had often consciously chosen to work at the museum because of that reputation. When they arrived, some found that the community-focused programmes did not live up to their expectations. One interviewee explains:

> *"Queens Museum has a reputation, or when I first got there, for*
> *engaging communities. In fact, we actually have not really been*

---

[11] Feminist criticism naturally goes beyond critique based on the gender of those involved in theorisation, but this is beyond the focus and lens of this PhD and will have to remain an object for future study or analysis.

outreaching to communities. I have to say it's happened more in the
last, I would say six months, meaning we have been working with
communities, but in my view, in a very reductionist way. […] We
would interact with communities and we would consider that an
interaction or engagement. Basically, we would have the space be a
place for a community, [and groups] would use the space. Their
physical presence in the building counted as community engagement."
(QI1: 3)

The interviewee suggested that Queens Museum's model of community
engagement followed a 'hosting' or 'community-led' model more than a 'co-
creation' model, as outlined by the collaboration spectrum in section 2.2.3,
and discounted this as being outside a truly co-creative turn at the museum.
Moreover, they argued that the relationships that were being built were also
not deep or sustainable enough:

"[Other colleagues] would tell you that they work with communities,
but I might say, no, you didn't. I might say you worked with a very
small group of people, and you continue to work with them, over and
over again. You didn't reach out to anybody new, you didn't form any
new relationships. You didn't grow your relationship. They may tell
you yes, but I would say not quite; you started to work with
communities, but you didn't finish. […] The potential is that we never
quite got there. We've done some of it, but not all the way." (QI1: 11-
12).

While the specific arguments around tokenistic and limited community engagement are further explored in sections 6.2.3, the comments from this interviewee suggest Queens Museum may have been overselling a philosophy that is in reality less clearly pronounced in their practices. As a result, it has a different issue from the two other case study organisations. Instead of having to put work into bringing staff members on board of a new co-creation initiative at all, as was the case at Tate and the Whitworth, some of the staff at Queens Museum were actually keen to demand a higher level of initiative from their management around the co-creation agenda. It should be noted that these calls predominantly came from staff from education, outreach and social practice teams, but also included a few of the younger curators (QI1, 3, 5-8). Hence, in all three case studies the largest struggle against introducing co-creation practices may be found in the more established curatorial seats, which is a finding that informed the discussions in section 5.3.2. Besides, each of the case studies also struggled with its own levels of resistance, which seem to be influenced by the assumptions that staff formed based on how their expectations were managed, the information they had been given about the new approaches, and the distribution of responsibility and accountability among those whose work changed as a result.

Staff across the three museums also held expectations around the future of their museums. All interviewees in fact acknowledged that co-creation and community engagement were going to play a significant role in that, largely basing their assumption on the visions and strategies they had set out or that had been shared with them by senior management (TI5, 6, 12; WI4, 5, 7; QI2, 3, 9). However, within a year and a half after these interviews,

Tate Exchange had closed with no provisions for a replacement programme and Whitworth director Hudson announced his departure, leaving the organisation open to new leadership that might not focus as much on collaborative community practices. These developments suggest that perhaps the co-creative turn or paradigm shift that these case studies were beginning to go through may not have been as impactful and sustainable as originally envisioned.

However, with these events taking place after the data collection period, it is difficult to determine whether they were exceptions due to an unlucky combination of circumstances, or if they truly represent a lack of buy-in or commitment to co-creative working. It could also be hypothesised that co-creation practices do not make for long-term and sustainable working, potentially due to their resource-intensive nature and high levels of risk. Or one may consider whether co-creation for these organisations turned out to be a short-lived hype, and that it had reached its full potential within a few years already. From the data gathered in this research it is difficult to determine whether there is evidence for any of these hypotheses and further research would need to be conducted on the long-term impact of the Tate Exchange and Constituent Museum programmes at Tate and the Whitworth.

5.2.2. Leadership and change

The reception of a changing commitment to community engagement practices varied among different museum staff and between the three case study organisations, as section 5.2.1 has shown. This section will consider to what

extent that reception, as well as the acceptance and more sustainable embedding of such change, is influenced by the leadership of the museums. This includes the museum directors and their senior leadership teams, but also the potential for leadership that individual staff members can take. Change leadership in organisational change processes is sometimes seen as a process achieved by entire organisations (Conner & Patterson, 1982) when in fact real change might be led by any small group of vocal individuals within these organisations (Murawski, 2021). Indeed, the senior leadership of the three case study museums play an important part in these developments, whether as a visionary pioneer, a supportive enabler, or in some cases a block to achieving change. In all three institutions, they played an important role in steering the potential for community-focused co-creation. And while at all three organisations the directors outwardly presented as vocal supporters of a focus on collaboration and communities, their decisions showed different levels of priority.

At the Whitworth, director Alistair Hudson joined the organisation in 2018, coming from the Middlesbrough Institute of Modern Art (MIMA), which under his vision had become a leading community museum. He was brought on board at the Whitworth with that particular community-led vision in mind (WI5). Similarly, Sally Tallant joined Queens Museum as its director in 2019, with a vision of bringing communities even more to the core of the museum (Tallant, 2020). And also at Tate, both Frances Morris (who became director of Tate Modern in 2016) and Maria Balshaw (who became director of all of Tate in 2017) had a strong interest in and track record of making museums more open, accessible, collaborative and community-focused (Pool, 2017; Morris, 2020). One could argue that it is the directors' vision that is

steering a collaborative or co-creative turn in their respective organisations –
or perhaps the vision of the boards who appointed them – but one of the
interviewees argues that the change is a result of both top-down and bottom-
up motivations (WI5). They argue that:

> *"I don't think it's fair to say that everything will always be totally*
> *genuinely ground-up, because I don't think it should be, because that's*
> *not realistic. It's not actually how the world works. You need a bit of*
> *top-down and you need a bit of ground-up, or you need a bit of push*
> *and pull in the middle. It's really about rebalancing."* (WI5: 10).

This bottom-up and top-down combination is not necessarily surprising, and
both co-creation and change literature set in museums generally recognise the
strengths of both approaches (Fouseki, 2010; Wood, 2019). However, Wood
(2019) argues that bottom-up change stemming from communities is often
only made in "specialist" (ibid.: 22) areas, by which Wood largely means
curatorial areas, through the contribution of lived experience or local insights
from community members. In more practical and transitory work, such as
operations, management or to some extent public event programmes,
generally much less bottom-up change is observed (ibid.). The interviewees in
the current study contradict that idea. In fact, across all three case study
organisations nearly every interviewee found it easy to pinpoint pockets of
co-creation work led by enthusiastic individuals across the organisation,
including non-curatorial work.

For instance, at Tate, the security team was mentioned as a champion
of co-creation work, who were eager to listen to communities when

redesigning their welcome protocols (TI7) (see section 6.3.2). At the

Whitworth, one of the finance team became a personal champion for thinking

about how the museum shop and café might work in co-creative ways, and

supported a residency programme for local makers to take over the shop

space, as well as scoped potential for working with refugees in the café

kitchen (WI4). At Queens Museum, the museum shop staff were hailed for

similar initiatives engaging local makers (QI9) (see section 6.5.2), and

individuals in the human resources team were mentioned as bringing about

significant change through their hiring processes too (QI1). Hiring specifically

in the local community, focusing on bilingual skills to close the language

barrier between the museum and its local Latinx community, and working

with people who understand co-creation dynamics well, the HR team was

often quoted to have taken a leading role in supporting co-creation work

across the organisation (QI1, 5, 6).

Other examples were sometimes more closely linked to curatorial

work, but did not necessarily always come from curators. One example at the

Whitworth involved one of the technicians working on a co-created exhibition

project as a major change-maker (WI4, 5, 8). They initiated of their own accord

a training programme for the community group they were working with on

how to think about representation in exhibitions, which contributed a range

of new skills and possibilities to the project (WI5). It resulted in changes to the

exhibition, but also led to new reflections among the curatorial team on their

way of working (WI4).

The interviews, however, also showed that bottom-up change does not

only depend on individual champions of community engagement work

across the organisation who initiate and steer co-creation work within their

respective departments. Instead, it is born from a leadership and management style that leaves room for these individuals to initiate such work indeed, and to develop and build on it further. This type of empowerment seems to sit in between bottom-up and top-down change, but shows an interplay that could be more accurately described as a top-down decision to allow bottom-up change. In a way, this mirrors Simon's (2019) concept of 'space-makers' (see section 2.3.3), who are those in authority (e.g. museum directors) who choose to deliberately share their power with others who less traditional authority (e.g. communities), or leaders who allow other people to lead.

This process of space-making was present to a degree in all three case studies and seemed to work particularly well in areas where individual champions were already in place – such as the security team at Tate, the shop keepers at the Whitworth and Queens Museum, or the technician at the Whitworth – as it can nourish such personal initiatives. However, the Whitworth showed the highest extent of space-making, which formed a conscious part of director Hudson's preferred leadership style.

Hudson describes his leadership style as celebrating bottom-up co-creation initiatives by *"giving permission to ways of working that previously weren't given oxygen"* (Whitworth director: 10). Like with co-creation work itself, it *"makes sure that people have a voice, and they have oxygen, and they have agency"* (ibid.). Compared to the other two case studies, interviewees at the Whitworth reported this bottom-up approach as much more embedded in how director Alistair Hudson led the organisation. In fact, for some of the interviewees his approach felt so open-ended that they were slightly overwhelmed by the amount of agency they received:

"Alistair's approach is to ask us 'What do you think?'. In meetings, he

comes in, he sits down, and let somebody else chair the meeting. He's

just one of us. […] And sometimes that makes you want to go, 'Come

on, what do you want us to do here?', whereas actually, he wants it to

come from us. He wants us to suggest what he wants us to do. It feels

very much that with Alistair it's bottom-up, while [previously] with

Maria [Balshaw] it was top-down." (WI3: 18).

However, the Whitworth staff describe that after they became more used to
the ownership and agency they were receiving in their work, they could see
their confidence grow as even junior-level staff were encouraged and valued
to contribute skills and ideas into co-creation projects (WI3). The same
interviewee reflects positively on the agency they received:

"I've been given the power to be able to present in the room with the

director and senior leaders [and] it's given me a bit more visibility

within the organisation, that actually I'm not [just] the person that

[does the outreach projects, but that I also] work on big projects that are

making institutional change. From that perspective, I feel like I've

gained more confidence from projects." (WI3: 11).

In many ways the leadership style that allows staff to take ownership mirrors
the facilitation process that staff would offer their co-creation community
groups. It sets the example and helps staff to see the impact their facilitation
can have on their communities, which may include them feeling empowered,
but also them feeling overwhelmed. Hence personal experience of being

subjected to a co-creation process seems to help inform the staff's own co-creation approaches in turn. Moreover, the process may also offer convincing examples to help to bring staff on board with the organisational change process more easily.

In the other case study organisations, this co-creative approach to leadership from the director(s) was observed to a lesser degree. At Tate and Queens Museum, leadership from museum directors was overall felt as being more top-down than bottom-up (TI3; QI7). This then seemed to trickle down into the leadership from individual line-managers too, where especially more junior staff (such as administrators, coordinators and some visitor services staff) felt that they were not being given much agency. One junior member of staff from Tate said: *"I don't really have much power to change the programme – I mean I could make suggestions – but I don't have that kind of power"* (TI2: 4). At Queens Museum a staff member who was relatively junior in the context of the organisational hierarchy, but had in fact had a significant career as an artist before that, felt that their unique combination of skills was highly underused:

> *"I'm trained, actually, as a social practice artist. I find that, most of the time, certain skills that I was able to bring into a space or project or programme as an artist, I'm actually not able to bring into the museum in my current role. It's not easy. There's just such parameters around what's invited and what isn't, and what feels like are the key responsibilities that I need to be held accountable to. Also, I just don't have that level of agency in my role. Right now I very clearly feel aware*

of my administrative duties, but I don't have a lot of decision-making power at all." (QI7: 13).

Much of this structure seems to stem from the director's influence on the organisational culture. The interviewee noticed a significant difference from before current director Tallant arrived: *"When I joined the museum there was no director. We didn't have a director for over a year and I felt like I actually had a lot of autonomy."* (QI7: 13). It implies that no leadership can possibly lead to less hierarchical and more co-creative structures, even if crucial support would collapse in the long run, as the legal structure of most museum grants is based on the requirement of having a director (QI5, 7). The interviewee argues that it can be such "rigid" organisational frameworks, as well as the managerial and power structures put in place by directors, that *"don't allow for real participation and trust and feedback, and co-creation, actually. That is my biggest challenge with the museum."* (QI7: 14).

It seems from all of the observations in this section that directors and other leaders across the museum have a large influence on the direction and effectiveness of co-creation and change processes. However, questions could be raised about how embedded and long-term this influence is. What happens when these leaders leave? Answers to this question are difficult to evidence for the three case studies in this research, as the research data was collected while all three projects were still up and running and its directors and leaders were still in place. However, since then, Tate Exchange has been discontinued and Alistair Hudson has announced his departure from the Whitworth, risking the loss of a wealth of learning and impact from their respective projects. Tate's case is particularly insightful, as the closure of Tate

Exchange coincided with the departure of one of its most prominent champions, which arguably may not have been coincidence entirely. While the directors of Tate and Tate Modern had both inherited the Tate Exchange project, which had been in the making for about ten years before its launch in 2016, the Director of Learning had stood at the crib of the project and had been instrumental in making it reality (TI6, 12). They left the organisation in 2021, and a few months later the directors at the level above took the decision to abort the programme. Again, the interviews for this research do not cover the decision-making process behind the closure, but further research in this area could give more insight into the importance of (directorial) champions of co-creation in sustaining such practices. The Whitworth will become a similarly relevant case study to provide answers to that question, when Hudson's vocal championship of collaborative working is no longer actively fed into the organisation's decision-making processes.

This section has shown that bringing about a collaborative turn in organisations such as the three case study museums initially requires a top-down brief or catalyst, such as the appointment of a director with a certain vision, but from there becomes a much more collaborative process with both top-down and bottom-up push factors. On the one hand the director can create the circumstances in which change can happen more easily, but on the other hand it needs initiative and skills from across the staff body to act on that brief and to make the change happen. The next step would be to facilitate institutionalisation and embedding of the new changes (Conner & Patterson, 1982), so that even after the initial change leader leaves the change itself would remain. Whether the case studies indeed reached this level of institutionalisation would be a question for further case study research, as

their situations have changed heavily in this respect since the interviews were done.

5.2.3. Influence of funding on achieving a co-creative turn

The motivation to engage in co-creation projects does not only stem from enthusiasm and leadership of internal members of staff, but is subject to external pulls as well, including board decisions, the availability of funding, or the influence of policy-makers. For instance, Arts Council England's 2020-2030 strategy prioritises participatory working methods to increase diversity (Arts Council England, 2020), which will make more funding available for co-creation work across the cultural sector and may foster knowledge exchange between institutions practising co-creation to gain new learning quicker. The increased opportunities for peer-learning, but also the normalisation of co-creation practices through their growing ubiquity across the arts, may help co-creators across the case study organisations to justify their work and develop their practice. Hence, a better funded and more experienced co-creation sector would benefit the three case study organisations too, whether they directly receive public funding or not.

In each of the case studies, the influence that different funding streams have had on the planning and impact of their co-creation programmes is significant. The Constituent Museum project at the Whitworth and the Year of Uncertainty project at Queens Museum were both funded by private project grants that were bound to specific timelines. They had a clear beginning and end, and had been granted as one-off contributions with the aim of achieving

change. As part of their funding agreement specific outcomes were agreed, including for instance a set number of projects with communities and a publication to capture and share learning (WI5, 8; QI5).

While both projects had the intention of embedding change into the organisation for the long-term, the end date of their funding patterns forced both organisations to find sustainable business models in their co-creation work that would allow them to make these practices more permanent. The Outset grant that covered the Constituent Museum funding covered just a year's programme (Outset, 2018) – later extended to 1.5 years due to Covid-19 (WI4) – and the Year of Uncertainty funding also covered just a year's programme at the end of a three-year Andrew W Mellon Foundation grant (Mellon Foundation, 2017). Hence, the timelines were relatively short for embedding organisational change, which is often described as needing three to five years for a full change cycle (Bienkowski & McGowan, 2021). In both cases, the interviewees considered the time given to making impactful change to be rather short (WI2, 4; QI5). An interviewee at the Whitworth remarked that *"we've got a lot of work to do, basically. This isn't a year's project"* (WI4: 2).

Similarly, the Constituent Museum curator, who was designated to lead the Constituent Museum programme and the accompanying change process, did not expect to achieve a full change cycle within a year's time. Instead, they described the role as being that of a catalyst: *"Initially the role is for a year, it's about spreading it [co-creation work] out across the gallery. I don't know whether my role will continue beyond then. But I definitely see myself as a bit of a catalyst."* (Whitworth Constituent Museum curator: 1). Similarly, other interviewees also saw the Constituent Museum programme as an initial push for more long-term change. They described the grant that funds it as offering

an *"acceleration"* (WI7: 3) or *"turbo"* (WI5: 10) element that would speed up a bigger change process in need of a more long-term perspective on change. Besides, they underlined that the grant was part of a change process that was already happening anyway, independently of the funding. One interviewee describes:

> *"[Early constituent-led co-creation work] had already started that [change] process, far more than we recognised at the time, like we had started the roller coaster without realising it. And so the Constituent Museum project is probably* part *of that institutional change, rather than being the* driver, *as we imagined it would be at the beginning."* (WI7: 2-3).

The explanation suggests that the project-based funding is not necessarily at the origin of the turn towards co-creation, even if it does enable it. The idea of the funding as an accelerator also suggests the development might slow down again after the funding ends, especially where there is no new budget found to replace it. There could be a risk that the end of the funding might not only bring down the speed of change, but endanger co-creative change altogether, though this was not raised as a concern by the interviewees. They saw their projects as being part of an upwards process of embedding co-creation, a trend that they expected would continue to develop, with or without additional funding (WI2, 7, 8; QI6, 8). This may imply that they were convinced co-creation work did not have to be expensive (in contrast to what Walmsley (2013) argues) or that once invested in, co-creation work could keep paying off for a long time. It may also have meant that they expected new

funding would be found to replace the income from the accelerator projects (WI8). A Whitworth interviewee's remark that *"we have definitely looked into funding for the next three years [after the Constituent Museum grant ends]"* (WI4: 2) suggests the latter, and implies that co-creation work is best maintained if there is enough (dedicated) funding for it.

The situation at Tate was different and its closure has given additional insight in the longevity of change after funding streams dry up. While Tate Exchange was also significantly sponsored by private funding, it could also rely on more regular income (including on internal funding through Tate Patrons), and therefore had the opportunity to plan their programme and impact across multiple years (Tate, 2021). This meant that the next season could be planned while the previous one was still running and that the team could think about curatorial coherence and development in the long-term. It also allowed space for recommendations from annual evaluations to be implemented in next seasons, and so to change and improve at a more regular and sustainable pace (TI12).

However, the project budget changed over its five-year course. Tate Exchange was launched with significant funding injections from the Freelands Foundation, Arts Council England, Paul Hamlyn Foundation, Tate Patrons and Red Hat (Freelands Foundation, 2016; Cutler, 2018), but was initially also meant to fund part of itself by requiring participation fees from the Associates. A staff member explained how that business model went against the values of equity and inclusivity that Tate Exchange tried to embody, and said that the *"pay to play"* (TI12: 6) format was problematic, because it excluded those who could not afford the fees. The Head of Tate Exchange agreed: *"I just thought it [this 'pay to play' model] was a really crass*

transactional aspect to it, and I felt very uncomfortable with it" (Head of Tate Exchange: 3). After three seasons the format was changed, so that Associates could now take part for free, but it also meant the overall budget shrank (ibid.). This was replaced with budget from external funders, who enabled the funding structure of the programme to be guided by co-creation values (TI13: 3).

Tate Exchange, at this point, was financially sustainable and expected to remain so for the future. However, in 2020 the Covid-19 pandemic then caused the entire physical programme – which section 4.3.1 showed to be a vital part of Tate Exchange – to fall dormant. While this led to conversations with funders about the future of Tate Exchange, the museum also started struggling with the costs of opening all floors of the Blavatnik building again and the costs of staffing the Learning and Research directorate (including the Tate Exchange team), which were costs that had usually sat with Tate centrally and had fallen outside of Tate Exchange's external funding agreements. Hence, when Tate's senior leadership team announced a 75% budget cut to its learning and research programmes, Tate Exchange had to be put through the financial register:

> *"Across Learning and Research programmes, Tate Exchange had the biggest budget and one of the bigger teams and there's a very sort of black and white financial choice and decision about costs that had to be made. And here was a programme that was essentially dormant. You know, there was a business rationale to it."* (TI13: 3).

The decision shows that what seemed to be a sustainable and well-embedded funding set-up through long-term partnerships and centrally funded operational budgets, in fact created Tate Exchange's vulnerability during the unprecedented Covid-19 crisis. The permanency and large scale of the programme suddenly became a financial liability for the organisation that required significant cuts into the programme, to the level of it becoming obsolete and unsustainable (TI13).[12] It may lead one to wonder if embedding budgets for co-creation work more structurally in organisations may not in fact guarantee the sustainability of such work, or even actively work against it. The alternative, of not embedding budgets for such work more structurally, does not necessarily lead to sustainability either, as the time-limited nature of the Constituent Museum and Year of Uncertainty show. Hence, co-creation work seems to demand considerable buy-in from all funders involved, and potentially a willingness to accept the unsustainability of such programmes by finding ways to make up for their costs, if co-creation programmes are to be maintained in the long run.

Finally, a note should be added on the exact sources of external budget that funded the co-creation programmes at all three of the case study organisations. The Constituent Museum and Year of Uncertainty, as well as the programming budget for Tate Exchange (though not its operational budget), were all almost entirely funded by private and corporate funding, rather than by funding from public sources. While Queens Museum's wider

---

[12] The six-figure legal settlement paid to the programme's Year 5 lead artist group (as described in section 4.2) may have offered the last financial push for the decision to end the programme, an influence which one of the interviewees hints at but chooses not to confirm.

budget generally operates on merely 17% of public funding (Calouste Gulbenkian, 2018) and a private funding model is the standard for most of its projects, such models are relatively more unique in the other two case study organisations, which rely more heavily on public funding (Tate, 2022*b*; Whitworth Art Gallery, n.d. *e*). While there may have been restrictions for Tate and the Whitworth on accessing more public funding, their choice to approach private and corporate funding for their co-creation work might also have been a reflection of the time, in which co-creation was not (yet) specifically prioritised by England's main public funding bodies, whereas possibly more agile private funders were able to detect and move along with the upcoming trend quicker.

This section considers the relationship between funding structures and the potential for co-creation work to create change in the three case study organisations, and it shows that this relationship is complex. Considering that a move to co-creation had already started within the case study organisations before their catalyst and transformation grants were obtained, it could be argued that the initiative for a collaborative turn does not (only) come from funders. Funders seem to take inspiration in turn from the change they are already seeing in museums, or perhaps from a wider collaborative turn in society. This might be similar to trends that governance boards follow when appointing co-creation champions in leadership positions. However, once the co-creation programmes are kicked off, their funding structures do seem to have an enormous influence on the durability of these programmes and the level to which they become embedded within their organisations in the long-term. Funding seems to shape a large and often crucial part of the decision-making processes around maintaining co-creation practices, and while even a

short-term grant can give a powerful boost to the development of such practices (as seen at the Whitworth and at Queens Museum), a collapse of such funding can also prove disastrous for its continuation (as was the case at Tate).

This section therefore, alongside sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2, shows that a collaborative turn is part of a complex interplay of internal and external motivations from many players within and outside of the case study organisations and wider museum sector. It is difficult to pin down an exact origin for the change in the three case studies, but section 5.2 does show there is a close relationship between the motivations, budgets and timelines of each co-creation project and the extent of the change it produces across the organisation.

5.3. Challenging organisational hierarchies

Section 5.2 suggests a collaborative, and more specifically a co-creative turn is taking place across the case study organisations, which could be a symptom of a turn happening across the British and American museum sectors more widely too. It should be called a turn or movement indeed, rather than a mere change or occurrence, as this turn requires quite a fundamental reconceptualisation of some museum practices and of what museums stand for. The chapters throughout this thesis will highlight many of such changes, but this upcoming section looks more closely at how co-creation work is changing the perception and understanding of the power relationships and hierarchies that exist in organisational structures.

Section 5.3.1 will look at how the notion of expertise seems to be changing to a more democratic understanding of the term, in which community expertise might be valued at the same level as the expertise of museum professionals. Section 5.3.2 looks at how the relationship between curatorial and pedagogic expertise in particular is being addressed and rebalanced through co-creation work. It suggests that the co-creative turn is in fact a largely curatorial turn, with staff from more pedagogic traditions finding the transformation less radical. Finally, section 5.3.3 considers how this turn is changing museum roles and responsibilities, considering where changing power dynamics may lead to or address questions of exploitation and tokenism, as well as require a rethinking of traditional team structures. It ends with a question of who should carry the labour of change in a co-creative turn. Overall, this section considers how rethinking organisational hierarchies in museums may enact a change towards more equitable working.

5.3.1. Challenging notions of expertise

Co-creation work aims to create an equilibrium in power between the museum staff and community members involved and this necessarily challenges the idea that the museum is the authoritative voice in an exchange, and that the community member would be the beneficiary who is being educated, entertained, or otherwise improved (see section 2.2). Instead, co-creation proposes both museum and community as authoritative, albeit with an authority in different fields. It shows strong similarities to Rancière's (1991: 49) concept of "equality of intelligences", which Huberman (2011: 3) describes

as "where those who know something engage with those who know something *else*". Consequently, co-creation can introduce community members as new voices into the exchange and invites them to contribute their experiences, expertise, and interests into the collaboration.

Inviting in expertise from groups that consist largely of people who are not museum professionals requires a recalibration of what constitutes expertise in the institutional space (Matarasso, 2019). Whereas curators – who are traditionally seen as the main experts in the context of most public-facing museum projects (TI3) – often build their authority on academic or professional expertise, expertise from community groups can come in different forms. The research data highlighted that expertise from community groups can come in a wide range of forms.

For instance, many co-creation projects see lived experience as a crucial type of expertise that community groups can contribute to museum projects. At the Whitworth, for example, a co-creation project called 'Still Parents' drew on lived experiences of parents who experienced stillbirth or child loss to create artworks and curate an exhibition that was then staged in one of the public galleries. While the museum staff member facilitating the project drew from personal experience when pitching the project for funding, the collaboration process, content of the weekly sessions, and exhibition were subsequently informed by the stories, interests and questions of the participating community members (WI3, 7). The exhibition then summarised a multi-vocal story of loss, which the museum staff member could not have achieved drawing on their own experience alone (WI3).

Expertise might also come in the form of alternative perspectives, for instance in the Whitworth's *Utopias* exhibition, for which the museum co-

created with young people visions of what utopian thinking looks like for youth in Manchester today (WI1). The aim was to compare many different viewpoints and the collaboration contributed that diversity of ideas. Expertise can also be about knowing what the current needs are among audience groups, for instance when at Queens Museum their young people's board, Queens Teens, was asked to decide the topics for the annual teen summer camps (QI3). And expertise can be about having knowledge of local networks, like Queens Museum's Community Organiser has, which will help the museum to access specific target audiences (QI2). Expertise can also be the skill to speak the language of a target audience, which again, the Community Organiser and various other Latinx community members involved with Queens Museum regularly help the museum with (QI1, 2). Moreover, expertise can come in the form of advice about lived experiences of access needs, such as when co-creating with a special educational needs and disability (SEND) community helped the Tate Exchange team to understand the physical barriers to accessing their space (TI7). As all of the examples show, the expertise that community groups can contribute can be about offering a pair of fresh eyes that is not institutionalised or part of the museum sector to offer feedback or new insights on existing museum practices.

The examples above show that there are many types of expertise that community members are uniquely positioned to provide within collaborative work with museums. While museums may benefit enormously from such contributions and give them insights and a level of diversity within their work that they could not achieve alone, such exchanges of expertise can also become problematic. For example, the section 2.3.4 of the literature review shows the risk of such relationships becoming extractive. Wajid and Minott

(2019) as well as Morse and McCann (2019) highlight the emotional toll that sharing experiences and insights can take on community members, as well as the emotional investment that they may put in achieving change outcomes. This can become further exploitative if such community contributions are not fairly acknowledged, remunerated, or made to be reciprocal in another way. A Tate staff member from a curatorial department praised Tate Exchange's approach regarding this matter and cited it as an example of best practice:

> *"Tate Exchange was really exemplary with best practice of working with participants [on the Tania Bruguera project]. It's something I'm quite aware of, as I'm often working with volunteers, and paying conditions and all of that is something we really try and scrutinise and to be fair about. But the Tate Exchange team was very good at thinking about when people were coming to meetings, offering people childcare, food, as well as pay, and just even beyond what Tania would have done as an activist. I guess we have institutional resources that she wouldn't have in a voluntary way. So I think for us and for Tania that was learning."* (TI3: 5).

However, some interviewees argue that even with considerate working schedules and an extensive expense offer for community co-creators, it can be difficult to balance the collaborative relationship, especially when it involves deeper emotional exchange. Various Whitworth interviewees mention the intricate balancing that comes with projects like Still Parents, which focus entirely on memories that for many participants would have been traumatic (WI3, 6, 7). The interviewees working on this project emphasised how in

projects with such emotional investment, the participants need to receive a high level of care. However, they also stressed how such high-level safeguarding required quite specialist skills, which some worried they did not have (ibid.). One interviewee from the curatorial team makes the following observation after working on Still Parents:

"We need to have a more rigorous way of ethically evaluating [these] programme[s] before we undertake [them], as what we're essentially working with are people, not objects. And when we're choosing to work with critical urgencies [such as stillbirth], to acknowledge that those critical urgencies require in some cases, more than curatorial expertise, but actual support that exceeds the bounds of our expertise" (WI7: 4).

The observation that this interviewee made about gaps in safeguarding expertise and care practices available within the museum team led to the team setting up a partnership with SANDS, a stillbirth charity who could provide such expertise. Bringing in facilitators from this charity helped to bring in a third type of expertise, after the professional expertise of the museum staff and the lived experiences of the community participants. It highlights that in thinking about co-creation work, it can be important to audit and rebalance the types of knowledge, experience, and specialism that are in the room during co-creation work, but also any that are not in the room yet, in order to ensure a constructive balance for all participants. Moreover, the example shows that co-creation can bring about not only a new view on the hierarchy of expertise (e.g. professional expertise versus lived experience), but can also

broaden the spectrum of professional museum expertise (e.g. to bring safeguarding into curatorial work).

The various examples in this section of projects that allowed community members and external social partners to contribute their expertise shows how co-creation work can challenge and *"dismantle hierarchies of expertise"* (TI7: 13), as one interviewee describes it. They argue that by breaking down such hierarchies, a more equal exchange can be created between museums and communities, which can challenge how power is distributed between the two. This is in line with most co-creation literature, which describes equality or equitability of expertise as a core characteristic of successful co-creation work (see section 2.2.3).

5.3.2. Addressing the curatorial-versus-pedagogic divide

The previous section shows the beginnings of a dismantling of hierarchies of expertise in all three case study organisations between museum professionals and non-professionals who are external to the organisation. While this is a recognised part of co-creation work and a change process that has previously been described in the literature (Simon, 2010; Lynch 2011*a*; Matarasso, 2019), much less has been written about the challenging and dismantling of hierarchies of expertise between staff members within individual museums. In fact, at all three case study museums there seems to be a significant change process happening in this area.

Co-creation underlines the value of expertise from externals, but it also seems to challenge how expertise from different departments is valued across

the organisation. The three case study museums, in moving to working more closely with people rather than with museum objects only, seem to be reassessing the skills necessary for this work. Audience-focused roles are being increasingly brought to the foreground to supplement more traditional collection-focused work (TI8; WI1; QI8). This challenges the traditional hierarchies in museums that have often set curatorial or collection-focused work at its centre, with pedagogic or audience-focused work taking a more peripheral supporting role (Thelen, 2001; Hooper-Greenhill, 2007; Sinker, 2008). And while Hooper-Greenhill (2007) argues that this is shifting and giving rise to more audience-centric pedagogic approaches, the updated ICOM definition of a museum proposed in 2019 did not in fact mention the terms 'learning' or 'education' at all (ICOM, 2019). 'Education' was later included in the agreed 2022 definition, but was described as a resulting impact of museum work, not as a key museum activity in itself (ICOM, 2022).

The traditional curatorial-versus-pedagogic division seems to be deeply rooted. While attempts made to address this division are discussed in the rest of this chapter, in fact, the majority of staff in all three case study museums still reports that curatorial and pedagogic work happens overwhelmingly in silos (TI3, 5-10; WI1, 3, 6-8; QI1, 3-8). In some cases this is due to physical constraints to the nature of each department's work and audiences: *The education part is geographically separated from a lot of other spaces. It often is in other institutions too, because it sees students and interacts with the outside world.* (QI1: 3). The operations of such education activity often require separate group entrances, school cloak rooms and lunch areas, and gallery routes that do not impact on the experience of other visitors too much, and hence the interviewee suggests such physical constraints create an automatic

silo for education work (ibid.). While community engagement work can follow more flexible structures and has fewer physical constraints, it is often seen as being part of the education silo, for it is considered to align more closely with learning and outreach strategies and legacies. Many interviewees indeed argue that co-creation work sits naturally in education departments (TI9, 10; WI1; QI3) and an interviewee from an education department states that co-creation with communities was *"always […] within our team DNA"* (TI10: 8).

Interviewees from Tate report the strongest presence of silos. Organisationally, their content programmes are split between a Curatorial directorate and a Learning and Research directorate, with Tate Exchange (as well as almost all other co-creation work) sitting within the Learning and Research structure. Interviewees from both the curatorial and pedagogic sides of the organisation describe the silos as rigid and argue an effort to bring the two traditions closer together needs to come from the senior management above: *"We're siloed and we don't have to be. […] Between Curatorial and Learning, there's no dialogue. There's no structure for that and that has to come from above."* (TI10: 15). Some interviewees are frustrated by the existence of such strong silos, but do not feel they have the power to change it (TI10; WI1; QI7). They suggest structural work is needed for the silos to be deconstructed:

> *"I've been at meetings before where Directors have said 'but there's a will, my curators are really excited, they want to work with you, just ask'. Which is all very well and good, but if there's not a culture of it happening, then it doesn't. People are busy and there needs to be a culture change."* (TI10: 15).

At the Whitworth and at Queens Museum, there seems to be more buy-in from the management to address the division. In both organisations, directors have made attempts to bring community engagement practice out of the pedagogic tradition and into a more shared space between education and curatorial work. This is reflected in where they place co-creation work within their organisational structure. At the Whitworth, the Constituent Museum sits equally within the Civic Engagement and Education department and in the Collections and Exhibitions department, with the Constituent Museum Curator being line-managed by both department heads and having a desk in both teams' offices. At Queens Museum, community engagement work is split between the Education department and what was previously known as the Public Programmes and Community Engagement department. The latter, however, was merged with the curatorial team in 2020 to become an Exhibitions and Public Programmes department to build more bridges between the collections and the community work that is happening and invite cross-fertilisation between both professional traditions (QI3, 6). Comparing these decisions to Tate's more traditional setup shows how in all three case study museums, the positions of their curatorial and education departments in relation to community work, and to each other, give a significant insight into the museum's philosophy behind its community engagement approaches.

However, changing the organogram does not necessarily lead to better collaborations between teams or team members who come from different practice traditions. Based on observations, staff across the three case study organisations often chose to work with colleagues that they trusted because

they shared their understanding of community engagement work, which for example meant that even a combined Exhibitions and Public Programmes team at Queens Museum remained divided to a degree (QO6-8). Therefore, besides changing the organogram of departmental structures, other initiatives were set up in all three organisations to actively battle siloed working. In all three case studies, senior management teams made attempts to build bridges, albeit in some cases more successfully than in others. At Tate, senior leaders proposed the introduction of a meeting series to allow staff from both directorates to share information:

> *"There has been a move towards linking up both sides [the Curatorial and Learning directorates] at Tate Modern and Tate Britain: there have been these Alignment Meetings, which have been so brilliant. Just to hear everyone who programmes for audiences at Tate in one room, whether it's an exhibition or a Learning programme or somewhere in between. And [to have] a huge calendar and people just getting up doing very quick two minutes of 'this is coming up for me'. That's pretty wild. [Laughs]. It shouldn't be."* (TI10: 15).

While the meetings were well-received by all of the interviewees who took part in them (TI3, 9-12), they also show a rather minimalist approach to solving the schism. Merely keeping each other in the loop of progress does not signify a relationship in which learning can be shared, help can be offered, decisions can be made together, or in which there is any other type of interaction that would characterise a collaborative relationship. Instead, the meetings represent a vehicle for a very passive connection, which would be

classed as 'information' on the collaboration spectrum set out in section 2.2.3. As a result, the Alignment Meetings do not seem to achieve a genuine transformation away from siloed working, even if they have been a welcome adjustment.

While at Tate the silos seemed to be deeply embedded, the Tate Exchange team in particular seems adept at challenging these. One of the Tate curators acknowledges the value of education and engagement expertise from the Tate Exchange team informing curatorial work, after feeling out of their depth during a co-creation project: *"That's what was really valuable about working on this [the Tania Bruguera co-creation] project with Tate Exchange, because we didn't have the nuanced skills to know how to do that, or the confidence."* (TI3: 9). Another interviewee, who is an event programmer, highlights Tate Exchange's unique mix of both curatorial and visitor experience expertise, recounting how it helped them and fellow public programmes staff to learn to see their work from a visitor's point of view (TI9). Looking at it from the point of view of a Tate Exchange Associate member, they evaluated their involvement by saying that "what this project offered was the opportunity to see pedagogy as a form of practice with a large audience" (Tate Exchange, 2018: 57). These various comments highlight how curatorial and pedagogic approaches both offer elements of learning and exchange to each other when combined. Moreover, they highlight Tate Exchange's role in creating that effective learning environment, which did not only benefit the projects, but also seemed to help staff members from different traditions to understand and value each other's work more.

It is perhaps not surprising that Tate Exchange's work contributed to building bridges between different departments. Arguably, this team may

have had the largest interest in connecting the curatorial and pedagogic traditions, in order to create more diversity in expertise among its pool of collaborators, or even to put its co-creation higher on the agenda of curatorial staff, some of whom felt scepticism towards community work still (TI3; see section 5.2.1). But Tate Exchange was arguably also least bound by the different silos, as its outward-facing co-creation work – by neither taking the shape of an exhibition nor of a formal education programme – transcended the opposition between the two practice traditions. One interviewee says that *"if you really, truly think about co-creation, the world and people don't think in terms of Curatorial and Learning"* (TI10: 15). They argue that co-creation is focused on fulfilling needs for community groups, and that it does not necessarily matter which teams fulfil those needs (ibid.). As a result, instead of in silos, Tate Exchange's work was rather situated in a wider community of practice, and was connected to internal and external individuals and groups who shared an interest in co-creation and a common way to approach that work (see section 6.2.2).

In projects that were less genre-defying, such as traditional exhibition outputs or clear outreach projects such as a cultural food bank, the three case study organisations still tried to address siloed working and to actively build bridges between internal departments by making up project teams of staff from different departments and with different types of expertise (TI3, 4; WI1, 6; QI4, 6, 7). For instance, at Queens Museum, instead of running the Cultural Food Pantry through the social practice staff in the Public Programmes department, the project teams consisted of members from Exhibitions and Public Programmes, Education, Marketing, Fundraising, and the museum shop team, to offer diverse perspectives and allow the project to be informed

by a wider range of expertise (QI6). Similarly, a public programme of activities themed around the American elections was also shaped by a team made up of (assistant) curators, education staff, public programmes staff, and marketing staff, who could all contribute their ideas (QO9). It suggests a reprioritisation, if not an equality, of different types of professional expertise across the museum.

Similarly, at the Whitworth, many of the co-creation projects that work towards co-creating exhibitions now also involve both staff with curatorial and with education backgrounds, which had traditionally been rather segregated teams. One interviewee from the Civic Engagement and Education team emphasises the significance of this shift, when comparing it to the situation from before the museum's collaborative turn was set in: *"There was no expectation that a curator could work with us particularly. We were always secondary."* (WI1: 17). Another describes how the gallery has traditionally been *"principally driven by the exhibitionary form"* (WI5: 3), in which curators make decisions about exhibitions and the education, outreach and other public programme teams develop a programme in response to that. Wherever the latter group ran their own programmes instead, they argued, those were often seen as peripheral. As a result, there has existed a *"hierarchy of projects between those that are made by artists and those that are made by ordinary people, so to speak"* (ibid.). The Constituent Museum project, however, according to one interviewee, *"flips that [hierarchy] on its head"* (WI8: 11). They argue that in the new hierarchy, *"our core [Constituent Museum] work is the thing, and the exhibitions are the tools that we use to keep our work going"* (ibid.: 11-12). Another interviewee is more hesitant to express the same radicalness and argues that, rather than flipping the hierarchy upside down entirely, the Constituent

Museum is simply bringing the curatorial and education traditions to an equal footing (WI7). This mirrors the change Hooper-Greenhill (2007) predicted, but which only seems to have found a footing at the Whitworth more than ten years later. By including staff from both curatorial and pedagogic backgrounds in co-creation projects, these hierarchies have been addressed and adjusted to build a more equal relationship.

Moreover, the Whitworth's Constituent Curator role, by sitting in both the Collections and Exhibitions as well as the Civic Engagement and Education teams, shows how this new balance manifests itself within the Constituent Museum programme. The role aims to create more communication and connection between the two departments and to share learning from both practices (WI7). It is, however, not meant to trial the complete merging of curatorial and education experience on a larger scale, as many interviewees – across all three case studies in fact – stress the practices and necessary skills for each are very different (TI12; WI7; QI4, 7). Curators and education producers at the Whitworth, but similarly so at Queens Museum, are not expected to learn how to do each other's jobs, but instead to work more closely together in cross-departmental project teams, so that they can each contribute their expertise and value those contributions equally (WI7, Queens interviewee 5). Hence, the Constituent Museum project is a reprioritisation of the different expertise backgrounds, more than an example of structural changes to curatorial or pedagogic job descriptions or larger organisational organograms.

The role of the Constituent Museum Curator, then, seems to largely be a provocation to consider a more equal approach to curatorial and pedagogic expertise. One of the two Constituent Museum Curators interviewed,

suggests that in fact it might be a provocation to consider a reprioritisation away from objects or communities altogether, in favour of a focus on relationships:

> *"Maybe it […] isn't about making sure that you can maintain and show artworks in interesting ways. Maybe it's more about what are your qualities in connecting with and fostering relationships? Can that be the core business of a museum? I think that's a really interesting way to think about institutional change, because it doesn't put you nor the art in the centre, but it puts the relationship that that creates at the centre, and I think that brings it back to the purpose of an institution. To me, that should be inherent in the idea of a curator to start with, let's say, or a museum director, or somebody who's working in education."* (WI2: 12).

With its audience-focused remit in mind, one may question why the role is a 'Curator' role, and not that of a Producer (as the equivalent roles in the Whitworth's education team are called), or a more neutral term that highlights its relationship-building remit. One of the interviewees who was involved in agreeing the job title reflects on their choice:

> *"I think it just speaks to the sector a little bit more. The bit about working with people is kind of new and exciting within the world of curatorial – though fundamental and obvious in the world of learning and engagement, so it wouldn't change much [if it had been a clear education role]. Whereas a Constituent Curator, in the art world,*

would prick people's ears a little bit more, like 'oh that's slightly

different and progressive'." (WI8: 6).

The reflection suggests that the conceptualisation of the Constituent Museum Curator role may be more provocative to those working in a curatorial than it is to those working in education. It also implies that it is the curatorial side of the schism that is in need of provocation most. This seems to chime with the interviewees from education backgrounds who argued that co-creation had already been part of their work and team DNA for a long time (TI10; WI1). Many learning staff have a long history of working with co-creation techniques, and some feel that the introduction of co-creation work and the prioritisation of that expertise is largely for the benefit of curatorial departments (WI1), to whom the practice is much newer. Hence closing the silos between the two professional areas might change curatorial practices more than it would change learning practices.

It could then be argued, that the "social turn" towards participation and collaboration that Bishop described in 2006, or the co-creative turn described in section 2.2.1, is merely a turn in the curatorial tradition. For many coming from learning traditions, especially those indebted to the community arts field, co-creation has been a regular practice that has been deeply engrained in education work for decades (Matarasso, 2019). Hence, a closing of the silos between curatorial and education largely seems to be a move from curatorial towards the education tradition, or a move up for education tradition to be valued at a similar level with curatorial. Indeed, one of the interviewees stated in relation to the news of the Tate Exchange programme closing, that they hoped its legacy would be to have levelled the

different experience traditions needed to run a co-creation project to make them all of equal worth (TI13). They hoped the programme had evidenced that co-creation skills are *"distinct, complex and highly valuable"* (ibid.: 7) and that they are equally valued against other education or curatorial skills. Consequently, the role of co-creation projects in challenging the divide between curatorial and education traditions does not aim to erase the differences between these traditions, but to redress the hierarchy between them and to have them valued equally across organisations.

5.3.3. Changing roles and responsibilities

A change in perspective on valuing expertise and internal practice traditions can highlight knowledge and specialisms that have long been undervalued and could break down traditional professional hierarchies. In the three case study organisations, this is reflected in changes to organisational and workforce structures, such as job titles and role descriptions.

At the Whitworth, the reconceptualisation of hierarchies across different roles was followed by a change in job titles. Staff from the Civic Engagement and Education department, which delivers most of the education and community programmes, used to be referred to as 'Coordinators' and be paid according to that grade level. In an active attempt to realign the priority given to community-focused work and curatorial work, job titles were compared between the two departments and adjusted to create a balance that would imply equity between everyone, whether delivering exhibitions or public programmes. Hence, 'Coordinator' titles were being replaced by

'Producer' titles for Civic Engagement and Education staff, which were deemed to be a more even equivalent to the 'Curator' titles given to those at the same level in the Curatorial department (WI8). The change in job titles shows an attempt at rebalancing of different kinds of professional expertise.

While at the Whitworth, and to some extent at Tate, the reconceptualisation of roles and project teams concerns professional staff who all have a background in museum work, Queens Museum also brings in the expertise of a local community member. Over the last decade the museum has had a paid Community Organiser on staff to represent the community in Queens inside the museum. Traditionally local artists were hired for this position, but during the pandemic the museum hired someone without an artistic background for the first time, an ex-teacher in fact (QI2). Their role within the museum is crucial. They are the gatekeeper and champion of much of the input from the local community, and they crucially speak Spanish, offering a gateway into a community group that many other museum staff members could not otherwise access.

However, the dual professional and community-based identity of the Community Organiser highlights a complex issue around how their work is valued. Their very unique mix of expertise is difficult to compare or measure alongside the professional experience of other staff, as they have no traditional museum experience. Moreover, their level of responsibility may on the one hand consist of listening to its constituencies and their feedback, but on the other hand could change the whole course of the museum. During the pandemic the significance of their role was underlined even more, as the Community Organiser was the initiator of the well-received food bank project that determined a large part of how Queens Museum cared for its community

during the global crisis. The Community Organiser was in a unique position to be able to flag the need for a food bank and to have the network of local contacts to set it up within weeks when it was most urgent (QI1, 2).

The importance of the Community Organiser's role and the uniqueness of their position are not fully reflected in their prioritisation in the employment hierarchy across the museum. The Community Organiser is a relatively junior position, albeit with much freedom to take initiative, but they have to work with a small budget and with an executive workforce that is almost entirely made up of volunteers (QI2: 8). Moreover, the work involves much relationship building and event-based work that is often (formally or informally) expected to be done outside of normal working hours. The Community Organiser explains their colleagues tell them, *"You stay there until 9pm. This is a lot for you."* (Queens Community Organiser: 8). The Community Organiser further explains:

"I think they worry about me. [Chuckles]. And the same time they want me to do more. I just put all my heart, my time there, but at the same time, […] maybe I need somebody else to help me a little." (Queens Community Organiser: 8)

The demand on the Community Organiser's time to carry both the planning and the execution of the major food bank project means that there is no space for them to develop other community projects alongside it (QI2: 8). As a result, the museum's community programme remains limited, whereas the role of the Community Organiser could have been more impactful and have

led to a wider range of different projects if they would have more executive support or a team of producers below them.

Only one interviewee from the organisation flags the hierarchical position of the Community Organiser as problematic. They state:

"[O]ften we hire that person [the Community Organiser] – the real connection to the community – in the lowest position. That person is who runs it. Then that person tends to leave and get an amazing job because they're really doing the work. […] I think that person should be leading it. People who she reports to are led by her and go along with it. Again, the whole idea [is] reductionist." (QI1: 13)

It poses ethical questions about where community work, and especially work done by community members, should sit in the organisational hierarchy of roles and salaries. There is a risk of exploitation of their labour, which would suggest an unequal relationship and would go against the ambitions of co-creation to be more equitably set up (Morrison, 2021). Moreover, being given a relatively low position in the organisational hierarchy gives the Community Organiser less agency to change that situation, potentially worsening the risk of exploitation.

Besides, hiring a community member on staff can also create the risk of institutionalisation. By providing a community member with a full salary and making them largely dependent on it, the museum risks taking away some of the Community Organiser's perceived agency and freedom to express any (brutally) honest community viewpoints. Not wanting to risk the job security, the Community Organiser might choose to go along and agree with other

museum staff, while they would perhaps have dared to be more critical as an independent member of the community. This would compromise not only the agency of the entire community that this staff member represents, but also risks making the co-creation process tokenistic.

The Community Organiser role at Queens Museum and the Producer-versus-Curator debate at the Whitworth show that it is important for museums to reflect on the implications that different professional structures have for the division of power across the museum, and that decisions around job titles, salaries and hierarchies are crucial in ensuring equitable environments for co-creation work to take place. It also highlights the complexities of valuing expertise, and the need for careful consideration of ethical principles within that process.

The Tate Exchange model is different in a way that it works with community groups who as Associates remain fully external to the organisation. This allows the Tate Exchange team to carefully and actively define the relationship with these Associates, and to experiment with the ethics of different models. They went from what was initially a more transactional model in which Associates paid to be part of the programme, to waiving these fees, to shift the transactional imbalance of power into a more equitable arrangement (TI12, 13) (see section 5.2.3). For some of the other voices who shape (parts of) the Tate Exchange programme, such as the Tate Neighbours group, the opposite happened. They were initially paid for their time as contributors to Tania Bruguera's original commission – which was the reason the group was set up – but later continued as a voluntary steering group. One interviewee warns of the risk of exploiting their expertise when a lack of payment may impede achieving an equitable relationship:

*"The question around exploitation is a really, really important one. For
example, with the Tate Neighbours, they were paid, but they're not paid
three years down the line. So they're now critical friends rather than
Associates and Neighbours. And I think that you have to have that
conversation. So with co-creation everybody needs equity there. It
defines power relations, whether they're being paid or not. And it also
then reflects on the value of their expertise and experience."* (TI11: 7).

However, whereas this consideration addresses equitability in financial and
real terms, staff also highlighted discrepancies in more immaterial terms. For
instance, one Tate Exchange staff member described how an Associate group
with specific expertise around gender-inclusive practice was invited to work
with the Security team at Tate to run a workshop and trainings around using
pronouns when speaking to visitors (TI7). The interviewee does not specify
whether this group was paid for that work, but even if they were, it suggests
that Tate is relying on its Associates to educate the organisation and to
conduct elements of the organisational change process, instead of staff at the
organisation doing that work themselves. The ethics of this relationship are
complex, and it is not to say that all organisational change should come from
within the organisation only, but the example does highlight that there is a
risk of putting the burden of labour of the organisational change process on
exactly those groups whose burden and disenfranchising should in fact be
relieved by the change that is being made. This could then lead to exploitation
and, again, a tokenistic model of co-creation.

This risk manifested itself in Tate Exchange's final year, when the lead artist for that year and the colleagues they had chosen to work with accused the Tate Exchange programme of censoring their choices, citing reasons that related to institutional racism (Sharrocks, 2020). While this research is not able to judge whether this accusation was fair, the situation does show a discrepancy between the artists' intention to challenge Tate's practices and to make a change by fighting racism and preserving artistic freedom, and the willingness from Tate to engage with this criticism and enact the requested changes within its organisational frameworks (Quinn, 2022). This discrepancy then led to the threatening of a court case and ended in a settlement, which may have affected Tate Exchange's budgets in such a way that it contributed to its discontinuation (TI13; Quinn, 2022). As a result, not only did Tate Exchange lose the five-year investment they had made into their programme, but the artists did not achieve the change they had set out to make either, and all other Associates lost a platform for their work too. It shows how an imbalance in power, when escalated without finding a mutually beneficial solution, creates risk for all of those involved and can lead to destructive outcomes in which all parties may end up feeling exploited. It highlights the importance of creating equitable relationships in which all parties feel respected and where the labour of producing institutional change is not all borne by the most vulnerable parties. Getting this balance wrong, risks the relationships to collapse, and this in turn may lead to deconstructive situations or the collapse of entire projects.

5.4. Embracing change and uncertainty

This section looks at the role of risk-taking and managing uncertainty in co-creation work. This does not only play a role in ensuring levels of experimentation and open-ended working, which are so much at the core of successful co-creation work (see section 2.2.4 and 7.4), but also in embedding co-creation into organisations where traditional decision-making might be averse of risk-taking or organisational structures stumble over planned uncertainty. Section 5.4.1 will therefore look at how the case study museums have created space for experimentation and thereby produced new learning that could be embedded throughout the organisation. Section 5.4.2 will look at how building radical trust will help staff to be more supportive of risk-taking, and as a result encourage open-ended working. Finally, section 5.4.3 will look at the role of the unprecedented Covid-19 pandemic in managing risk and uncertainty, arguing that it may have accelerated and fostered some of the change processes that were happening as a result of co-creation work. Overall, the section challenges existing notions of experimentation, risk and uncertainty in favour of an understanding that sees them as driving forces of change within the context of co-creation work.

5.4.1. Space for experimentation

Section 2.2 has shown that key to co-creation practice is that it is a learning process, which involves elements of reflection, evaluation, and change as part of it (Lynch, 2011*a*). The outcomes are not determined beforehand, but are

influenced by everyone involved in the project and by the new learning that is created (Simon, 2010). The course of the project might therefore be adjusted during the process, to ensure it adapts and works towards relevant questions and impactful outcomes (Simon, 2016). This flexibility to pivot and commitment to keeping an open mind about the result are crucial parts of co-creation (Simon, 2010). Hence, co-creation has much in common with running an experiment, in which there may be an initial question to serve as a starting point, but the research process and result are shaped and reiterated throughout the course of it.

Indeed, Tate Exchange is often described as "an open experiment" (Tate, 2020: 3; echoed by TI2, 6-10) as well as an "experiment in practice" (Pringle, n.d.), as opposed to an experiment in a controlled research setting. It also has a set of research questions that aim "to explore the role of art in society" (Tate, 2020: 3). At Queens Museum the Year of Uncertainty co-creation programme is similarly branded as a "period of experimentation" (Queens Museum, 2021*a*), with the aim of developing new working methods across the museum. Both projects hope to provide a space for open-ended learning that will inspire new ideas and practices through allowing room for exploration. By branding themselves as experiments, both projects normalise an experimental trial and error approach, which importantly provides a licence to fail. This allows for deeper critical reflection and for learning that can catalyse more effective change (Jancovich & Stevenson, 2021).

Moreover, being labelled as an experiment may help acknowledge the need for leaving project outcomes open-ended, which generally goes against the criteria set by most traditional funders (Lynch, 2011*a*). The experimental angle to both co-creation projects may therefore perhaps not solely come from

a commitment to co-creative working, but also be a strategic choice to allow more flexibility to the course of projects at both museums. This seems to have been particularly relevant for Queens Museum, who set up its case study project within the pandemic rather than before it. They emphasised the flexible nature of their Year of Uncertainty in response to the changeable nature of the Covid-19 pandemic period to give themselves space to own that uncertainty. The director explains: *"uncertainty can be destabilising, but the world is uncertain so we're in it anyway. What I'm trying to do is give [us] some agency in the conversation so that [we] have a role to play."* (Queens Director: 15).

The Whitworth's Constituent Museum project is set up less like an experiment and more like a change project, which although it incorporates elements of experimentation and learning, is forced by the nature of its Transformative Grant to actually deliver some degree of organisation-wide change after the original one-year period of the grant, later extended to 1.5 years due to Covid-19 (Outset, 2018). The exact outcomes remain open-ended, but a certain amount of learning (whether through success or failure) is expected and is aimed to be feeding into a publication at the end of the project timeline. The staff working on this change process and publication do express that the timeline is tight and that they felt especially under pressure when the Covid-19 pandemic interrupted and altered their work six months into the year-long project (WI2, 4). To have the space, time and resources for experimentation seems a luxury that is not a given, including in co-creation projects, even if, arguably, such projects are generally better set up for experimental ways of working.

At Tate too, the licence to be experimental is not something that every department can afford. Tate Exchange has it built into its structure and aims,

but many other teams have to use their full capacity to deliver agreed programmes and meet pre-established targets, with little room for experimentation and trying out new things that have a risk of failing (TI3, 7, 8). One interviewee from the Tate Exchange team suggests that Tate Exchange, as a co-creation project with a dedicated team, can provide that experimental space for other Tate departments too: *"It's supporting our colleagues in capacity to do things differently, because it also is additional labour, and [we] can be the people to do that for now."* (TI7: 12). In that sense Tate Exchange could function as a *"laboratory"* (TI11: 4) or an incubator space in which other teams and departments can test out ideas without having to commit significant resources to it. It can also provide inspiration for new ideas, by facilitating a space that introduces and showcases new and different practices from Associates that other Tate departments can learn from, even if currently it is mainly the education teams who draw upon that resource (TI11). Still, an interviewee from outside an education team states they often look at examples of what Tate Exchange's Associates have done in the Tate Exchange space for ideas on how to run temporary programmes and installations in Tate's spaces, and that this learning has fed back into the pop-up public programmes that the interviewee works on at Tate:

> *"The Associates are so creative in how they use the space, and they have really minimal time to get in and they don't always have a huge amount of production budget, so there are some really good ideas that are generated on the floor."* (TI8: 2-3).

Despite its functions as an incubator for ideas, a space for inspiration, and a resource for experimentation, Tate Exchange does not aim to replace all space for experimentation and new learning. Instead, its aim is to provoke new ideas and practices, which the departments can then continue to develop and build into their regular programmes. It is important that this learning becomes embedded in other departments, so it can inform practices across the organisation more widely and create more impact across the board. The sudden discontinuation of the programme in 2022 may have hampered some of that legacy conversation, as only one staff member remained after the restructure to implement the learning from the five years of Tate Exchange programmes back into Tate's Learning and Research directorate.

One interviewee indeed states the importance of embedding co-creation work beyond the dedicated team for it: *"It shouldn't just be that that happens in Tate Exchange and the rest of the institution can just carry on behaving as if it's an island"* (TI6: 4). They argue that Tate Exchange carries an important function as intermediary to society and to real-world issues, and that the practices it uses to achieve that function should sit across all areas of the organisation, so that the entire institution can take a more socially-engaged approach. The interviewee argues that it is vital that Tate in its entirety – and not just Tate Exchange only – remains relevant for audience communities, and while Tate Exchange offers learning for how to achieve that, it should be every department's ambition to achieve it to some degree (TI6). Hence, they argue it is important that practices do not just change within the walls of the Tate Exchange space, but that the embedding of experimentation and the impact of the experiments that are held also trickles out into the rest of the organisation.

At Queens Museum the Year of Uncertainty co-creation programme was set up as an organisation-wide experimentation programme from the start, hence the risk of it being an 'island' (as with Tate Exchange) is smaller. However, there remains a risk that the experimental practice ends when the funding ends. Co-creation projects sometimes lack long-term impact because they are often set up as one-off projects with limited funding streams (Lynch, 2011*a*), but embedding co-creative practices deeper into the everyday systems of the organisation may be a way to help avoid that. Indeed, Queens Museum, like the Whitworth, hopes to achieve long-term impact by focusing on experimenting with new working methods that can be reused, developed and reapplied in future interactions with communities (Queens Museum, 2021*a*; Outset, 2018; WI8). An interviewee from Queens Museum says: *"I don't know yet what it will prove, but by the end of the project, we should better understand how we can function [as a museum]"* (QI5: 15). Their comment embodies the open-ended, experimental spirit of the project and of the museum's approach to co-creation work. It also highlights how the one-year programme is expected to offer new learning that can be taken into future programming and decision-making, creating an impact beyond the dates of the project itself.

This attitude at Queens, like the approaches taken by Tate Exchange and the Whitworth, shows that positioning co-creation work to create a space for experimentation can lead to innovation and development that can influence and inform museum strategies across the organisation and in the long term, if given the chance. Where Queens Museum and the Whitworth are showing serious commitment by running museum-wide co-creation programmes that aim at creating change, Tate Exchange's setup may have

been too much like an island, which then requires more effort to be put into disseminating its learning and legacy across the organisation.

5.4.2. Embracing risk in co-creation work

The previous section has shown that flexible, experimental and open-ended working are crucial elements of co-creation practice (Simon, 2010; Lynch, 2011*a*). Co-creation is synonymous with giving away a level of control and allowing other stakeholders to influence the course of a project, hence creating an element of ambiguity or even uncertainty for the museum around areas of input that they cannot entirely predict or control. Indeed, levels of uncertainty about working processes, relationships and final outcomes are generally much higher in co-creation projects than in traditional museum projects, or even than in many other collaborative practices, such as consultation or participation (Simon, 2010). As a result, the unpredictability of co-creation work is sometimes associated with increased risk, which museums generally prefer to manage and control (TI7).

Risk is generally managed in co-creation by building a transparent relationship and a high level of trust between all stakeholders, to avoid being blindsided about challenges and to create a space to find constructive solutions for any issues that do come up. This trust, termed "radical trust" by Lynch and Alberti (2010) to emphasise a truly shared authority, is crucial for creating effective working practices and equitable relationships. It is no coincidence that the first two of Tate Exchange's five core values are "trust" and "risk" (followed by "generosity", "respect", and "openness") (Cutler,

2018). Interviewees across all case study organisations report that where levels of trust fell, co-creation became more challenging and risk increased (TI7, Whitworth interviewee 1, Queens interviewee 7). One explained that, when in a co-creation project with young people a curator took ownership of the co-created exhibition texts to try and improve them, the young people's trust that they would be given genuine control diminished, which lowered their motivation for the project (WI1). The staff member explains that among the curatorial stakeholders "*maybe there wasn't the braveness*" (WI1: 7) to take risk, and that it was necessary to set up a mediated conversation between the curator and the young people to bring their relationship back to a level of radical trust (ibid.). It shows that while relinquishing control can be seen as voluntarily setting up yourself and your project for more risk, in fact not relinquishing control in a co-creation project can be much more harmful.

Developing an equitable co-creation practice also means developing a strategy to manage risk without compromising on the flexibility and open-endedness of a project. A strong co-creation approach acknowledges that there are uncertainties in every co-creation project and can offer handles for participants to find solutions together. As a result, staff who were experienced in co-creation work developed ways of "*being nimble and agile*" (TI6: 13) to minimise risk by constantly listening, learning and adjusting their practice (ibid.). This way, they were constantly prepared for change, and learnt not panic and cling on to traditional forms of control when a project would take an unexpected turn.

Such a reiterative approach to managing projects puts learning at the centre of the process and makes it a crucial contributing factor to a project's

success. One interviewee argues about the Constituent Museum programme that:

> "If […] each project was successful but both institutions went back to complete normality, then even though the projects were successful, I guess the [Constituent Museum] programme would have slightly failed. I guess on the flipside of that, you could have three really unsuccessful projects but the institutions have learned a lot and changed, and that's probably more successful" (WI8: 7)

This quote shows how much the case study museums valued change and learning being a major outcome of their co-creation work. It also reconceptualises the notion of success, and argues that to learn from an experiment makes the experiment more successful than if the experiment worked as intended. The development of a successful process is prioritised over the success of the outcome.

This view on what constitutes success or failure translates into risk-taking as well. Those who are willing to make mistakes, are generally also willing to take more risk. According to Jancovich and Stevenson (2021), who research the role of failure in innovation, those who take risk and dare to fail will in turn also be the ones who learn the quickest. An interviewee from the Whitworth describes how Hudson's leadership of the gallery conforms to this view: *"I think we take a lot more risks because we know that he [Alistair Hudson] will just go, 'oh well, we tried it and it didn't work. Let's learn from that.' Rather than being in loads of trouble because something went really badly wrong."* (WI3: 22). While this perspective seems highly conducive to experimentation

processes as well as open-ended co-creation processes, it is usually a rare approach in museums, where the space to make mistakes is minimised by funders often wanting to invest in success stories only (Brekke, 2018).

The perspective held by this Whitworth interviewee, however, may have changed a few years later, when the UK Lawyers for Israel group call for Alistair Hudson's resignation because of his decision to allow an activist artist group to include a pro-Palestine message in their exhibition (Cascone, 2022). While the incident happened after the data gathering period for this research, the consequences – including Hudson's departure from the museum less than a year later (Kendall Adams, 2022) – show that the risks to museums hosting community voices may be considerable. Previous director Raicovich's sudden departure from Queens Museum around four years earlier, also due to speaking out in regard to the Israel-Palestine question, underlines the precarity and risk that comes with platforming certain community voices over others (Boucher, 2018*b*).

While risk in this context is often reputational and might largely be carried by museum directors, Tate Exchange's discontinuation shows how certain community voices feeling threatened by other voices represented in the museum can lead to the collapse of an entire community platform. An accusation of the discrimination and censoring of a specific community voice led to a court case that seems to have made Tate Exchange's budget unviable, leading to Tate's director deciding on its discontinuation. Here the fallout from risk landed on the Tate Exchange team, rather than Tate's director, but indirectly also on the community groups featured in the Tate Exchange programme, who lost their engagement platform and some of their audience.

The way that the Whitworth and Tate case studies turned out (though both after the data collection period), imply that merely opening up for risk is not always a constructive strategy. Rather, organisations need to simultaneously balance taking risks with managing risks in order to ensure they protect the sustainability of their co-creation programmes. As for the protection of staff or community members in such moments of precarity, a Tate interviewee argues that carrying risk is a crucial responsibility for the museum within its co-creation role. Their argument is that museums should take on the risk caused by the uncertainties inherent to co-creation work, because it would be unethical to let community participants carry this risk. The interviewee argues:

"We can take risks, because we are a big, powerful institution with budgets, and my time is paid for, I have a salary, and I'm not to take that for granted. So if people are taking risks, it has to be us who are taking the risk a lot of the time, because other communities or people are more vulnerable. So if there's a fall-out from risk, let it be us and not them, so not putting other people at risk in experimentation. I think that's really important [...] and that's an important part of our ethics in this type of practice." (TI7: 12-13).

The comment shows a considered approach to risk-taking and to allowing experimentation within co-creation work, which always considers the possibility that projects might fail and has ethics or principles in place to manage those risks when that happens (see section 7.4). As a result, communities can engage in true experimentation as part of their co-creation

process without having to worry too much about the consequences of failure, and organisations also know that potential failure can be explained, managed and ideally turned into a constructive outcome. This relieves both parties in a co-creation process from some of the pressures that often dictate other projects where success is an expected outcome, and allows them to work in a sincerely open-ended way as a result.

However, the comment quoted above, about protecting communities from risk, was made well before Covid-19 turned the tables on what constituted risk for museums. Hence the next section will explain how the case study organisations managed new types of risk and uncertainty during the pandemic.

5.4.3. Uncertainty as a strength during the Covid-19 pandemic

This research observed co-creation projects in the year 2020, but that year was interrupted by unprecedented developments that made most traditional engagement and co-creation work difficult. While acknowledging uncertainty has always been a major part of co-creation work, the Covid-19 pandemic added another level of risk that none of the case study organisations had anticipated. Where change and uncertainty had often been at relatively superficial levels, the pandemic put the entire existence, strategy and relevance of many co-creation projects to question, and risk levels soared especially during the first few months after March 2020 (Crooke, 2020). Staff had no other choice but to accept risk, change and uncertainty, and were forced to embody the practices that usually characterise co-creation projects:

to listen and respond, to be nimble and experimental, to trust and hand over control, and to interrogate the relevance of the institution for its communities (ibid.; Heumann Gurian, 2020). This section will first outline the case studies' responses to the pandemic and the changes it caused within their programmes, and then look at how the pandemic changed how these museums dealt with risk and uncertainty.

The Covid-19 pandemic had a major effect on all three case study museums. Not only did all three organisations close their sites for an extended lockdown between March and August 2020, with Tate and the Whitworth closing a second time during November 2020, they also all had to move most of their community-focused work online (TI11-13; WI3-8, Queens interviewees 1, 3, 5-9). Being 'out' in the community or bringing community groups 'inside' the museum acquired a new meaning in a now much more virtual arena, which became less about putting on content and more about providing access to relevant support (TI12, Queens interviewees 2, 3). Moreover, projects that had previously been largely about cultural engagement now added elements of health engagement, wellbeing, or social justice (WI4, 8; QI5).

At Queens Museum a food bank project was launched in direct response to the food inequality aggravated by the pandemic (Queens Museum, 2021*b*). This project was not planned by the museum before the pandemic, but showed the museum taking initiative at noticing a need in the community and an opportunity for engagement. At the Whitworth, a set of new Constituent Museum projects that had been planned to launch in spring 2020 – including the Whitworth Voices community panel, the Art in Action community programming strand, and a restructuring of the Learning and

Engagement programme structure – was reframed in light of the changed needs of the local communities involved (WI4, 5, 8). These projects went ahead in a virtual form, with changed timelines, altered formats, and adjusted contexts to accommodate for the pandemic needs of the communities they engaged. At Tate, the Tate Exchange programme was moved online. This deeply altered the format of the projects, but not necessarily the annual programme theme, the choices of who to work with, or the curatorial coherence of the programme (TI12). The challenges were largely practical and logistical in nature, and forced the team to be most accommodating about ideas for alternative programmes from the Associates.

In all three museums, the direction of their response to Covid-19 was not an entirely new one. All already aimed to increase their community focus by committing to listening to community needs, and that remained throughout the pandemic. It was only the specifics of these needs that changed. As a result, the frameworks and values of the projects remained largely in place, but their content and particular outputs changed (WO2-13; QI3).

Moreover, the suddenness of the pandemic meant that the values and principles that all three case study organisations had already committed to in the conceptualisation of their co-creation work – for instance those of listening to community needs, keeping projects open-ended, and working flexibly (see sections 2.2.4 and 7.4) – were immediately put to the test. Where in a non-Covid situation they might have taken more time to embed co-creation thinking into practical project structures, they were now required to put those methods into practice without delay, and – especially for the Whitworth's recently launched Constituent Museum project and Queens Museum's freshly

launched new vision – thus also without much preparation time. Staff at Tate Exchange, who had been working in such ways since 2016 already, seemed least thrown off by the sudden change of direction, and reflecting back in early 2021, one of the interviewees felt relatively confident that the processes they had in place had allowed for the flexibility needed to navigate the pandemic:

> *"We [the Tate Exchange team] feel fairly comfortable saying, I don't know. We feel very comfortable saying, well, let's just wait and see. And we're very comfortable with using the information that we've got at the time to set something in motion. But knowing that once we set it in motion, more information is going to come and we might have to change things again completely. So we are used to that way of working. So I think those foundations helped us during the pandemic. But obviously Covid has thrown us all practical and personal challenges that we've never had to work on. So, those foundations have also been really tested."* (TI12: 9).

A year later, however, the Tate Exchange programme proved not to be resilient enough after all, when senior management determined it was no longer viable in a context that had to be largely socially distanced and virtual (TI13). There has been no formal statement from Tate as to the precise reasons for this decision, but it suggests their tolerance for risk lowered in the meantime.

Nevertheless, the Tate Exchange team seems to have shared their confident way of managing risk and uncertainty across the museum during

its final year. An interviewee from Tate Exchange explains how colleagues started seeing their co-creation expertise as a source for tips on how to deal with the increased uncertainty of the Covid-19 pandemic and asked for advice on how to work in a more responsive and flexible way. The interviewee explains how Tate Exchange's practices helped others navigate ambiguity and rigorous flexibility:

> *"Something that's come up with Covid-19 is that some of my colleagues […] are having to work and plan in a completely unknown present and unknown future. But, [at Tate Exchange], that's what we do. We have a massive, rigorous plan behind it, and we know that as soon as the doors open, the public might want to do something completely different with what they're presented with. And so working with that and to something that doesn't have a fixed outcome, we're really used to that. And we have had conversations with colleagues, where we've talked about what it's like. And a lot of people have said that that kind of knowledge and experience has been really helpful to them trying to navigate through Covid-19." (TI12: 9)*

Staff with co-creation experience were suddenly seen as having crucial skills and practices that were regarded by some as exemplary throughout the pandemic. Sharing their experiences helped Tate Exchange to establish a wider interest in open-ended working and in the co-creation practices characterised by it (TI12).

While at Tate such knowledge sharing may have been largely responsive to questions from colleagues, rather than the team using the

pandemic to effect organisational change at their own initiative, the other case study museums were able to take a more active approach to using the pandemic as an opportunity to catalyse new co-creation projects. Tate Exchange's focus on working in a physical space – which had to close throughout the lock-downs – may have inhibited its options, whereas staff at the other two case study organisations could be more flexible with the formats of new co-creation projects (TI13, Queens interviewee 2). As a result, staff at Queens Museum for instance felt their strong community-first ethos enabled them to adapt quickly when the pandemic first hit, allowing them to dedicate a gallery room to setting up the food bank programme just two months into the pandemic (QI2, 5). At the Whitworth, staff felt similar agency to structurally change their work in the face of the Covid-19 crisis, but interviewees indicated needing more time to rethink their practices (WI5, 7, 8). Instead of producing fast traditional content that would get communities through the first lockdown only, they chose to use the closure period as downtime to develop projects that would be more long-term, innovative, tailored and that would create space for building deeper relationships. Many, including this interviewee, saw the pandemic as an opportunity for pushing the museum to new ways of working:

> *"Hopefully, if there's any kind of positive return from this [pandemic], it's that the reset button has been hit and [we] can think about where we'll go. We can think about not just when, but what will it be like when we can reopen. What are the spaces like? What do we need in place? And what does our work look like? So it does open up conversations about what needs to be done."* (WI8: 20).

It suggests the pandemic offered time for reflection but also for experimentation, that could inform new museum practices and decisions. And while co-creation work flourished mostly because staff felt an acute need to listen to what their communities needed during this time, it may arguably also have been because the pandemic changed how staff perceived risk. In a time when organisations are struggling heavily and solutions are needed, suggestions for improvements were welcomed, even if they were high-risk – and even more so when virtually all projects have become high risk already anyway. Simon (2020) describes this change in perception as a "significant difference in stakes" and argues that in a crisis situation there is more to win than to lose, which makes it easier to take high-risk decisions.

Indeed, some museum staff felt that the pandemic made their organisations less risk-averse in their decision-making, and that the collective experience of the crisis helped colleagues to see the value of co-creation work (WI8; QI3). One interviewee explains:

> *"Because it [Covid] has affected everyone, there's some really difficult decisions that will need to be made. But there are also some that are going to be made a lot easier, because you can just say 'oh it's covid-19, there's nothing we can do'. That allows for it being used quite easily, whereas those decisions could have been quite difficult."* (WI8: 1)

The interviewee initially gives examples of difficult decisions such as making redundancies, but then also applies this logic to initiating new projects that have not been tested, and suggests the pandemic in some way offers an

247

excuse to try new things (WI8). They go on to argue that the pandemic has also shown the necessity and relevance of change across the organisation, whether embodied by a move to digital delivery or a much more embedded approach to community co-creation (ibid.). Hence, the pandemic – while being destructive to many areas of museum work – has also functioned as a positive force that brought new opportunities. It has functioned as an accelerator for existing co-creation work, but also as a catalyst for new projects that brought museums and communities closer together. In that sense, Queens Museum's choice to call their pandemic response programme a Year of Uncertainty is an apt decision to celebrate the growth, innovation, repair and learning that embracing uncertainty can offer.

5.5. Conclusion

This chapter aimed to explore how engaging in co-creation work or being part of a co-creative turn may be inviting museum staff to critically reflect on and reconceptualise their organisational practices. It has highlighted that co-creation has been an expression of a turn to collaborative working methods in museums, with which museums hope to increase their relevance and the diversity of the voices they represent. Sharing power is at the core of co-creation work, and as museums have traditionally been used to holding most of the decision-making power in their programmes, co-creation often functions as a provocation for them to think differently about equitability in museum practices. Indeed, in the three case study organisations, co-creation work seems to prompt critical reflection on the museum's working practices

and structures, and in particular on the organisational hierarchies and managing of risk in creating space for experimentation.

The research interviewees note many instances of how their perceptions and assumptions have changed around embedding community voices into the museum's work. Most prominently, they show a more diverse conceptualisation of what can constitute expertise in a museum and of how the valuing of different kinds of expertise might be represented in the museum's organisational structure. They also show to be embracing more open-ended and experimental ways of working with communities, and have found leadership and funders who actively support such approaches and who do not shy away from the risks such experiments may hold, though not without the necessary challenges.

Having an in-depth look at what it means to invite in new sources of expertise, shows a more nuanced internal rebalancing of expertise traditions among staff. With co-creation work traditionally stemming from education, outreach and other pedagogic traditions, many of the interviewees from such teams state that co-creation is just a new term for a type of work they have always been doing. Hence, the co-creation projects that the three case study organisations were running in 2020 may have been accelerators of a practice that already existed within each museum and instead of catalysing a new practice. They might have merely propelled co-creation higher up the agenda in these museums, causing a turn that is in fact merely a turn in the curatorial tradition.

Moreover, the co-creative turn in the three case study museums also shows the need for critical reflection on the responsibility for enacting change, and problematises how often this labour is carried by community members

rather than museum staff. Similarly, achieving change through co-creation requires buy-in from museums to shape spaces that are genuinely open-ended and experimental, and that requires from museum leaders and staff a willingness to take a level of risk. Whereas the interviewees highlight various benefits they have encountered after handing over control and taking risk with co-created programmes, they also note the importance on reflecting on the ethics of that risk and how much of that should and can be carried by community members. Finally, many note how the Covid-19 pandemic has considerably changed their approach to risk, and how in most cases it actually enabled the three case studies to take more risk. Hence, tolerating and even embracing uncertainty seems to come out as a strategy that benefits co-creation work and that also enables and accelerates organisational change happening as a result.

Overall, this chapter has shown that in the three case study organisations, co-creation work as led to new critical reflections on how and by whom museum practices are shaped. It shows how museum staff are experiencing a move towards more co-creative working and which elements of that type of work were embraced and which were met with suspicion in the first instance. Throughout the course of the co-creative turn that seems to have been taking place at the three organisations during the research period, examples can be seen of how co-creation work has changed the staff's traditional assumptions around the notions of change, expertise, trust and risk. It could be said that the change in these assumptions is a direct result of introducing more co-creative ways of working. However, co-creation cannot be proclaimed as the sole instigator of change, especially with the major change stemming from the unprecedented Covid-19 pandemic interacting

with the field at the same time. This period, however, has created more opportunity for co-creation to happen and invited new reflections on the notion of uncertainty, which is a central driver within co-creation work too.

Finally, while almost all interviewees indicate to have noticed a trend that puts communities and co-creation more and more at the centre of their museum's work (TI1-10, 12; WI1-8; QI1-3, 5-9), some seem to still be finding their own agency within this process of change. Whereas some are keen to take it on and others are more reluctant, they all show to have reflected on the change they are seeing and their position in it, suggesting that co-creation work at their organisation is inspiring new ways of thinking about museum practice.

Besides, a few of the interviewees commented that the research interview itself helped prompt reflection on the change happening around them, sometimes visible in short off-hand remarks like *"I've only just thought about that as you were asking me"* (TI9: 4). When asked to reflect on the interview at the end of each session, many reported to have come away from the interview with a better articulated idea of their own stance within the process (TI3, 7, 9, 10; WI3, 4, 7; QI6, 8, 9). While the interview questions were careful not to steer their thoughts, the process of an external researcher coming in to listen to their standpoints, decisions and rationales may have been an additional accelerator of the reflective process that was already happening and may have supported consequent change.

The next chapter will look at to what extent this increased level of reflection has indeed translated into practical and physical changes to working practices across the case study museums.

Chapter 6

Challenging conditions: Organisational change stemming from co-creation

6.1. Introduction

This research considers the extent to which co-creation may influence change across museums, and the previous chapter has shown that there is significant change taking place at the reflective level, where staff are beginning to think differently about their work and organisations as a result of their involvement in co-creation practices. While that chapter highlighted changes in the assumptions that staff hold about their work, this current chapter follows up on that by exploring to what degree that level of reflective activity has led to concrete action. This chapter therefore focuses on actual, tangible, and in

some cases visible changes to infrastructures and organisational conditions within the museum. Moreover, it looks at change that goes beyond the confines of the co-creation team's remit only, to determine the extent to which co-creation work can create impact elsewhere in the museum or even across the entire museum. By covering these angles, this chapter will answer research sub-question 2: *What is the nature and extent of change that may take place in museums stemming from co-creation work?*

The chapter will provide an overview of different areas and scales of organisational change that were observed across the case study museums as a result of co-creation work. Its four sections cover four different areas of museum structures and practices in which examples of such change were found, though in many of them limitations or barriers to change were found as well. Section 6.2 concerns changes to the relationships between different departments, where co-creation seemed to be bridging siloes, challenging traditional hierarchies, and building new collaborative relations both internally and externally. Section 6.3 focuses on change in the spatial configuration and experience of the gallery, in which co-creation projects were used to position audiences and communities more centrally within the museum and to create new and more welcoming access points. Section 6.4 then looks at decision-making structures and listening practices. It considers whether opening up such structures to community voices leads to learning that will then result in change, and explores the risk of tokenism in such contexts. Finally, section 6.5 concerns the extent to which co-creation work manages to influence museum-wide structures, such as mission and vision statements and broader values and business models. It considers the

sustainability of such approaches and explores the barriers to embedding co-created change across all areas of the museum.

Overall, the comparison between this chapter and Chapter 5 will give insight into any discrepancy between instances in which change is merely rhetorical, imagined or desired, and examples where organisational change has become real, visible and tangible. This chapter also evaluates the scale, embedding and longevity of the examples of change it found, as to offer a greater understanding of the impact that co-creation work might make for these museums in the long run.

6.2. Reach of co-creation across organisational structures

Section 5.3 showed a changing sense of organisational hierarchies and how co-creation expertise was valued across different teams. While in that section, the interviewees highlighted changes in their perception of such power structures and the assumptions that they made around this type of expertise, this section looks at the actions that were taken as a result of that change in thinking, which more tangibly changed departmental structures and the way that staff from different teams worked together, or chose not to.

For some of the interviewees in this study, especially those who do not come from a community engagement background or whose work does not make many connections with the work engagement and outreach teams do, co-creation practices can feel vague or indistinct. A few of them find it hard to place co-creation within the traditional curatorial-versus-pedagogic spectrum

(see section 5.3.2), and argue that *"if you're doing a talk or you're installing a sculpture, everybody knows what you're doing, but if you're in that in-between area, it's a bit disturbing"* (ibid.). For some then, the introduction of such practices may even feel a little threatening and increases feelings of territorialism.

This section shows that causing disturbance and nervousness, however, seem to be signs of co-creation challenging staff to reflect on community work in new ways. It suggests that by falling outside of traditional organisational and departmental structures, co-creation can function as a provocation for a discussion about alternative ways of organising museum work, or even of new departmental configurations, that may bring new opportunities and benefits. This section describes the reconceptualisation process that could be seen in the case studies, especially at a departmental level, where due to new collaborations between teams in co-creation projects, departments have come to renegotiate their remits, team structures, and the ways they prefer to engage with other teams.

Section 6.2.1 shows how co-creation work is addressing departmental silos in all three case study organisations in favour of setting up structures that allow more collaboration and exchange. Section 6.2.2 considers how new departmental relationships are creating new communities of practice, which are shaped according to different structures than traditional departmental delineations. Finally, section 6.2.3 explores which departments are engaging least yet with co-creation and this organisational change process towards collaboration, and offers suggestions for where there may be more opportunity for development in the case study organisations and the sector more widely.

6.2.1. Challenging departmental silos

Collaboration is considered to be at the core of co-creation (Simon, 2010; Burns et al., 2021; see section 2.2.3), yet this is often applied to relationships between communities and museum workers, rather than those between different groups of museum workers internally. In fact, in all three case study organisations, interviewees mention that strong silos between departments have traditionally made it difficult to produce collaborative work (TI3-6, 10; WI1, 2, 7, 8; QI1, 3, 4, 7; see section 5.3). In some cases they quote an unawareness of each other's work as the main reason (TI10; Queens Museum interviewees 3, 5), which was for instance addressed by the introduction of Alignment Meetings at Tate (see section 5.3.2) and the main reason for Queens Museum to do weekly all-staff meetings that involve everyone from the director to shop staff and technicians. In other cases, internal collaboration was hampered by feelings of territorialism. One Whitworth interviewee describes what they saw happening in some teams when the new Constituent Museum strategy was announced and implemented across the museum:

> *"I think as always, when people feel their field is under some kind of attack, there's been a kind of drawing up of defences. So, the idea of curatorial expertise, for example, being threatened […]. There's always those moments of retrenchment where people seek to solidify their position and insist on that, on the value of their expertise."* (WI7: 3)

Such feelings of territorial threat might then lead to departments clamping down onto their own specialism and creating even stronger silos, instead of the opposite effect. This for instance happened when Tate Exchange was set up, as an interviewee describes there were immediate *"clashes between Communities and Exchange"* (TI3: 5), referring to the existing Communities and Social Practice team, who may have felt threatened by the new project. Such clashes may also lead to staff feeling undervalued for specialisms that they feel were valued more before the introduction of co-creation across the organisation. For example, one of the Whitworth curators stated: *"I felt that the expertise that I had developed over the past 10-15 years was suddenly irrelevant, and that does feel very difficult."* (WI7: 3).

Most scepticism towards co-creation and bridging departmental silos seemed to come from curatorial teams, who felt they had to give away most power and were arguably least used to handing over power to non-professional curators, compared to other content or audience-facing teams (TI3; WI6, 7; QI4; see section 5.3.2). However, interviewees from learning, engagement, and outreach teams also shared concerns, mostly about losing their specialism and distinctive expertise of co-creation work in an organisation where community engagement work had suddenly become central to all teams. At the beginning of the Constituent Museum project, one Whitworth staff member wondered, *"if the whole institution is now going to be doing engagement work with constituents, where does that leave the Engagement department?"* (WI8: 11). However, mid-way during the Constituent Museum project, this interviewee reflected on that initial statement again and suggested that in fact, engagement work had become more central to core

mission of the organisation and that as a result the impact of the Engagement team's work had only increased (ibid.).

Moving towards a more co-creative practice across the museum can force each department to reflect on its role and remit within such projects, and to redefine their relative position. It might lead to a reallocation of functions across departments, such as the Communities and Social Practice team at Tate being dissolved to spread its responsibilities across multiple existing teams (including Tate Exchange) after the 2021 restructure (TI12, 13), or the implementation of a shared-ownership approach as a standard practice, such as the Whitworth's Constituent Museum Curator being based in two teams at once (WI4, 7, 8). This, in turn, might lead to a reorganisation of departmental structures, to better reflect the different functions and practices.

There are various examples across the case studies of curatorial and education departments moving closer together (see section 5.3.2), including the merging of the Exhibitions and Public Programmes departments at Queens Museum (QI6), and their planned further merge with the Education department too (QI3). Similarly, the Whitworth aims to close the gap and build more bridges between the Curatorial and the Civic Engagement and Education team, even if structurally they remain two separate departments (WI7, 8). Their strategy involves bringing together Curators from one department and Producers from the other department onto the same project teams, and to build stronger ties between their work and different sets of expertise (WI1, 7). At Tate Exchange, the programme similarly brought together staff from across the curatorial and learning directorates within their projects, sometimes involving external Associates and sometimes as internal collaborations within Tate (TI7, 12).

The structural changes that these case study organisations have gone through seem to have built the necessary conditions for their co-creation projects to be informed by a more diverse range of expertise and to make a wider impact across their respective organisations. An interviewee from Queens Museum describes how their education and exhibition departments came together to run shared programmes (including around Covid-19 support) and summarises the benefits of this change: "*Now, there's a lot more dialogue and co-creation happening, which is really coming to fruition, this idea of community museum, because there needs to be community behind the scenes before it could exude this idea of being a community museum.*" (QI3: 12).

The co-creation projects organised in the three case study museums involve multiple departments across the board, and a wide range of them too. In addition to the usual collaborators in learning and some curatorial teams, co-creation work also seems to reach beyond the 'usual suspects'. For example, at Tate, the security department was involved with Tate Exchange to help redesign the visitor experience (TI2, 7; see section 6.3.2). At Queens Museum the museum shop was involved in offering professional skills training programmes to local resident co-creators (QI9). And at the Whitworth, during its first Constituent Museum exhibition in late 2019, the installation and workshop technicians worked directly with community co-creators to shape and design the look of the exhibition (WI4, 5). One Whitworth staff member describes the power change in this collaboration: "*they weren't just technicians, but they were almost artists on the project with them*" (WI8: 15). The examples show that the collaborative way of working characteristic to co-creation (Simon, 2010; Burns et al., 2021) seems to have helped to bring new voices in from museum departments who have generally

been underrepresented in the programming of audience-facing museum content.

Because each co-creation project team in these examples includes staff members from different professional traditions, one interviewee describes their co-creation project team as being *"like a mixture of all our teams, really"* (TI9: 4). Such projects become a microcosm of the bigger museum with representatives of all stakeholders from across and beyond the museum. One result of this seems to be that it forces each of those stakeholders to find their own role and remit within the project and to either delineate their professional territory or indicate their willingness to share responsibilities. This requires a negotiation that may be challenging, as one interviewee describes when summarising co-creation as a *"clash of competing positions that somehow find a resolution"* (TI3: 8). But this may also provide an opportunity for inter-departmental relationships to be redrawn during those negotiations, which could create lasting changes between them.

A second result of this multi-stakeholder setup is that it creates ownership and champions of the project spread across the entire museum, which might make it easier to inspire new examples of collaboration and potentially enable change stemming from the project to manifest itself organisation-wide. An example of this was the Power to Change festival held at Tate Modern in 2021 (TI4; Tate, 2021). The programme, which focused on how communities and individuals can address climate change, was collaboratively created by the Curatorial, Public Programmes, Early Years and Families, Communities, Digital, Marketing and Tate Exchange teams, as well as the Tate Exchange Associates, the Tate Neighbours community group, and the young Tate Collective Producers community (TI12). Additionally, there

were various outside partners involved, such as activist group Culture Declares Emergency and other community groups, and the Tate Exchange team oversaw the management of the project (TI4). The format was inspired by Tate Exchange co-creation projects, but the scale was significantly bigger, reaching across the entire organisation, including all four Tate sites:

"We're putting together a project team for that from diagonally across Tate, from all Tate sites actually. And so that is a new way of working. […] To have different departments and teams in the same room, working on this project, equally. Yeah, it's quite a new way for Tate to work. And it will be interesting to see how it can go back to other [Tate] sites and how they talk to their neighbours as well. So I think there will be a massive point of learning in that." (TI12: 15).

The project was initially planned for April 2020, but was moved to summer 2021 due to Covid-19 restrictions. Therefore, the manifestation of the festival fell outside the research period of this study and so its real impact could not be evaluated. However, the excitement for the project and its innovative set up that were mentioned by multiple interviewees (TI4, 5, 12, 13) shows some impact was already made in the minds of these staff members, even if it was just in the form of seeing future potential in open-ended cross-organisational collaboration. Arguably, they might even have seen a proof of concept in Tate Exchange's way of working that could provide a blueprint for other co-creation work across the organisation.

This section has indicated that co-creation projects, by innately being multi-stakeholder both within and outside of the museum, can produce an

environment in which new relationships are built and different practices can be bridged. While there might be an initial reaction from staff to protect and reinforce silos, the case studies show that co-creation has the potential to break through those and invite exchange between teams and build bridges between departments.

6.2.2. Collaborative learning through a community of practice

Sections 5.3.2 and 6.2.1 show that building better relationships between museum teams with different practices and expertise does not take away the distinctiveness of these specialisms, but rather creates more connections between them. It aims for all groups to form touch points where their unique expertise can be shared. The move makes a case for building a stronger "community of practice" (Lave & Wenger, 1991) for co-creation work within the museum, which celebrates different expertise areas, while sharing a common understanding of co-creation and the shared goal of exchanging knowledge. Developing a more effective community of practice could help museum team members improve their co-creation work quicker through the benefit of shared learning (Burns, 2019*b*), and arguably, it could help to embed co-creation deeper into different practice traditions across the museum.

However, strengthening such connections can happen on a wider scale too, and can be extended beyond the boundaries of the organisation. From building collaborative and *"collegiate"* (TI6: 11) organisations, the three case study museums seem to have evolved to building wider peer-led

communities of practice, which involve internal and external sources of experience and expertise that share a common goal of understanding and delivering successful co-creation work.

For instance, the Tate Exchange team described knowledge sharing as a being a crucial part of their role. In fact, in addition to section 4.3 summarising how interviewees described Tate Exchange as a *"programme"* (TI3, 5), *"space"* (TI1, 3, 5, 7, 8) or *"platform"* (TI11, 12), staff from the Tate Exchange team itself prefer to refer to it as a distinct *"practice"* (TI7, 11, 12). They describe it as a specific way of working with a defined value framework that has been built through years of experimentation with community engagement approaches. As a result, they see Tate Exchange as holding a wealth of learning about community collaboration and co-creation approaches and therefore as a hub of knowledge that other teams are invited to draw upon (TI7, 12). This view was confirmed by interviewees from curatorial, security, research and public programming teams at Tate, who mentioned they looked at Tate Exchange for inspiration, learning and good practice (TI2, 3, 6, 8). One interviewee, for example, said:

> *"Tate Exchange was really exemplary […] in ways of convening meetings, ways of hosting without being authoritative or top-down about it. I think that's really something important Tate Exchange is bringing. […] And we learnt a lot from their community networks, like about who is in our neighbourhood. And I guess also how they work, […] in terms of a flatter structure."* (TI3: 5).

Tate Exchange did not built that knowledge alone, but rather with a wide range of Associates, colleagues, neighbours, experts, critical friends, and advisors that surround the platform, including both internal and external partners. It is a major node in a larger network of co-creation experts, and functions as the shared space in which this information is gathered, exchanged and reused to inspire next outputs. It is for that reason that one of the interviewees from the Tate Exchange team describes Tate Exchange as representing a *"community of practice"* (TI12: 4). They distinguish the term from merely being a *"network"* (ibid.: 13), arguing that the community of practice around Tate Exchange shares a deeper commonality, which is not geographical like many other co-creation networks, but features shared goals and focuses on exchanging learning and knowledge. Moreover, co-creation that takes place within a community of practice, rather than just between two co-creation partners, can benefit from all of those connections. Indeed, a Tate colleague from outside the Tate Exchange team describes Tate Exchange as offering such a community of practice for co-creators:

> *"I like to use the term 'community of practice', because it affords for a multiplicity of relationships within a shared endeavour and an ecosystem of roles and interconnections, rather than a kind of binary 'co-' model. I like the ecosystem model, because it suggests interconnections and interdependencies, and relationships of nurturing and growth."* (TI11: 2).

It shows how the Tate Exchange team, as well as other staff at Tate, saw Tate Exchange as part of a complex, closely-knit knowledge exchange constellation

that went beyond single relationships with co-creators and through which it could develop and nurture its practice.

Reflecting on its function as a central knowledge hub and desiring to bring together different internal partners, Tate Exchange ran a Community Practice Group during 2021 and early 2022 (TO10-12). This group held regular bi-monthly meetings that theoretically brought together anyone at Tate whose work is concerned with community engagement, but in practice was largely attended by content-based teams, such as from learning and curatorial departments (ibid.). The agenda was open to be shaped by the group members, although the first agenda point usually gave an opportunity for staff from across Tate to update each other on what was happening in relation to communities across the organisation and to exchange reflections on that work (ibid.).

While the group gave space to exchanging learning, the observations show it was mostly used to make new connections between teams and facilitate encounters that might develop into cross-departmental relationships that would find their real outputs outside the group meetings (TO10-12). In that sense, the meetings functioned as a catalyst for new relationships and exchange, but did not provide opportunities for further facilitated or formal learning during its sessions. Moreover, it only facilitated such exchange internally across Tate, by keeping the similarly exchange-based Practice Days for the Tate Exchange Associates separate (TO3-8). Hence, the learning that was shared between staff remained relatively institutional, while the contributions that Associates could have made did not always find a way to reach the wider institution.

Finally, the group meetings were put on hold after three sessions, when the Tate Exchange team was disbanded and there was no capacity to facilitate the group anymore (TO12). There was the ambition to resume the group later, but this was not followed up on while this research was conducted. Without the Community Practice group, as well as after the Practice Days ended when Tate Exchange was discontinued, there is therefore a risk that the community of practice around co-creation work that Tate Exchange maintained will struggle to continue to exist. At the same time, it could be argued that after the discontinuation of Tate Exchange and with community work being redistributed into multiple different teams across Tate, there is even more need to keep building intra-organisational relationships and exchanging learning, as for those teams to not have to reinvent the wheel. If anything, a closely-knit community of practice around community engagement and co-creation is even more necessary in this decentralised community engagement model, while capacity for facilitating such exchange seems to be at its smallest.

Queens Museum took a slightly more targeted approach in building a community of practice. Their Year of Uncertainty programme involved artists, community groups, and co-thinkers as crucial parts of the experimentation programme (QI5) and actively invited them to make connections among themselves and to share their learning on the dedicated Year of Uncertainty publication platform (2021*b*). Hence their practices are preserved and publicly available for others, including interested external practitioners, to learn from.

In the interviews with Whitworth staff, the concept of building a community of practice did not come up in the context of an *intra-*

organisational community. However, its close partnership with the Van Abbemuseum in Eindhoven in the Netherlands, which was deeply ingrained as a fellow partner in the structure of the Constituent Museum grant, showed a structural inclusion of *inter*-organisational relationships that aim to build knowledge and share learning (WI2, 5). Both museums, in turn, are heavily involved in L'Internationale constituent museum network, through which they exchange experiments and learning formally with eight other European museums and publicly with wider audiences online (L'Internationale, n.d.).

At Queens Museum and the Whitworth the co-creation case study projects were temporary programmes that were designed to reach across the entire organisations, which lead to them having structures built in for sharing learning, as well as limitations to the duration of facilitating communities of practice around them. However, Tate Exchange was set up as a long-term project (even though it was prematurely discontinued due to the Covid-19 pandemic) and responsibility for it sat within a very specific team, hence its aspiration of becoming a hub for relationships and knowledge was arguably more necessary as well as ambitious. Taking away such a project, as happened with Tate Exchange, therefore takes away a network carefully built up over years, as well as relationships that are highly specific to a single team. After Tate Exchange's discontinuation, Tate hoped to capture this network in its documentation of Tate Exchange's legacy, but as all but two of the original team members left Tate at that time and many of their relationships were highly personal, the research participants expected to lose a major part of its community of practice (TI13; TO12). It shows the vulnerability of relationship-based working, which is proving to be a real challenge for co-creation work at Tate.

The two other case studies may run a similar risk, as relationships in co-creation work are generally highly personal (Burns et al., 2021). Hence, such communities of practice require careful maintenance and a level of deeper institutional embedding to build relationships that can withstand change (Burns, 2019*b*; 2022). Moreover, the impact of building or losing such networks has a larger secondary effect, as members of a community of practice each function as a network multiplier with access to a further range of partners and communities with similar interests and experience (WI2). In that sense, the three case study co-creation projects function as relationship hubs that provide access and connect to an even further reaching network of partners outside of the museum, which helps to produce new interactions and speed up learning at the same time (TI7). Maintaining such communities of practice is important in order to continue building new skills and learning, but when such communities collapse, the access to these extended networks may also be lost.

6.2.3. Mapping and extending co-creation across the museum

Co-creation work seems to encourage all three case study organisations to build new relationships, both within and outside of their own organisations. However, in mapping where those relationships and communities of practice sit across the organisation, and where they are engaging most actively in co-creative ways of working, there are areas that are clearly denser than others. Sections 5.3.2 and 6.2.1 have shown that content-led teams, such as curatorial, public programming and education departments, are most heavily involved

in co-creation work with communities and are central nodes in their communities of practice. But for departments that do not produce content for audience-facing programmes, for instance those with more operational, logistical, or governance-related remits, there seems to be less involvement in co-creation work with community groups. This section will describe each of these areas and explore why co-creation work might be lacking in these contexts.

Firstly, none of the interviewees give examples of collaborations involving fundraising or development teams. It is necessary to clarify here the difference between fundraising for co-creation projects and fundraising in co-creative ways. Fundraising for co-creation projects evidently happened in all three case studies to enable Tate Exchange, the Constituent Museum and the Year of Uncertainty to be supported (see section 5.2.3). But none of the interviewees describe co-creative ways of fundraising in which co-creation staff or community members are actively involved into the shaping of funding applications or priorities. This could mean that co-creation aspects in fundraising work may be more hidden, but even when prompted to outline every single partner involved in a co-creation project of their choice, none of the interviewees mention their development teams as a stakeholder. While their funders may sponsor co-creation programmes, it seems fundraising teams in the three case study museums do not regularly involve co-creation staff or community members in the development of grant proposals or in collaborative decision-making about the design or prioritisation of funding.

One interviewee from the Tate Exchange team expresses their frustration about this lack of collaboration between their co-creation project team and the fundraising and development teams. They feel that the

fundraising teams do not always understand the nature and impact of co-creation work and suggests that working more closely together could provide stronger applications:

"The recognition of the value of the work that we do with the communities that we work with, there's always been an issue with translating that [into funding applications]. I don't know what it is that development don't get at Tate Exchange that they can't translate it into an application. It's really frustrating. Tate Exchange is a KPI, so the corporate team should be on it for us and getting all sorts of funding in, but it hasn't happened. I've only spoken to one funder in the whole of my time at Tate Exchange. It seems that the fundraising team wants to own those conversations with funders. […] But it should be about talking to the people that do the work, because that's when it will come alive. It's like there's this middle person that actually seems to be slowing the conversation down and not actually elevating the conversation, not bringing life into it. I would love to be wheeled out in front of funders every day, because that's what it takes to get money in for Tate Exchange." (TI12: 7-8).

The comment suggests there could be more internal collaboration between the Tate Exchange and fundraising team, but also that including community voices in this approach could lead to more effective funding applications. They feel there are many missed opportunities in this area (TI12).

Other sectors outside of the cultural industries, however, do show the potential for this kind of community involvement and show that co-creation

in these areas can lead to impactful community-led strategies (Wiseman et al., 2003; Smith et al., 2013). In fact, co-creation best practice advises to include community partners in early project design stages, including fundraising stages, as well as into decision-making around how funding should be used (Lynch, 2011*a*; Matarasso, 2019). It similarly advises to include community groups into evaluation design to gather impact evidence for future funding bids (Matarasso, 2019). Involving community voices in these elements of project planning would additionally ensure more relevance and buy-in to such projects from the audiences it caters for. However, Tate Exchange, the Constituent Museum and the Year of Uncertainty are all projects that were initiated, fundraised for, and evaluated by the museum, and only when enough funding had been secured, did they start to recruit community members on board (TI12; WI5; QI5). It can be argued that they could not afford to bring community members onto a project when the means to run that project had not been confirmed yet, but having access to more long-term community advice groups that transcend single projects – like Tate Neighbours – could solve that issue. It therefore seems a major step towards genuine co-creation can be taken still by involving community voices early on in project design and bringing co-creation practices into fundraising and development work (TI12).

Secondly, the more operational teams (such as visitor services, technical, and human resource teams) also show a largely untapped potential for co-creation work. Co-creation work with visitor experience teams is only mentioned at Tate, where interviewees describe how their front of house teams are good at creating welcoming spaces in which visitors are being given agency to interact with and use the museum to fulfil their needs (TI1, 9).

One interviewee describes the potential for using co-creation practices in this context:

> *"I think visitor experience and all those front of house staff are really on it and are probably more frontline than Tate Exchange and Learning. I think they hold that space in a different way. Again, it's like if you studied that as a practice, you could probably come out with some really good examples of how to do all the [co-creation] things we're talking about. How to really be audience-centric in your practice and programmes."* (TI9: 6).

Tate Exchange built on this potential by formally involving the security team, whose officers attend the galleries alongside other front of house staff, in one of their co-creation projects (TI7; see section 6.3.2), but this seems to be quite rare. Indeed, none of the interviewees at either of the other two case study organisations flagged initiatives that included their front of house teams into co-creation work, even if many of these front of house positions were in fact filled by members of the local community (WI4; QI3, 5).

Thirdly, finance or commercial teams are also largely underrepresented in co-creation work across the three case studies. Only one instance of their involvement was found, which was of an individual champion of community engagement in the Whitworth's finance team, who was reported to have introduced local maker residencies into the museum shop programme (WI4, 5). They also considered setting up collaborations between a refugee charity and the museum café to collaborate in the café kitchen, but that idea never came to fruition (WI4). While at Queens Museum

the shop also engages in co-creation work, that did not come through the museum's commercial team, but rather at the initiative of the shopkeeper directly, who is an independent entrepreneur renting out the museum shop space (QI9). They explain their unique position:

> *"I feel like I'm the bridge. I'm one of the bridges in between [the museum and the community]. It's funny, I don't really work here [for the museum], but I pretend that I do because I attend all the staff meetings. […] Just because, if I hear something that can be done at the museum that can relate to the community, then I can do that. […] I am the bridge for the Queens community. And for small makers at the museum [whose wares are stocked by the shop]."* (Queens shopkeeper: 13).

It shows there is potential for shops and other commercial programmes or venue spaces to work with communities and to embed co-creation values in finance or commercial work. The case study organisations could do more of this by involving community voices in choosing suppliers, developing new products, or advising on spending priorities.

Fourthly, only at Queens Museum the human resources team was considered a key player in co-creation work. They were reported to play an active role in hiring people from the local community into roles where they could have a voice and build bridges between the museum and local communities. This included hiring bilingual staff who could bring the English-speaking staff and Spanish-speaking communities closer together (QI1, 5). It should be noted, however, that inclusive hiring practices do not

equal co-creation work, and co-creation involves an additional effort around power shifting (see section 2.2.3) that is not achieved merely by hiring more diverse staff. However, a more diverse and inclusive approach to hiring may contribute to building an environment which then enables co-creation work more easily. In the other two case study museums, human resources work was never mentioned as an area of practice with links to co-creation.

Finally, collections management and conservation teams were also only mentioned by one of the interviewees when listing examples of co-creation work across their organisation (TI6). They briefly mention a project called *Reshaping the Collectible*, which showed "a desire to open up the museum and provide a generous invitation to Tate's public" (Tate, n.d. *c*) through creating dialogue between the museum and its audience about collection practices at a series of events held in the Tate Exchange space. The interviewee describes how this interaction with audience communities offered a *"revelatory"* opportunity for learning:

> *"[The Reshaping the Collectible team] have done a number of events in there [the Tate Exchange space], where they chose to showcase particular art interventions that have been commissioned by Tate historically, reflect on those, explore what the implications were for the institution, but do that with the public as well. I think, for the Reshaping the Collectible team, that was revelatory, that opportunity to both ask very sophisticated and specific research questions, but interrogate them in a way that was more open and discursive and free flowing."* (TI6: 3).

Based on the impact that this interviewee describes, one would expect more collections work to be co-created. Moreover, there are many examples of other museums involving communities in researching, cataloguing and conserving museum collections, for instance through community-led collections research (Woodham & Kelleher, 2020; National Museums Scotland, 2021), collaborative decision-making in conservation projects (Marçal & Macedo, 2018) or citizen science projects gathering object data (Legrand & Chlous, 2016; Spear et al., 2017). However, none of the other interviewees across the three institutions mention further examples. This could of course highlight a gap in the interviewee sample, but it could also indicate a hesitation from interviewees to think about collections work as collaborative. This may be due to the nature of the objects held by art museums, which sometimes puts limitations on having volunteers or other non-professionals handling them, but this would not apply to most acquisitions, disposal, research, or cataloguing work. It may also be that interviewees grouped collection management or conservation work under 'curatorial' work and did not feel the need to list such projects separately. However, even in the documentary analysis for each case study and observations conducted of wider staff meetings across the organisations, no mentions of community-led projects with a collection management or care focus came up (TO10-12; WO2-5, 7, 8; QO1, 2, 6, 7, 9-17).

This section has shown that the distribution of co-creation work across the organisation is very uneven, with co-creative collaborations mainly happening between teams who produce audience-facing, creative content for the museum, such as exhibitions, learning programmes, digital outputs, and events (TI9; WI7; QI6, 7), but often less in teams who work largely behind the

scenes. Moreover, the operational teams are generally less likely to get involved with content work and are therefore largely omitted in co-creation practices. The limited involvement that they do show is generally coming from passionate individuals who have personally bought into the co-creation agenda of the organisation, rather than from a strategic departmental direction.

The lack of structural involvement for these departments may cause them to find limited access to alternative voices and new ideas, which could in turn stall change and innovation within their work, as well as risk some of its relevance. In co-creation projects that aspire to achieve an organisation-wide transformation towards becoming a constituent or community museum, such as at the Whitworth and Queens Museum, it seems more could be done to expand the reach of their co-creation work from co-creating content programmes to co-creating entire organisations. As a result, co-creation and *"community [engagement] should be part of everybody's job title"* (TI11: 9), and not just of those in audience-facing, programming, or dedicated community teams. Community *"has to be part of the wider ethos"* (ibid.).

6.3. Changing gallery spaces

Section 6.3 considers how co-creation work may affect the use of space in the three case study museums and gives examples of changes to both the function and the experience of their gallery spaces. The examples will show that such considerations also raise a range of questions about the value and priority given to co-created work, about the needs audiences have for such spaces,

and about the relation of such spaces to other galleries. Having a dedicated physical space for co-creation projects can be a highly valuable asset, but it also brings with it certain risks and power dynamics that can highly affect the co-creation work itself.

The first half of this section will look at the organisation of gallery spaces and explore how co-creation projects challenge museum staff to consider the physical effects of co-creation work and what the power dynamics are of such space use. The second half of the section will look at the role of museum spaces in making community co-creators feel welcome, and give examples of learning that the three case studies developed through receiving co-creators with specific needs into their public spaces. Overall, the section shows that co-creation projects and processes can have an impact on the use of space within a museum as well as offer new insights into how museums may become more inclusive, accessible and relevant for communities.

6.3.1. A different gallery configuration

Moving from a curatorial, object-based conceptualisation of museums to equally prioritising people-based strategies from education traditions has an effect on the use of museum and gallery space. Where the objects take precedence, galleries are often arranged according to the safety and conservation demands of those objects, which limits interaction and recommends certain behavioural rules in the space, including restrictions to movement, touching, noise, or photography (Duncan, 1995). However, where

gallery spaces prioritise people over art, spaces often celebrate social interactions, movement, hands-on activities, and conversations, creating spaces that are more dynamic and less controlled (Cameron, 1971; Lang & Reeve, 2006; Coghlan, 2018). Creating dedicated space for community engagement and co-creation activities therefore forces museums to reflect on how these spaces sit alongside other, more traditional gallery rooms. Likewise, they challenge visitors to think about their own expectations and behaviours in such spaces, which may contradict their previous experiences of visiting more traditionally object-focused museums.

At Tate, the Tate Exchange space was radically different from other gallery spaces in the building. Based on the fifth floor of the Blavatnik Building, in between a gallery floor and a floor dedicated to corporate hire, the behavioural rules that govern the space showed a stark contrast to those of the traditional galleries. It had very few walls on which art could be hung and the temporary installations in the space often gave a more handcrafted – sometimes even messy – community feel than the slick exhibitions and displays in other parts of the building. The floor was stained with paint drops and tape markings from previous Associate programmes, which an interviewee describes as *"a mark of how we're different from the rest of the gallery"* (TO1: 1). Moreover, every time audience members visited, they were likely to find a completely different programme in the space. It created a dynamic, ever-changing environment that offered audience members new input every time they visited.

The dynamics of the Tate Exchange space required a different mind-set from audiences than the other gallery spaces generally do. On the Tate Exchange floor, visitors were actively encouraged to touch and interact with

the installations in the room by *"entering the art and doing the art"* (TI1: 9). For some, that felt unusual or even daunting, and as a result, the Welcome Ambassador greeting and receiving visitors onto the Tate Exchange floor played a crucial role in encouraging visitors to come in and putting them at ease in the space (TI2, 7). This welcoming experience broke down both physical and mental barriers around participation and is critical to the success of such spaces, as section 6.3.2 will show.

The Welcome Ambassador on the Tate Exchange floor, as well as the welcome from the security offers at the ground floor entrance to the museum, had the additional purpose of helping people to find the space in the first place. Some interviewees describe locating Tate Exchange as being on a *"treasure hunt"* (TI2: 8; echoed by TI4) and with its footfall being lower than that of most of the other gallery spaces at Tate Modern (TI12), staff suspect the location of the space may have been a barrier for visitors (TI4, 5, 8; TO1). One explains the issues of reaching the space: *"I definitely think their location is an issue for them, being so high up and the fact that the lift are so unreliable, both back of house and front of house"* (TI5: 6). The evaluation report of Tate Exchange's second year (2017-2018) also described wayfinding as an urgent issue: "One Associate, for example, referred to members of a community centre becoming 'distressed' when they 'struggled to locate Tate Exchange' in time for a performance." (Wilmot, 2018: 16). And while since 2018 some of that was addressed, the research interviewees confirm that the issue had not been entirely solved.

Moreover, it was not just visitors who struggled with the location of Tate Exchange – it affected artists and programmers as well. One interviewee

describes the issues of running programmes outside the museum while connecting to the Tate Exchange space:

"Artists more and more want to work in and out of the building. You see they want to connect the museum with the city. And that's the case with the Tate Exchange group as well, more and more last year people suddenly wanted to do a football match or have a van. So again, that's great, but there's a real dislocation, isn't there, between having a van related to your level 5." (TI4: 6).

Another interviewee compares Tate Exchange to Tate's other community-led space, the Clore Hub, which was redesigned in 2020 and is situated directly onto the main Turbine Hall atrium on the ground floor:

"I feel like the Clore Hub could be an interesting space where we can explore how to meet the audience, out there, in their space, rather than saying 'come and meet us in our space'. In some way, that is much more of an exchange in relationship in that sense, [rather than] 'we've put some activities on for you, please enjoy them'. It's more reciprocal, hopefully. We shall see." (TI5: 9).

The various quotes describe the consequences these staff members attach to the physical location of a co-creation space within the museum, and show that they may range from issues around footfall and programming all the way to inhibiting power dynamics that could allow for more reciprocal exchange. On the back of this discussion, one interviewee implies that Tate Exchange's

situation on a relatively peripheral floor and the lack of signage to help visitors find the space could have been an indication of Tate Exchange's ranking on the museum's priority list (TI4). This observation may be representative of co-creation activity among museums more widely (Lynch, 2011*a*; Bienkowski, 2016). With community engagement projects often targeting a highly specific audience and being of relatively minor importance to income generation for museums, museums often cannot afford to dedicate their most central and in-demand spaces to this work.

The Whitworth, however, is taking a different approach. Using a *"classic invasion strategy"* (WI5: 6) for bringing communities into the museum space, it planned to use one of its two gallery floors for displaying community-led work as part of its Constituent Museum transformation. By doing that, it hopes to not only display co-created outputs of community-centred projects, but also to create *"spaces in which we make decisions [together] about what is seen, what we show, how we show it, what it means, what it says, and how we shape future programmes and collections"* (ibid.). It will change both the use and the appearance of the spaces. In the future, it hopes to expand this strategy and embed community input throughout all of its galleries (ibid.).

Queens Museum is making a similar effort to bring community input into more of the gallery spaces. Having long had dedicated community and partnership galleries showing work from local artists, partners, and curators from the community, it used the Year of Uncertainty project to have artists and communities come up with co-created interventions to be located throughout the entire museum (QI5). Co-created community work is therefore becoming more physically embedded throughout the institution

and visitors can encounter it without having to make the conscious choice to visit dedicated community galleries.

The Whitworth and Queens Museum are keen to make communities more visible in traditional gallery spaces, but these physical changes to exhibitions and displays will also impact the visitor offer. Exchanging space for blockbuster shows with well-known masterpieces for community-produced, lesser-known work may alienate some of the more traditional audiences who are not looking for local community stories (WI5). Hence, there is a larger consideration for the museum to decide whether their co-creation work needs to have public outputs for it to be valuable. It could be argued that co-creation work often benefits its participants more than it does the visitors who come to see its results (Brown et al., 2011). This impacts on considerations of the use of space and its necessary balance with other, more publicly appealing exhibition offers.

At Tate and at Queens Museum, as a result, most co-creation outputs are in the form of events, short-term interventions or temporary installations, leaving space for long-term exhibitions of the more traditional kind (TI7, 8, 12; QI4, 5, 8). However, at the Whitworth, many of the co-creation projects during the first year of the Constituent Museum project were focused on co-creating exhibition outputs (WI1, 3, 4, 6), which required the museum to commit significant space and time to their products. By committing to dedicating even more space to community-produced exhibitions through its envisioned community gallery floor, it is making a major change in the strategy for its public visitor offer. As a result, prioritising community-led exhibition-making within their public offer also suggests a new role for the museum in how it serves its audience, which positions the museum much

more as a community asset (Connolly & Bollwerk, 2016) and less as an institution for showing and enhancing the public understanding of art, as is more central to Tate's mission for example (Tate, n.d. *b*). It shows a move away from traditional conceptualisations of museums towards more democratic and dynamic concepts that prioritise people's empowerment (Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt & Runnel, 2018).

The three case study organisations show different levels of commitment to making co-creation work visible in their gallery spaces. The difference can partly be ascribed to the competition that co-creation work has from more mainstream gallery offers when it comes to using the spaces. The new strategies at the Whitworth and Queens Museum put co-creation work in classic gallery spaces alongside work that is not co-created. This gives it the suggestion of being equally valued but may also make co-creation displays vulnerable to being reduced to accommodate more popular or lucrative programmes. At Tate, in contrast, community work had its own dedicated and delineated space on the Tate Exchange floor. With no competition from other programmes, it secured a certain level of commitment to community co-creation work from the organisation, at least while the Tate Exchange programme existed. However, it also visibly separated the community programmes as a detached programme of work, which negatively impacts footfall and may suggest a deprioritisation when housed in a more peripheral space than the other galleries. Moreover, as the decision to discontinue Tate Exchange shows, having a dedicated floor may also have made the demand on resources too sizeable and increased the vulnerability of the programme (TI13). It will have to be seen whether – and if so, how – Tate will bring community work into other spaces, after the loss of the Tate Exchange floor.

Various interviewees already recommended a more dispersed strategy for displaying community work before the Tate Exchange discontinuation announcement was made (TI9, 11, 12), so possibly this will be put into practice further.

6.3.2. A different welcome experience

Even before a visitor or a community member engages with an exhibition or a project run in the museum, the precedent is set for the relationship that they have with the museum. It is being shaped from when they first hear about the organisation, but even more so when they first set foot in it (Goulding, 2000). Audience research shows that not all visitors feel equally welcome at museums and that large audience groups, often those within the community spectrum, feel that the museum is not for them (Dawson, 2014; Acevedo & Madara, 2015). The three case study museums are all actively working to dispel that notion and become more inclusive museums, not only in their practices, but also in how they welcome communities into their spaces.

At Tate, those who entered the Tate Exchange space were welcomed by a dedicated Welcome Ambassador, who used to be a member of the security team who had been retrained as a visitor services assistant with a unique specialism in Tate Exchange welcome protocols (TI7, 12). Their role was not to ensure the safety of any art in the space, but to invite people in and make them feel welcome (TI1). The Welcome Ambassador interviewed for this research compared their previous, more traditional, museum security role to their work in the Tate Exchange space: *"I find that my job then was just to say*

'don't, don't, don't'. And now I find it much easier saying 'there are no don'ts here,

please come and do whatever you want to do'." (Tate Welcome Ambassador: 4).

Indeed, the Tate Exchange space is characterised by relaxed behavioural

rules. Visitors can talk out loud, touch things in the space, get stuck in and

make art, get a cup of tea from the free tea station, children are allowed to

run, and one Associate notes how *"it is fine if your phone rings"* (TO2: 3) in the

space. In contrast to seeing museums as traditional "invited spaces" (Fraser,

1990) to which audiences perceive needing to be given permission to access

(Duncan, 1995), Tate Exchange is *"a place of freedom […] where you don't need to*

be invited, but you invite yourself, [and can] be yourself" (TI1: 2). A major Tate

Exchange evaluation shows the welcome protocol was regarded by both

Associates and visitors as "exceptional" and "model[ling] best practice"

(Wilmot, 2018: 63), and although it adds that further improvements could be

made, it shows the Tate Exchange space is dedicated to being an inviting and

egalitarian space, which reflects the non-hierarchical value conditions on

which its co-creation work builds.

However, creating an island of 'freedom' on the fifth floor of a major

gallery building has little impact unless the rest of the building is considered

and adapted too. This became clear in a multi-year project the Tate Exchange

team ran with an Associate organisation and their community of people with

special educational needs and disabilities (SEND). The first year of the project

involved an event to which many SEND community members were invited.

The Tate Exchange team had taken care to make their event space comfortable

and accessible to all invitees, but had not put enough consideration into the

route these guests were going to have to take to get to the fifth floor space

(TI7). Only on the day, they realised that the lifts to the floor were extremely

stressful for most invitees, including for wheelchair users who could not get on amongst the tourist crowds and for neurodiverse people who were overstimulated by the crowds in the compressed spaces (ibid.). Moreover, the only toilet with a wheelchair-accessible changing place was on the ground floor, resulting in the lifts remaining a crunch point throughout the day as well (ibid.). Finally, they had not provided a room on the same floor in which their neurodiverse guests could take a moment to tap out and sit quietly (ibid.). Reflecting on the event, an interviewee states, *"we got it wrong in that first year"* (ibid.: 6).

The next year, however, when the Tate Exchange team was preparing to work with the same group again, they worked on a solution to prevent the issue from happening again. First, they organised disability awareness training for their own staff and some of the front of house teams. This training was facilitated by community group members, who could talk from a viewpoint of lived experience (TI7). Then, the Tate Exchange team consulted the in-house operations and security staff who are responsible for the lifts and found that both their professional and lived expertise could help them come up with additional responses to the issue:

> *"It turned out that two of the [Security] Officers that we were working with at that point had children with autism and we asked them, 'would you ever bring your child to Tate Modern?' And they said, 'no, never'. And we asked why, and they said, 'we can't get in the lift, too much crowding, and there is nowhere to go and to come down if they need to come down [to the accessible changing area]'. So those felt like the things that as a group we could work on together. So, we came up with*

the idea of a Lift Driver: having a dedicated person – a Security Officer
– who would put a key in one of the lifts, isolate it, and just drive our
guests up and down, to get them to a changing room if they needed to.
And then we were really managing that welcome." (TI7: 6).

The example shows the beneficial impact of consulting with members of the community, who are sometimes found in community organisations that the museum collaborates with, but also sometimes among their own staff. The lived experience that such experts can bring is highly important for getting the welcome experience right, and avoids the risk of museum staff having to make incorrect or generalised assumptions about rather complex community needs.

Of course, this type of consultation is not unique to co-creation projects only, and indeed, Tate runs consultations with experts and staff networks around issues like disability and discrimination more regularly and outside of co-creation projects too (TI6; TO9). However, the relationship that is built in such interactions between the institution and those with lived experience is based on many values that are central to co-creation work too, including a sense of equality of expertise (see section 5.3.1) and a commitment to representation (see section 2.2.4). Moreover, it ensures that the solution is fully tailored to the needs of the community it engages, offering those involved a high level of co-creative ownership, in this instance in designing the awareness training and the shaping of the Lift Driver solution.

This collective problem solving, in turn, also created passionate champions for the change that was made (TI1, 2, 7). In fact, inspired by Tate Exchange and their approach to welcoming visitors and communities, the

security team embarked on a much larger process together with the Tate Exchange team that looked at redesigning the wider welcome experience across the entire museum building (TI2, 7). The first encounter visitors have with Tate at the entrance was redesigned and the original welcome message of *"let me see inside your bag"* (TI7: 3) was adapted to centre inclusivity and access alongside safety. This resulted in a new script and protocol for security staff based at the entrance, which also included addressing visitors using more neutral pronouns (TI2, 7). Similarly, security and front of house staff began to be referred to as *"Welcome Ambassadors"* (TI7), and the wider security protocols *"shift[ed] from safety being just about protecting artworks and protecting the building, to safety [being about] visitors and their wellbeing in the building"* (TI7: 4), or in other words, to making the staff on the floor become *"hosts rather than guardians"* (TI2: 3). This collaboration between Tate Exchange and the security team did not only put visitors and communities more at the centre of the museum's priorities, but it also created a less hierarchical space in which power was more equally divided between hosts and visitors.

Similar adaptations can be found in the two other case study museums. An effort was made at the Whitworth in 2017 already to welcome local South Asian diaspora communities in particular by commissioning an artist to create a new welcome sign for the museum entrance. The artist, Waqas Khan, fashioned a large neon sign that read "khushamdeed", meaning "welcome" in the Urdu language (Whitworth Art Gallery, 2017). However, one interviewee argues that due to the process lacking a co-creation – or even a consultation – element with the local community, the artwork missed the mark (WI4). They explain that at a community gathering, members of the local South Asian community pointed out that many of their peers did not

actually know that the building that houses the Whitworth was a public art gallery, and so they were not sure what they were being welcomed to in the first place. The interviewee suggests that *"It's okay having 'Welcome' in another language, which you think is really important, but actually, 'Art Gallery' might have worked really well as well"* (ibid.: 13). It offers learning for how involving the target community into designing a better welcome experience would help to avoid making or reinforcing assumptions. It suggests a co-creation process can offer a crucial element of success to redesigning the welcome experience and tailoring it to the exact needs of the audience.

Queens Museum has taken a more rigorous approach by hiring an inclusive design think tank to audit and upgrade the accessibility and welcome experience of Queens Museum's central atrium space (QO5). The company, called MIXdesign, used co-creation to inform their "Central Atrium for All" design (MIXdesign, 2021). During the collaboration with an Access Cohort of 25 local residents and a consultation survey administered to staff and local visitors, they followed co-creation methods to keep an open mind and to produce outcomes that were agile, so they could adapt when needs change again (ibid.). However, the team also acknowledged that involving staff and community members into their process meant they had had to slow down, as they "must move at the speed of trust and relationship-building in order to design a process that invites day-to-day museum visitors as well as museum staff to the brainstorming table" (ibid.). It highlights a challenge of bringing co-creation methods, which are often relatively slow, into core museum processes that require a much faster timeline. Moreover, while the think tank made staff reflect on the museum's welcome experience more (QO5, 13), hiring an external team to conduct this work also risked them

taking their experience away with them after they finished the project. To this end, the museum's Equality, Diversity, Inclusion and Access (EDIA) working group was heavily involved in the process and aimed to keep championing the newly learnt practices across the rest of the museum (QO13).

It is clear from this section that co-creation, as well as some consultation processes, can contribute significant value to making audiences and communities feel welcome and giving them a sense of belonging in the museum. It also shows that more structural and embedded approaches, which look at the entire building and at organisation-wide practices, substantially increase the impact of such initiatives. In fact, little islands of freedom or access risk being ineffective or perceived as tokenistic, and so a holistic approach is a crucial part of thinking about the concept of being welcoming. The case studies show that co-creation can play an important part in this process by inviting communities in to share their needs and make demands, and thereby help staff to avoid making generalised or incorrect assumptions about their communities' needs. In the examples mentioned, co-creation has or could have helped museums to provide a more tailored and relevant offer of services to their communities and general visitors.

6.4. Setting up for sustainable change

Making a commitment to listening to community voices is a vital part of co-creation. Indeed, all three case study institutions state they listen to and value community input to inform decision-making processes and learning (TI1, 3-5, 7, 9-12; WI1-5, 7, 8; QI1-3, 5-9), but their accounts show different levels of

consequent change and shortcomings too. Their listening approaches represent different engagement levels within the collaboration spectrum set out in 2.2.3, and the various approaches they take also show different levels of accountability as to the regularity and impact of these listening exercises. Moreover, once change is enacted as a result of this listening, it is not always defined, captured or embedded in a way that safeguards this impact in the long-term.

This section will first look at the different structures that the case study museums have developed to allow or invite their communities to input into decision-making processes. It will interrogate the effectiveness of these structures and identify any mismatches between rhetoric and reality. The second half of this section will then look at the organisational learning structures that have been created to implement changes stemming from that listening exercise. This part will consider the presence of evaluation methods for co-creation work, and whether they contribute to more structurally embedded learning. Overall, this section will explore to what extent co-creation work to inform and take decisions together with communities results in structural and sustained change, as opposed to more incidental and short-term impacts.

6.4.1. Shared decision-making structures

All three case study organisations have created formal structures through which their communities are invited to input into decision-making processes

in the museum. However, the structures show different levels of commitment and empowerment towards the communities.

At Tate, the Tate Exchange platform was shaped by its Associates and museum staff alike. The Associates, together with any partners they bring in and the lead artist of the Tate Exchange season, have a high level of agency over the content and programmes that happen in the space. Also the mission and values of the programme are discussed and collaboratively created during Practice Days (TO3). However, the Tate Exchange team holds on to some content-focused power by requiring Associates to present proposals for their programmes and going through a sign-off process, but apart from occasionally voicing practical concerns around the limitations of the Tate Exchange space, the team generally does not substantially intervene in the plans or exercise its power to veto (TI7, 9, 12). In fact, one interviewee outside the Tate Exchange team describes Tate Exchange as a *"yes-team"* (TI9: 7), due to their open-mindedness to programming proposals and flexible way of working in an organisation otherwise more guided by bureaucratic limitations. Indeed, staff from the Tate Exchange team itself report that they are conscious to give away power in decision-making processes and where intervention is needed, that they keep the discussions transparent and collaborative (TI7, 12).

While such strategies follow equitable co-creation principles in theory, they sometimes turn out differently in practice. An example occurred when the lead artist of Tate Exchange's 2020-2021 programme stepped down because she felt one of the community artists she was working with was not being listened to by another team within the museum (Sharrocks, 2020; see section 5.3.3). At their Practice Day, Tate Exchange did not invite collaborative

decision-making from the Associates about this issue, but merely informed them of the decision, explained the situation by saying the issues had arisen in another department, which left them powerless to solve the issue (TO7). The incident suggests Tate's multi-stakeholder internal organisational structures might have limited Tate Exchange's own decision-making power, and showed how following internal organisational priorities was judged to be more important than protecting their co-creators' agency and maintaining transparency. The decision to continue the Tate Exchange season without the lead artist showed little collaboration and a power dynamic that Tate Exchange actively renounces in its own mission (Tate, 2020). Moreover, the incident showed that within the Tate Exchange team there may have been the processes – and in most cases also the willingness – to share decision-making with communities in genuinely equitable ways, but that these processes were sometimes hampered by the less flexible institutional demands coming from the wider organisation. It suggests co-creation did not sit enough at the core of Tate's mission to be a first priority in such situations – and while Tate never suggested it did – this created problems for the Tate Exchange project, which had its own mission that did put co-creation much more centrally. If a team's mission can be overridden by a larger organisational mission, this mission may risk becoming tokenistic. The decision to discontinue Tate Exchange, which came from organisational levels above Tate Exchange's leadership level (TI13), underlines that risk.

At the Whitworth, decision-making beyond the project level is shared by using a community board structure. An initial community panel was set up during the first Covid-19 lockdown in 2020 to help inform the approach the museum could take to programming during the pandemic (WO6). This

panel, who named themselves Whitworth Voices, was a pilot version of the more formal Constituent Board that would be set up later that year, and whose members were to receive payment for their time, as opposed to the Whitworth Voices panel members, who were volunteers. The Whitworth Voices panel met every two weeks initially and was invited to determine their own mission and agenda, to allow complete freedom for how they might influence decision-making at the museum. However, the group, feeling slightly overwhelmed by the breadth of possibilities, found it difficult to shape their ambitions and shifted its aims with almost every meeting (ibid.). Finally, they asked the staff facilitator leading the meetings to set the agenda for them, and to use the group as a consultation panel, rather than as a co-creation body (ibid.).

The staff facilitator noted that it was not a lack of desire for agency that impaired the co-creation relationship, but rather a lack of confidence among the panel members to claim that agency (WO12-14). The facilitator notes: *"They know the museum and like it, but want to change things too. They want to make it more open and accessible, but are not really clear yet on how."* (WO13: 1). The facilitator realised that merely setting up a structure for collective decision-making was not enough to share power successfully, but that such an initiative needed a context of training and trust-building to empower the participants to take the lead in such decision-making processes (WO13). In an evaluation meeting, they noted the project showed the museum was still in an organisational learning process and that it would use this learning in the design of the more formal Constituent Board that was to be set up (WO13). A fellow interviewee agreed that the Whitworth's will to change sometimes overtook the speed of change, and that the shared decision-making structures

that were put in place were still rather underdeveloped (WI6). This caused a risk that this would lead to superficial engagement or tokenism, or for co-creation projects to sink back to consultation levels as described within the collaboration spectrum (see section 2.2.3) if not caught or acted on in a transparent and considered way.

At Queens Museum, decision-making is shared with communities mainly at project level. For instance, when the museum prepares a co-created summer school for teenagers, it asks its Queens Teens youth panel for suggestions for themes and activities for its programme (QI3). However, traditionally the Queens Teens only get a say in their own youth programmes, but are not automatically included in wider museum discussions or boards. In fact, when Queens Museum appointed its first youth trustee in 2021, they chose to select a young person from outside of the (ex-)Queens Teens pool (Queens Museum, 2021*c*), where they could have extended the influence of one of the current Queens Teens. Other (informal) community panels used in the museum show a similar limitation to just one context or project, and a lack of involvement in organisation-wide discussions (QI2, 3, 9).

As a result, the only more structural museum-wide consultation that informs programme content is done through questionnaires distributed to the wider local community by interpretation staff. The rationale for this type of engagement is as follows:

> *"Surveys are great, and at the end of the day, that's how you find out*
> *the needs of your communities. Yes, there are times that you can speak*
> *about teens when our teens are on site or even when we do have our*
> *Zooms with them. We can ask 'what are the needs', but one person's*

needs might not reflect somebody else's. Surveys are a great way to kind

of assess that on a very number strategic type of level. That's a big a

way that we do it." (QI3: 8).

While there are clear arguments around reach for using surveys (although the interviewee fails to mention challenges around reaching representative samples), one may also argue that this work much more closely resembles consultation work than it does co-creation work, at least as set out in the collaboration spectrum in section 2.2.3. As this section highlighted, in consultation work there is often no accountability process to guarantee that the data from the consultation is actually used in the museum's decision-making. The implementation of these surveys at Queens, indeed, rests with a single member of staff, who is in fact a temporary research fellow with little structurally embedded agency to catalyse change across the museum (QI3). It suggests that the museum could develop a stronger accountability process to ensure that the consultation surveys are not merely treated as casual and noncommittal advice, but as requests and contributions from valued and empowered fellow co-creators that require action.

Another way in which communities can influence decision-making at Queens Museum is through the mediation of the Community Organiser. However, as explained in more detail in section 5.3.3, this puts a lot of pressure on the person in that role, who has to balance the interests of the community they are part of with the interests of the museum, who pay their salary. Hence, while this community member's decision-making power is deeply embedded in the museum and has proven to be influential throughout

the development of the food bank project, section 5.3.3 shows it also risks creating an institutionalised relationship that can end up becoming tokenistic.

The decision-making processes observed in all three case study organisations show that merely putting in place a regular discussion slot for museum staff and communities does not necessarily lead to co-creation. In fact, it may lead to the false conclusion that co-creation is happening, when actually the interactions may be tokenistic (Singer, 2021). In some cases interviewees have spotted areas where more agency was due to be shared than was actually done in the end (TI7, 12; WI1; QI3), and it requires a transparent and flexible practice to acknowledge those instances and learn from them. This may include giving more attention to building confidence in community groups to feel empowered as co-creators. Additionally, building successful ways of sharing decision-making power requires a wider organisational approach, as sometimes promising initiatives in smaller projects can come up against larger institutional barriers, as was visible in the example of Tate Exchange. Those bigger structures can create an attractive screen for museum staff to hide behind when difficult decisions have to be taken, but it is exactly in those difficult judgements that shared decision-making can hand over real power.

In all three case studies there seems to be a reluctance still to share decision-making on difficult or major decisions. This became clear, for instance, when Tate decided to formally discontinue its Tate Exchange programme without giving the Tate Exchange Associates, or any wider community groups, a say in that decision (TI13). Many of the community groups had felt involved and responsible for what Tate Exchange had grown to be, but the lack of transparency and collaboration in the decision-making

process made them lose their trust in the museum (ibid.). The sudden ending of the programme will likely have damaged some of Tate Exchange's community relationships, indicating that committing to shared decision-making comes with a set of expectations and a level of responsibility to which co-creation partners can be held accountable.

6.4.2. Structures for evaluation and embedding long-term learning

Section 6.4.1 showed that the three case study museums have put formal and informal structures in place to enable them to listen to the needs of their communities and to invite input from these groups into their decision-making processes, but that the level of agency they offer these communities is sometimes lower than their original claims or aspirations around co-creation. Hence, listening does not necessarily lead to making changes, and making changes similarly does not necessarily lead to creating embedded, long-term organisational change. Therefore, while museums committing to co-creation need to think about listening channels, they should also consider what structures are in place for sustainably embedding the learning that they will amass from inviting community voices into their work.

As section 6.4.1 shows, the three case study organisations have committed to listening and sharing decision-making largely through bringing in community members as advisors in the museum, whether in the form of associates, panels, boards, survey respondents or hired staff. With many they have built a co-creative relationship in which their input makes a real impact on the project or project outcome. However, not all interventions by

communities lead to organisation-wide change. Especially where decision-making structures are built at the project level, for instance through a panel or board whose remit falls only within the boundaries of a single event or project, sometimes the only change that trickles down to the wider organisation is through personal take-aways by individual staff members.

For instance, the conclusion that the members of the Whitworth Voices panel needed additional training to feel more confident as co-creators (as described in section 6.4.1) was a personal piece of learning for the staff member facilitating that group (WI4). There was no formal structure in place for them to log their learning or feed it back to the wider team, so that other projects could learn from it too. Even Tate's upgrade of the welcome experience (as described in section 6.3.2) – while reaching more widely across the organisation – was achieved through personal championing by individual staff members (TI2, 7). There were no systems in place that formally prompted the Tate Exchange team to share their ideas with the security team, but the project was merely the incidental result of enthusiastic staff members who happened to find each other because they shared similar (lived) experiences.

The accidental and irregular ways that co-creation initiatives can turn into catalysts for wider organisational change are a typical pattern in co-creation work (Burns, 2022). Many interviewees quote individual champions as the instigators of change, rather than any systemic enablers (TI6, 8; WI4, 8; QI5). One interviewee for instance remarks: *"There are always individuals in those teams that are completely open to change and are the biggest advocates for it"* (WI8: 13). They similarly argue that the opposite, when *"you get the odd person*

that just doesn't like change at all" (ibid.), can create significant barriers to embedding change in the long term.

Moreover, the interviewees cite a lack of time and resources for internal exchange and reflection as a barrier of more structural organisation-wide change (TI4, 5, 8; WI5, 7; QI1, 6-8). One suggests that *"it's all just mainly about resources, not about the willingness"* (TI9: 7) and suggests that *"it's a less is more thing"* (ibid.), where doing less delivery work can create space for more in-depth learning with communities, including any change stemming from that. Another interviewee similarly suggests that *"[limited] money often prevents us from being able to have the depth of relationships that could be available"* (TI5: 10), which they argue leads to more superficial collaborations and then limits the level of change that these projects make.

Even when formal evaluation programmes are put into place to protect such resources, the case studies struggle to maintain them sustainably. At Tate, Tate Exchange received funding as part of its initial start-up grant to commission an external evaluator to research the impact the programme had on the Associates and on their ways of working (TI12). An interviewee reports that useful lessons came out of this evaluation work during the first two years, but that the budget then dried up and the evaluation was brought in-house, where it was never the highest priority (ibid.). Without the resources to pay for dedicated evaluation time, the team gathered data through daily floor reports, evaluation forums, and having participant evaluators contribute reflections (Tate, 2020), but did not manage to create a consistent system through which their learning could be disseminated both within and outside of the museum. Instead, sharing happened in more

organic and informal ways and was highly dependent on the enthusiasm of individuals for making change (TI3, 7).

Moreover, the sudden discontinuation of the Tate Exchange programme meant that there was very limited staff time available to gather, interpret and implement evaluation data and further learning from the programme. The learning from Tate Exchange, as a case study to be shared with the sector, but even as institutional knowledge within Tate, therefore tells a story that is largely biased towards the first two years when its evaluation was significantly invested in, with experience from later years largely sitting inaccessibly in the minds of individuals, of which many have now left the organisation (TI13). It risks that the instances of change Tate Exchange has catalysed over its five-year existence now remain the only examples of change stemming from the programme, whereas a further embedding of more reflective practice across Tate Exchange and a formal wrap up of its evaluation could have offered opportunities for more long-term and further-reaching impact. Besides, a more in-depth study of the impact of the programme across Tate could have given a clearer picture of the value of the project for the organisation, which could potentially have affected the decision to discontinue the project in the first place.

In contrast, the Whitworth and Queens Museum did have the opportunity to fully finish their programmes as they were designed, which included some evaluation and reflective exercises, especially focused towards the end of both programmes. For instance, Queens Museum consciously built in a month of reflection time at the end of their Year of Uncertainty programme to create dedicated space for learning (Queens Museum, 2022*b*). During this period, they planned to share the outputs of their yearlong

learning process, though their commitment to it did not specify whom the target audience for this learning was and whether the conversation would consider how the learning would consequently be implemented into the museums' wider organisational infrastructures (ibid.). It highlights a risk that such dedicated reflection time at the end of a project could turn into a showcase for the dissemination of project outputs, as was indeed implied by their description of the month's programme (ibid.), rather than a space for critical reflection and for addressing change. Its success therefore depends on where the museum puts the balance between evidencing success to meet funding criteria and being willing to open itself to scrutiny, critique, and honest evaluation, which can give very different outcomes (Jancovich & Stevenson, 2020).

From all three case study examples it shows that to build sustainable and wide-reaching change across organisations, a strategy is required that incudes reflection and evaluation at all points during a co-creation project. This requires an investment of time and resources into creating this space for reflection. Indeed, interviewees across all three organisations express their hope of working towards a practice that offers time for reflecting on and embedding learning at the same scale as it does for producing outputs (TI6, 7; WI7, 8; QI7). One interviewee suggests their museum should frame itself more prominently as a *"'learning organisation' [by] actually taking on board what it learns from its experiences and then changing as a result. So not just doing, but reflecting and changing accordingly."* (TI6: 13).

At the same time, almost all interviewees indicate that within their respective co-creation projects, time for reflection seems difficult to come by (TI3-8, 10; WI1, 2, 4, 5, 7; QI1-3, 6-8). To create this level of reflection within

already tight project timelines, Pringle (2019) suggests that evaluation and research can be built into existing practices through a practice-led research methodology, which can help create space for collective reflection as part of existing work. By combining research and practice, she argues, museums may create a reflective practice through which organisations can learn together with its constituents in more democratic and sustainable ways, and in which such practice can become an agent of change for museums (ibid.). With Pringle heading up the Research department at Tate during the period of this research, this vision was central to Tate Exchange's evaluation strategy, but its discontinuation has made it difficult to test the approach within this case study's specific context. At the Whitworth, staff describe a similar focus on learning to inform change (WI4, 5, 7, 8), with one interviewee arguing that success for the Constituent Museum project would be if it were a source of new learning and change, rather than a source of well-received content output (WI8). However, with the project not even being at its midway point when that comment was made, they could not share any detail yet on plans for how that success may be measured (ibid.).

It is necessary to add a final note about how in addition to planning time and resources to invest in creating more reflective practices, it is also important to consider what evidence to gather and reflect on in the first place. Literature indicates that in order to achieve organisational change, it is important that organisations involved in co-creation go beyond measuring the impacts of their outputs only, and to evaluate the transformation of their professional practices too (Burns, 2019*b*; Cain, 2019). In reality, many only look at the impact of their projects on the communities they engage – for instance through attainment numbers, employability statistics, or social

return on investment (Calouste Gulbenkian, 2016) – but rarely do they cover impact on teams or practices within the museum (TI12; Wilmot, 2018). While this research did not specifically ask interviewees about evaluation methods, none of them raised examples of any such statistics or measurements.

This section shows that despite all three case study museums running organisational transformation projects, the evidence for the changes they were seeing within their own ways of working was largely anecdotal, informal, irregular, and undefined, if not lacking entirely in some cases. However, it may be that in some cases it was too early yet to define them. At the end of the data gathering period for this research, Queens Museum was still about to begin its month of reflection (Queens Museum, 2022*b*), the Whitworth had yet to publish its Constituent Museum wrap-up publication (WI4; Armin & Bowler, 2023) and when a final follow-up interview was done at Tate a year later to reflect on the sudden discontinuation of Tate Exchange, the museum had only just tasked its last remaining Tate Exchange team member with capturing the legacy of the project's five-year run (TI13). Perhaps these three respective evaluation outputs will help the case study organisations to further define the change they have made within their own institutions and help to embed their learning within their organisational infrastructures, so that it remains for the future.

6.5. Changing museum models

This section considers how the three case study organisations are changing the way they relate to communities and the effects that change has on how

they position their missions, priorities and business models. Tate Exchange, the Constituent Museum and the Year of Uncertainty all made a public commitment to putting communities at the heart of their programme and to letting them have a say in the direction of these programmes, but how much of that comes through in the wider organisations' missions? Previous sections have shown it can be difficult to tell real change to core museum structures from incidental change or a mere change in rhetoric.

This section will therefore look at the extent to which co-creation work has effected change within wider structures that affect each organisation in its entirety. The first half will look at the relationship between co-creation work and changes to organisational missions, visions and core values. It shows an increasingly people- and community-centred approach, but also considers the challenges around embedding this sustainably, using the example of Tate Exchange's sudden discontinuation. The second half looks at how co-creation with communities is influencing the case study museums' perception of their own social role, and how their approach is in fact changing elements of their business models. The section suggests these museums might be moving towards models in which serving the needs of their audiences and communities is seen as increasingly important, especially since the pandemic and other major social movements of 2020.

6.5.1. Co-creation changing museum missions

When asked about the future place for co-creation work within their organisations, all interviewees agreed that community engagement was going

to play an increasingly important role for their organisation over the next five years. Not a single participant expressed they thought that their museum's commitment to co-creation would decrease, apart from the Tate staff member who was interviewed after the news about Tate Exchange's discontinuation broke (TI13). This section will compare their expectations to current missions and value statements of each organisation, to judge whether the ambitions mentioned are translated into the organisational strategies and further embedded in museum-wide visions for the future.

The three case study museums all provide a set of values to frame their co-creation work. An overview will be given of all three perspectives, before analysing the common themes and their connections to co-creation further. First, the theoretical framework behind Tate Exchange draws on a wide range of critical museology and radical pedagogy texts (Tate, 2020) and is summarised by four simple values: "respect, trust, generosity, [and] risk" (ibid.: 5). It guides both staff and Associates in their definition not of what co-creation means, but to what conditions co-creation should be practiced. The values were initially articulated by the steering committee that set up Tate Exchange in 2016 and re-evaluated with the Associates during a Practice Day in 2020 to allow for adjustments and updates (TO3). While the core aims and principles of Tate Exchange were updated during this meeting, the articulation of the values was not challenged and remained the same (ibid.).

The Whitworth similarly published a new mission following the introduction of their Constituent Museum strategy, and hoped to achieve its social change agenda through prioritising three principles: "to make art useful", to achieve "learning through making and doing", and to provide "a house and garden for the city" (Whitworth Art Gallery, 2020; see Figure 2).

The further descriptions of these principles highlight the roles the museum is seeing for itself, namely being an activist and taking a responsibility of care towards its constituents (ibid.). The conditions for this process include responding to "current urgencies", using "art as a tool for social change", creating a "participatory democracy", being "for everyone", and driving work "organically", "ethically", "sustainabl[y]", and "considerate[ly]" (ibid.).
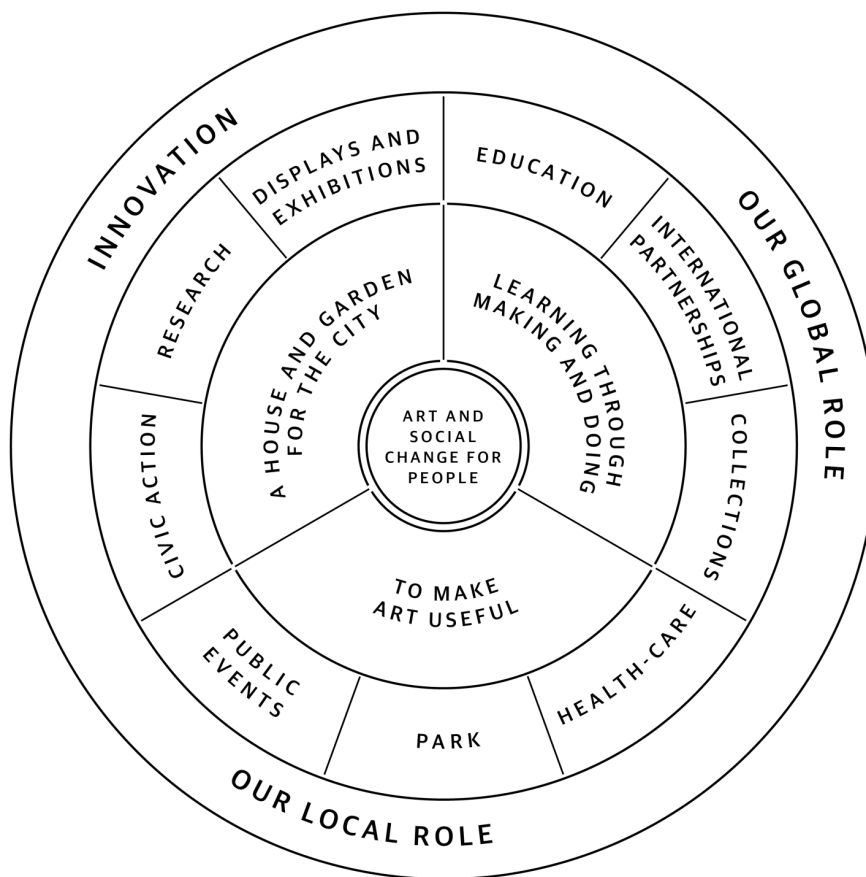
Figure 2: Whitworth Art Gallery's new vision (Hudson, 2018; Whitworth Art Gallery, 2020)

Queens Museum describes a vision that sees the organisation as an "inclusive museum" (Tallant, 2020: 11) and a "learning museum" (ibid.: 22) with a "situated practice" (ibid.: 14). It offers guidance to what position the museum takes in building relationships with communities, and sets a condition that

situates it in a real-world setting. It mirrors its legacy as a museum that has always had at its core the aim of "connecting art and culture to civic participation and urban life via commitments to engagement, education, and partnership in our local communities and beyond" (Queens Museum, n.d. *d*). Its Year of Uncertainty programme builds further upon that by providing a "framework for strengthening connection among the museum, our communities, and constituents, focused on creating new possibilities for culture, kinship, and mutual support" (ibid.). It clearly shows how Queens Museum prioritises values of connecting, inclusivity, and care.

The approaches the three museums have articulated show many similarities with conditions for co-creation mentioned in the literature. For instance, co-creation's central concept of creating collaborative relationships (Simon, 2010; McSweeney & Kavanagh, 2016; Jubb, 2018, Matarasso, 2019; see section 2.2.1) is embodied across the three case study museums by values around exchange, connection, inclusivity, and even generosity between organisations and communities. Moreover, mentions of equal and equitable relationships in co-creation theory (Simon, 2010; Jubb, 2018; see section 2.2.4) connect to values the three museums mention around respect, kinship, being for everyone, and working ethically. Furthermore, co-creation theories' insistence on creating flexible and open-ended project structures (Simon, 2010; Baveystock, 2013; see section 2.2.4) links back to the organisations' values around trust, risk, working organically, and embracing uncertainty. And finally, co-creation's connections to creating social change (Byrne et al., 2018; Jubb, 2018; see section 2.2.1) are reflected in the case studies' values around activism, care, usefulness, and responding to current urgencies through situated practices.

This set of similarities between the theoretical characteristics of co-creation and their reflections in museum's value statements and missions show that co-creation philosophies and practices seem to have made it into more long-term planning across all three case studies. This may have been initiated by the visions of new leadership initially, but seems to have been embedded more solidly as a result of the co-creation programmes studied. However, this buy-in may suddenly change, as was shown by the decision to discontinue the Tate Exchange programme, which went entirely against the values Tate Exchange had set out, both in how the decision was made and in what impact it had. Hence the above aspirational frameworks to work in more co-creative ways may need to be supported by organisational mission statements to further embed them. Hence, it is worth looking at where communities sit in the organisations' wider missions.

Queens Museum's new vision, introduced by Tallant upon her arrival in 2019, is based on turning the organisation *"inside out"* (Queens Director: 8). Instead of a structure in which expertise and programmes sit at the centre and partnerships with local communities are shaped based on what that central structure can offer, Tallant's vision involves *"trying to turn that inside out […] by putting our values and our people at the centre [and] our programmes around them"* (Queens Director: 7). The programmes thus come out of conversations with people, among which Tallant includes community and civic partners, cultural partners, education partners, research partners, international partners, and artists (ibid.). As a result, *"we are working with people at the centre of our work [and we are] creating a situated museum with a situated curatorial practice [around it]"* (Queens Director: 8).

Likewise, the Whitworth is also reconsidering its relation to its outside communities to become a more community-centred institution. Its Constituent Museum project is described by an interviewee as a transformation from a focus on objects to a focus on people (WI4). It is challenging the traditional notion of what it means to "curate" a museum, as one interviewee describes: *"Curate comes from the word 'care'. But I suppose the role of the curator has historically been seen as caring for objects, but it could be about people as well."* (WI4: 6). This comment chimes with a similar trend in wider museum practice, which centres care around artists, collaborators and audiences, rather than just artworks (Huberman, 2011; Morse, 2021; O'Neill, 2021). The Whitworth seems to have bought into this perspective across the board, as its new vision statement, introduced by director Alistair Hudson in 2018 and visualised as a diagram with a series of concentric circles of priority (see Figure 2), names creating "art and social change for people" (Hudson, 2018) as its core mission. Putting people at the centre, the vision shows a newly established direct connection to the communities it serves. This is different from its previous articulated purposes, which former Whitworth director Maria Balshaw described as being about providing access to collections and an "adventurous" exhibitions programme (Pidd, 2015), suggesting a more object-centred outlook.

Tate seemed to similarly engage in ways of giving more prominence to community members. Apart from the Tate Exchange project itself, it also permanently established the Tate Neighbours steering committee which was originally just set up as a one-year initiative (Bruguera, 2018), to ensure community voices would be embedded in further programming work (TI3). Moreover, Tate followed the Neighbours' request to name one of the two Tate

Modern buildings after local community member Natalie Bell (Da Silva, 2019), to celebrate and acknowledge the importance of local community makers to its programmes and structures. Again, while this was planned to be a one-year change, Tate Modern's director Francis Morris then chose to commit to it for the entirety of her tenure. It suggests a move towards putting communities more at the heart of the organisation.

However, when comparing the three case studies, Tate's community strategy seems less central to the organisation than those of the Whitworth and Queens Museum are to theirs. Tate's renaming of the building and the creation of a neighbours panel both came as a result of external demands from artists and community members (Bruguera, 2018; Da Silva, 2019), not as part of a central vision initiated by the organisation. As a result, these changes are discrete manifestations of community-focused thinking, but they do not embody a change to the core mission of the organisation. Similarly, the work that Tate Exchange does in this direction is a relatively small part of a much bigger offer of exhibitions and public programmes that still seems largely object-focused across the organisation (TI9). The difference is of course partly caused by Tate's status as a national museum – which neither of the other case studies carry – and which gives them certain public responsibilities that are difficult to change (TI5, 6). Prioritising community engagement over other activities would require complex justifications and might therefore never be feasible. Indeed, the ability to discontinue the Tate Exchange project after five years without having to majorly reshuffle other structures or departments beyond the Learning team itself (TI13) also suggests Tate Exchange's community work did not sit at the centre of the wider institution. It is different from the Whitworth and Queens Museum, who seem to have

brought outside communities so deeply into their centre, that taking them away could arguably lead to a collapse of their entire mission and ethos.

This section therefore shows how all three case studies have reflected on their specific relationships with communities and have been moving towards strategies and visions that are somewhat more community-centred and follow co-creation values. However, they have gone to different extents in their ambition, ranging from bringing co-creation into a single programme (in the case of Tate Exchange) to a deeper reimagining of organisation-wide visions (at the Whitworth and Queens Museum). It seems that the two smaller case study organisations have formed their core missions around their community engagement work, while Tate limited the extent of their co-creation work to the realm of a single project only, thereby apparently leaving the value of its flagship community project vulnerable to being questioned and denounced, as the discontinuation of Tate Exchange shows. Had the museum been able to embed Tate Exchange's values and mission into all its projects outside of Tate Exchange too, that co-creative way of working may arguably have had more opportunity to live on and create impact beyond Tate Exchange's life.

6.5.2. Co-creation appearing in business models

Section 6.5.1 has described how the three case study museums are considering more people- and community-centric visions for their institutions. This section will argue that as a result of following the needs and interests of these audience and community members to inform programmes,

these museums are moving towards new roles. They are increasingly developing a social role that goes beyond educating audiences to creating social impact among local and audience communities. That is because the needs that these communities have and would like to see addressed by the case study museums may not always be directly connected to art, but rather to wellbeing, prosperity or other benefits that Wright (2013: 69) describes as the "usership" category of engagement.

Informed by its Arte Útil philosophy, which wants to make art useful and sees it as a tool for achieving social change (Bruguera, n.d.), the Whitworth emphasises its aspiration to be a *"useful museum"* (WI5: 1) for its local communities. Its Constituent Museum programme puts emphasis on producing benefits and impact for society, which is also visible in the museum's new vision, where "healthcare" and "civic action" are mentioned alongside more traditional museum goals around "collection" and "education" (Whitworth Art Gallery, 2020; see Figure 2: Whitworth Art Gallery's new vision (Hudson, 2018; Whitworth Art Gallery, 2020)). Its director, Hudson, is keen that museums become spaces in which constituents can access various social services in addition to art, and mentions examples that include *developing enterprise, health care clinics, social enterprise, café, shop, wedding service, doctor surgery, things like that"* (Whitworth Director: 8). In his interview, Hudson states he has been conducting a consultation around these functions for Platt Hall, a sister organisation to the Whitworth which he also headed up, and that the wider philosophy and learning from it will also feed into his work at the Whitworth (ibid.). Elements of this strategy are already visible in the Whitworth's commercial planning, which involves one of the two shop spaces being taken over by a rotation of *"community enterprise[s]"*

(WI5: 7) and how this regular shop residency programme could form the basis for a larger *"northern guild of making"* (ibid.) developing new uses for the museum.

At Queens Museum too, the shop is set up to benefit the local community directly. As noted in section 6.2.3, it is owned by an independent shopkeeper who is closely linked to the museum, but not on the museum's payroll. They sell wares tailored for and largely produced by local community makers (QI9). Additionally, it runs an active programme of training workshops to help build skills in the local area, including workshops for local makers on how to set up their own creative businesses online (ibid.). The shop has a social enterprise remit and is concerned with providing services that will offer social return on value for the Queens neighbourhood (ibid.; August Tree, n.d.). A similar remit extends beyond the shop space and is reflected in the wider museum's programme, which offers local community groups resources, such as the food bank space or meeting rooms, to allow the community to run initiatives that will contribute to their local development (QI2). Moreover, it works closely with the local council to provide regular social services, which during the fieldwork period included a large counting event to contribute to the national census (QI8; QO6, 7) and an information event around the elections (QO9), in addition to regular food bank services. For all of these services the social benefit to local communities was the central focus, and any artistic or cultural experience that was offered alongside it (such as creative play activities for children waiting in the food bank queue or artistic content to encourage people to vote) was largely a secondary benefit (QO4, 7, 9).

This change in focus is particularly visible as a change in practice that prioritises community needs and places the museum in a service-providing role. One interviewee at Queens Museum for example explains that in planning their projects they are keen to ask their communities what they need: "*I will be like, 'Okay, how can we support you as a museum, what are the things that you need?'*" (QI3: 8.). Similarly, when the Covid-19 pandemic first began, the Tate Exchange team sent an email to all of its Associates asking, "How can we be of service to you?" (Tate Exchange, 2020). Asking such questions, and the listening and responses that it requires in turn, seem to prioritise the needs and desires of community groups over more internal museum-led planning. And although there is a risk that such conversations may merely lead to consultation rather than co-creation work (following the distinction made in the collaboration spectrum in section 2.2.3), examples from the pandemic especially showed a genuine move towards more community-led and service-centred practices.

For example, Tate Exchange's initial response to the Covid-19 lockdown was to ask its Associates what response was needed, and their answers did influence the pandemic programme to a large degree. The team had already acknowledged that its envisioned programming was going to have to change (TI12), but instead of reshaping the content to an online format, it opened up the discussion to a more fundamental level, to find out whether a content programme was at all suitable still, or if the team needed to focus on a different type of action (TO4-7). As many Associates were busy keeping their staff safe and their organisations from going under, the Tate Exchange team loosened most expectations around Associate programming and instead provided support with exchanging resources and advice (TI12;

TO5-8). The Offers and Needs Marketplace workshop that was held for Associates in September 2020 was an example of such service-centred support, and helped Associates access resources across the network that they would not have had access to in a situation without Covid-19.

In addition to the pandemic, the Black Lives Matter protests in summer 2020 formed another prompt for thinking differently about the role of museums. Many interviewees describe this increased attention for diversity issues as an important accelerative force for embedding co-creation more widely into museum programmes and thereby highlighting a wider range of voices (TI11, 12; WO6-10; QI5, 8). However, whereas the pandemic highlighted acute community needs born out of practical emergency, the Black Lives Matter protests showed needs that were much more deeply rooted and based on wider ethics and ideology. They demanded responses from museums that would go beyond quick fixes and urgent care provision, but instead would need to be institutionally embedded to change practices in the long-term (Shaw & Carrigan, 2020). As a result, these responses required a high level of reflection and a considered proposal for future change from the case study museums, which interviewees at all case studies recognised as an important call that would influence both the speed and the course of their community engagement and social responsibility work (TI11; WO6-10; QI5).

This social impact perspective on building co-creation relationships challenges some of the underlying economic structures of the three case study museums. It demands from staff that they prioritise community needs over their own organisational interests, which can be a convincing argument in co-creative programming, but becomes much harder when economic arguments are involved, especially during a worldwide crisis that warrants increased

levels of cost-cutting and economic justification. At Tate, despite the Tate Exchange team trying to prioritise the wellbeing of its Associate community over their own during the Covid-19 pandemic, it did not manage to convince its management of the importance of this work in the face of severe budget cuts (TI13). Tate chose to pursue its own economic interest and discontinued the programme, changing Tate Exchange's community-centred and service-led co-creation approach for a traditional organisation-first strategy. The management at the Whitworth, in contrast, is actively choosing to develop its service-led work through a project described as *"Economics: The Blockbuster"* (WI5: 7), which works with local constituents on creating an updated operating system for the museum with social impact at its centre. According to one interviewee, who argued that the Constituent Museum project had not to date altered the museum's operating model at its core, *"that would be the transition of the business model for the Whitworth"* (ibid.). According to them, such initiatives are showing a strong commitment to building service-led and social impact-focused community work into the economics of the museum.

The examples at the three case studies suggest that the organisations are experiencing a change in focus that trickles down into their deeper operational and economic levels too. Where traditionally contemporary art museums would have focused on producing art programmes, the commitment to co-creation has allowed the case study institutions to fit services like food banks and social enterprises into their programmes as well. Moreover, it has created opportunities for these services to be embedded into their operational models as important parts of their mission and remit. While at the Whitworth and Queens Museum this approach seems to have found a structural footing, Tate Exchange's service- and social impact-focused

approach was not embedded into Tate's wider operations enough for it to hold up in the face of economic difficulty and organisational restructure. The pandemic, in this context, may have been an enabler and a barrier to this kind of work, by accelerating many discussions around the urgency of social change and impact, while also putting pressure on budgets and resources for museums to take action.

6.6. Conclusion

This chapter considered the nature and extent of change that has taken place in museums stemming from co-creation work, and looked for change that went beyond mere changes in assumptions about museum work to more concrete and tangible changes to the conditions in which museum work happens. The research hypothesised that co-creation may challenge working practices across the museum, and this chapter indeed indicated different areas in which co-creation challenged existing practices and offered opportunities for organisational change across the three case study organisations.

The first area in which change was found was that of team and departmental relationships and structures. Chapter 5 had already indicated a change in the relationship and hierarchy between curatorial and education departments specifically, but Chapter 6 further distinguished a move away from siloed working and towards more collaborative practices between other departments too. It found that through co-creation new connections were built between most content-driven and audience-facing departments, such as

exhibitions, digital, public programming, and some visitor services and security teams, in addition to curatorial and education departments. It also found that these departments built stronger relationships with external communities of practice around co-creation work. However, the analysis also showed that such networks were often also fragile relationships that could be lost quite easily when key people left their organisation or the central connecting project was discontinued. It calls for focusing more on relationship maintenance in building legacies of co-creation projects. Moreover, section 6.2.3 also indicated various areas of museum work in which co-creation has potential for making more impact, including more operational activities, such as front of house, finance, and human resources teams, as well as in fundraising and collections management. There seems to be particular opportunities in connecting fundraising and finance activity to co-creation, as section 6.5.2 showed when highlighting the potential for co-creation to inspire more collaborative business models.

The second area of change that the research found as stemming from co-creation was around the configuration, structuring and appearance of physical gallery spaces, as well as the visitors' gallery experience. It shows that through co-creation, the case study museums have been able to listen better to the needs of their audiences and communities, making for more accessible spaces and better-tailored activities. The examples show that the focus of many co-creation projects on working with communities who encounter barriers in coming to museums, puts an additional expectation on these projects to *get it right* (TI7: 6) and cater for the needs of these groups. The case studies show different levels of progress in designing a welcome experience that could help their communities and wider audiences to feel

more comfortable and empowered in the space, though all have been working on ensuring these efforts do not feel tokenistic. Creating more central gallery spaces for co-created and community-led work is one way that some of the case studies are publicly prioritising of communities in their spaces.

A third area of in which co-creation led to direct changes for the case study organisations was around shared decision-making and governance structures. The creation of various boards, panels and steering groups created new infrastructures for communities to have a voice, and there were instances where such panels influenced decisions about specific projects or events. However, their impact on more organisation-wide change processes seemed limited and the examples showed that merely creating such governance structures does not guarantee a successful inclusion of community voices. This is partly because such boards require suitable facilitation and time for trust building, but also partly because such voices are included in vain if they are not actively listened to and structurally learned from. Putting in place organisational learning structures is as important as embedding listening and shared decision-making structures, and this seemed to be an area that at the time of the research all case studies were still experimenting with. While none had finished the full evaluation element of their co-creation project, interviewees already raised issues around not finding time for reflection, and Tate Exchange's abrupt discontinuation also seemed to have lost the organisation a wealth of evaluation data and learning. As a result, including communities in decision-making without putting in place more sustainable models for activating and upholding these decisions in the long term could lead to tokenistic practice.

Finally, the fourth area of change that this study considered as stemming from co-creation was that of more overarching organisational change around missions, visions, values and business models. The case studies' commitment to setting up new co-creation projects often came at the initiative of a director or senior leader, and hence their aspirations around giving more prominence to communities became visible in their visions and strategies too. However, the chapter also showed a discrepancy between the Whitworth and Queens Museum on the one hand, who have embedded their co-creation work across all of their outputs, and Tate on the other hand, where the co-creation remit remained within the boundaries of the Tate Exchange platform. As a result, a strategy change towards co-created practice spread more easily across the Whitworth and Queens Museum than it did across Tate, and was also more deeply embedded. Consequently, a change in leadership or vision makes co-creation work at the Whitworth and Queens Museum less likely to suddenly be cut out, whereas the sudden closure of Tate Exchange showed its vulnerability and lack of central embedding within Tate's mission and business model. To run co-creation work within a delineated project space rather than as a museum-wide change project may therefore risk undoing some of the change it makes, especially when priorities change.

Not all of the areas of change outlined have seen similar levels of change between them or across all case study organisations. Where the impact of changes to departmental relationships, gallery configurations and visitor experience patterns often went beyond a single team or department, the sections on learning structures and larger museum missions show that not all of these changes are embedded in a way that helps the work of wider

teams and future colleagues to benefit from them. Overall, the chapter has shown that while co-creation can catalyse instances of organisational change, its impact is often limited by the irregular, organic, and informal patterns of this change, and critically depends on the enthusiasm of individual champions, rather than on formal, organisation-wide strategies to embed lessons learnt. To embed change more sustainably, the three observed co-creation programmes would need to root their structures for making change more deeply into their work and practices.

Moreover, it is important to reiterate that the fieldwork for this study took place across 2020. Hence, it covered a period of major societal change as a result of the pandemic and the increased attention for the Black Lives Matter movement, which brought out many community needs more clearly (Crooke, 2020). As a consequence, it can make it difficult to determine if the types and levels of organisational change observed in the case studies stem from new insights achieved through co-creation work or if they are fed by societal pressures from outside the museum. They most likely come from both, and overall, the data show that both factors are connected and likely reinforcing each other. For example, to deal with the pressures, community co-creation work might have seemed a useful approach, but due to the increase in co-creation activity in turn, the urgency of societal pressures and community needs may have felt higher too. It would therefore be impossible to claim that co-creation was the sole instigator for change, especially in a climate where socially-engaged and community-focused working was becoming increasingly important already (Bishop, 2006; Simon, 2010). However, it could be argued that co-creation at least served as one of the accelerators of organisational change for these three case study organisations.

Chapter 7

Challenging conceptualisations: Towards a better understanding of co-creation

7.1. Introduction

The previous chapters have shown how co-creation may challenge assumptions and conditions in museum practices. As a result, these chapters discussed various changes in perceptions around co-creation working and changes in more tangible structures and infrastructures within the museum. The research highlighted a third area of change, which can be seen in the language and theoretical understanding that informs co-creation practices.

Some of the case study staff members were keen to challenge the way that they talked about co-creation themes or found that it was necessary in order to improve their work. Such attempts to use and (re)define the term 'co-creation' within a museum setting seemed to provoke discussion about what it may mean, who may be involved, and what can be expected in terms of its impact. As a result, this chapter focuses on answering research sub-question 3: *How might co-creation be further conceptualised to nuance current understandings and applications of the term in a museum context?* This analysis of what language is used and why can offer both museum staff and academics the tools to reflect on and transform the language they use, as well as the practices this language represents, to ensure they better fit their purpose.

Across this chapter, section 7.2 looks at a redefinition of the term to offer co-creation theorists and practitioners a way to distinguish between more transactional and more transformational understandings. Section 7.3 then reflects on how any further work on definitions quickly becomes highly specific to individual projects and argues that definitions of co-creation should be negotiated for every single project. Section 7.4 moves slightly away from defining 'what' co-creation is in favour of suggesting a set of key values and conditions for 'how' it can be done well. Hence it offers a definition for the process of co-creation, rather than the concept. Section 7.5 takes a critical look at how language around co-creation is shaped and whose voices are represented in that process. Finally, section 7.6 goes further into the complexities of the definitions offered and highlights the challenges of determining power in relationships.

The aim of the chapter is to nuance the way that co-creation is understood, to offer insights that can make discussions on co-creation more

realistic and informed, both in academic literature and in museum practices. Accounts from the interviewees raise important disparities, gaps, inconsistencies and contradictions within co-creation language, which this chapter addresses to encourage increased reflection among those who regularly use such language in their co-creation work.

7.2. Towards a nuanced understanding of (radical) co-creation

Section 2.2.2 highlighted that across co-creation literature there is little consensus about a single or specific definition for co-creation. This made scholars hesitant to use the term and hence the literature indicated a need for a clearer understanding of the term to help shape a more usable definition. This ambiguity and concern from scholars also appears to echo the attitudes of the interviewees towards it. All 30 interviewees were asked to define the term 'co-creation' and their responses showed an enormously wide range of understandings as well as of levels of confidence in talking about the term. These differences were visible both between the different case study organisations as well as between individual interviewees within each organisation. Those with backgrounds in learning and education work generally seemed most confident speaking about the term and staff across Tate also seemed to have a more developed shared understanding of what they meant by such language, compared to the other two case study organisations, which had been going through their respective shifts towards co-creative working more recently. On the one hand this shared

understanding and higher confidence could help teams to develop a clear common agenda or efficient shorthand, as Tate Exchange staff interviewees felt was the case within their team for example (TI7, 12, 13). On the other hand, the lack of a need to have further discussion around these terms could also make those with less confidence even more insecure and hesitant to ask questions (TI4, 5), and could therefore have the opposite effect. In fact, at organisations that actively named co-creation as a new practice and encouraged staff to learn more about it, interviewees reported a stronger growth in confidence. One interviewee from the Whitworth explains:

> *"I think that very quickly curators and learning teams started reading and thinking about and interrogating ideas around the Constituent Museum, and then thinking, in their proposals for the future programme, about work that would fit into the Constituent Museum remit. […] And as such, I think the shifts within the organisation about how we work, the things we talk about, what we prioritise […] have already shifted things quite dramatically."* (WI7: 3)

The comment illustrates that acknowledging co-creation and community-focused working as a concept that requires discussion within the organisation helps to inform reflection on such practices and invites staff across the organisation to adapt their work according to the new understandings.

Such open discussion, however, did not happen everywhere across the case studies and in all three case study organisations the majority of interviewees were still hesitant to use the term co-creation in their own work. Often they favoured broader alternatives, such as 'collaboration',

'participation' or 'collaborative practice', to avoid any mislabelling and to accommodate for practices that showed elements of multiple collaborative approach types (TI5-8, 11; WI1, 3, 7, 8; QI1, 3, 5-8). While almost 90% of the interviewees had heard the word 'co-creation' used before, and many acknowledged that it was a popular term within the sector, that same buzzword-like popularity also made some of them suspicious of the term. Regarding it as yet another word for a new trend, they felt unsure of the latest uses of the term, worrying that by using it, they would already be *"behind the times"* (TI5: 13).

In other cases, interviewees were more comfortable giving definitions of co-creation, even if some of their definitions showed little similarity to the understandings found across the general literature about co-creation in museums (see section 2.2). For instance, a few interviewees synonymised it with *"consultation"* (TI8: 6), *"partnership"* (TI4: 12) or *"incorporation"* (QI4: 12). In such definitions the criterion of equality of power was lost, which is central to the descriptions given in key co-creation texts by Simon (2010) and Burns et al. (2021) (see section 2.2). It suggests these interviewees had a limited understanding of the debates around power dynamics in museums that have shaped co-creation theory over the last decade.

Others did acknowledge that co-creation was about power, but shunned using the term because to them 'co-creation' sounded unrealistically *"harmonious"* (WI5: 14) or too *"compromised"* (TI3: 8). They argued that negotiating through a project with many stakeholders and redistributing power as part of that process is a difficult, challenging and even *"spiky"* process (WI5: 14). They argued that the term co-creation made it sound like it

could happen without a *"clash"* (TI3: 8), while they felt some kind of clash was in fact a crucial part of the process and a driver of change and impact.

The descriptions and definitions of co-creation given by the interviewees show a high diversity in levels of understanding and confidence in using the term, and this seems representative of the diverse range of understandings found across co-creation literature both within and outside of the field of museum studies (see section 2.2). The contextual review in section 2.2 argued that creating a more common understanding or even the beginnings of a definition for co-creation could improve the applicability of the term for the museum and wider cultural sector. It also argued a clearer approach towards finding a definition may provide a more nuanced theoretical understanding of the term that may help scholars to move beyond questions of classification towards questions around impact, change and reflection stemming from co-creation work. The interviewees similarly saw a risk in leaving vague language around co-creation unchallenged and one argued it could lead to the detriment of the term entirely:

"The trouble [is that] everybody starts using it [the term 'co-creation'], even for stuff that isn't what it says it is. Co-creation is good, because it does mean generally in the sense of the co-operative that this is mutual creation. But of course there are also lots of things that are described as co-creation that aren't, or where the balance of power is the wrong way. […] There's lots of examples of it being misused as a terminology that I worry about. And that's the danger, if you carry on using it while it's so misused, then it becomes meaningless." (WI5: 13).

It might be difficult to find one definition that could cover all forms that co-creation can take, and it could also be questioned whether a single definition would even be useful at all, as there may be value in (re)defining its exact meaning in each specific context. However, it would be possible to streamline the wide variety of existing definitions, to illustrate larger patterns in how co-creation is used as a term. It would then be valuable to label those patterns further to give more clarity to the implications of using the term and to create more confidence among users of the term.

Indeed, based on the full body of literature reviewed in section 2.2, a significant pattern of contrast emerged in the data between two types of collaboration that were both often described as co-creation. One, stemming from the field of productivity studies, described a more transactional type of co-creation, which occasionally resembled glorified or extended consultation processes and did not show significant shifts in power. The other, used more often in the context of museum studies and also in the collaboration spectrum of section 2.2.3, described a type of co-creation in which power was genuinely shifted to create more equal or equitable relationships between its stakeholders. This second type is characterised by the set of key principles outlined in section 2.2.4 and is summed up by one of the interviewees as a type of collaboration in which:

> *"there is a real investment in doing things together, where power and responsibility is shared as equally as possible and where there is an opportunity for people to input right from the start in how something is being designed, who's involved, what their roles and responsibilities*

are, what the aims and objectives are, what the process is going to be,

and what the desired outcomes are for everybody involved" (TI6: 10).

To distinguish from the more transactional type of co-creation, I propose to describe this second, more transformative type as 'radical co-creation'. By this I mean first of all a type of co-creation that follows the key principles listed in section 2.2.4 and therefore transcends other forms of just 'working together' by creating a more equitable practice that actively shares power. Secondly, I suggest that radical co-creation also has the potential to create change within working practices. It aims to go beyond mere performative collaboration by inviting experimentation, reflection, learning and the possibility to act upon those processes accordingly to adjust, adapt and change practices to allow for more community input and address traditional hierarchies of power.

The aim of introducing this term is not to give an exhaustive definition of everything that 'radical co-creation' could include, but more to advocate for a slightly more narrow and refined application of the term to avoid the term 'co-creation' drowning among other forms of collaboration that are often mislabelled as co-creation. Introducing 'radical co-creation' is an attempt to avoid letting the term 'co-creation' become meaningless, rather than give it exact meaning. In fact, section 7.3 proposes the exact meaning should be shaped by the involved co-creators themselves.

While many interviewees did not specifically differentiate between the two types of co-creation identified, several across each case study talked about the potential of their co-creation work in going beyond the performative level and really challenging or changing museum practices. One

explains how the co-creation work envisioned at Tate Exchange was expected to make a tangible difference to how Tate worked:

> *"It [Tate Exchange] was about […] ideas around what would the museum of the 21st century look like. […] So when I say 'organisational change', I think it was definitely around just questioning the practices of museums. […] And then there may be ways that we find that what it does begins to influence the practice within the museum, for the better, in terms of our inclusive public responsibility, as well as what it might mean to practice with artists and communities. And even disrupt the idea of community, and social practices, and all of those terms about working with those who aren't necessarily arts organisations."* (TI9: 2)

The interviewee indicates how co-creation may offer potential for a rather radical rethinking of not only the relationships between museums and communities, but also of the concepts of 'museums' and 'communities', as well as their social roles and responsibilities towards each other. It shows a conceptualisation of co-creation as a catalyst for discussions about potentially quite radical change.

It is important to make a distinction here between having the potential for change and making actual change. This distinction highlights the complexity of defining radical co-creation, which if it has to include actual change as a core requirement for application, could only be applied retrospectively. Besides, Chapters 5 and 6 have shown the limitations to the levels of change that can actually happen in the case study museums, as well as the discrepancies between reflecting on desired changes and implementing

tangible changes. Hence, for radical co-creation to be a useful and applicable term it may have to describe co-creation processes that actively create positive conditions for change. This can be done through inviting active reflection and discussion on conceptualisations of the term, which section 7.3 will discuss in more detail. It can also be done by closely following the co-creation principles from section 2.2.4, which section 7.4 suggests additions to.

7.3. Co-creating a definition for co-creation

Section 7.2 proposed the term 'radical co-creation' to indicate a type of co-creation that challenges power dynamics and aspires to make change as a result. However, which power dynamics might be challenged or at what scale change can be achieved depends entirely on the context and setting of the co-creation project and might be different for each one (Walmsley, 2013). Co-creators might therefore want to agree a common understanding of how radical co-creation may be applied to their particular context, so they can give more nuance to using the term.

The great diversity of definitions currently used across the literature and between the interviewees underlines the argument that it is important to define the term co-creation for every co-creation project one engages in, to make sure all co-creators are on the same page and to have the necessary discussions about how they want to work together. Indeed, literature on previous co-creation case studies, such as Tate's Circuit programme in 2013-2017, confirms the importance of defining and shaping collaborative practices

together with all stakeholders involved (Hall, 2014). An evaluation from the Circuit project states that:

> "the group agreed a need to clarify amongst themselves what the parameters of peer-led [co-creation] practice are [and this] conversation indicates the sense that the group have of their own potential to inform, not just the focus or scope of the project, but the approach being used within and across the programme" (Hall, 2014: 2).

This evaluation recommends open and collective discussion to understand and negotiate ways of working, which in turn helps to create more effective practices and an increased sense of ownership. This recommendation is echoed by data from the three case studies in this research, which showed the importance of creating conversations to find a shared understanding of co-creation through the following examples.

At Tate, these discussions were held mainly during Practice Days, at which the Tate Exchange team and Tate Exchange Associates convened (TO3-7). A particular meeting in January 2020 zoomed in on creating a shared understanding of their co-creation approach, by reconsidering Tate Exchange's core aims and to articulate collaboratively what the programme stood for (TO3; Tate, 2020). While some of the discussion was concerned with critiques on specific terms that were used, most comments were in fact to do with the tone of the core aims statement. Associates felt the *"corporate language"* used did not match the more *"poetic process"* that characterised Tate Exchange (TO3: 3). Some felt it was written for Tate's staff audience or funders rather than for the participants of the programme, especially as the latter group was often mentioned in third person address (ibid.). They argued

that descriptions of Tate Exchange's aims phrased as *"to give participants an opportunity to contribute ideas"* or *"to invite and enable the audience to become collaborators"* (TO3; Tate, 2020) mentioned participants and audiences as distant entities or beneficiaries, which did not correspond with the inclusive and empowered role that they should be given as full co-creators. Some of the meeting participants wondered why the aims did not feature any mention of a more collective 'we' (TO3: 3). Moreover, they suggested that aims phrased as *"[to] provid[e] a platform and new networks reaching the broader cultural sector"* (TO3; Tate, 2020) showed Tate's voice in the definition of the aims, but not the Associates', as many of them did not even work in the cultural sector and hoped to make different impacts. They concluded that the descriptions had Tate too much at the centre and that *"the voice is too institutional"* (ibid.: 4). The Tate Exchange staff in the room agreed and suggested that the core aims section would be rewritten through a more collective process and be presented for comments at one of the next Practice Days. This way, they hoped to land on a description that would be representative of the power relations that shaped the programme and of the change it aimed to make.[13]

The discussion highlights the complexity of finding a collaborative definition and emphasises the inherently multi-vocal negotiation between stakeholders with different interests, aims and experiences of the programme that is being defined. In this case, the group needed to find a balance between the viewpoints of the Associates and the Tate Exchange team, but also between the Tate Exchange team and the wider Tate institutional brand, the

---

[13] This, however, was finally put on hold by the arrival of the Covid-19 pandemic two months later, which required a more rigorous reshaping of Tate Exchange's aims, and was never picked up again.

interests of funders and evaluators, and the experiences of the communities that are impacted by the programme. As a result, they expected the updated core aims statement would end up feeling *"a bit messy"* (TO3: 6), but they argued that would better reflect the organic, complex and collaborative nature of the programme itself. Similarly, the full intricacy of all different meanings that would have to be captured in such a statement could likely not be articulated within a one-sentence definition, and was expected to require a more extensive contextualisation of the different viewpoints it represents (ibid.). It may be a reason for why the other two case studies have avoided writing a collective core aims statement or articulating a singular definition for their co-creation programmes, and have gone with more multi-vocal platforms for expression instead.

The Whitworth and Queens Museum both created writing platforms in which various meanings, definitions, experiences and perspectives on co-creation could be discussed. While the Whitworth chose to work in the format of a collective book publication that took inspiration from the cookbook concept (WI4; Armin & Bowler, 2023), Queens Museum chose to publish the perspectives and learning from their co-creators on a digital website platform, through which "dispatches" of learning were circulated to their communities online (QI5; Queens Museum, 2021*b*). Both platforms invite thoughts and perspectives from all co-creators to build a record of the discussions that were happening in their co-creation work and aim to support staff with a more rigorous theoretical framework for their co-creation work (WI4, 7; QI5; QO15-17). It should be noted that few of the writings in these publications attempt to define co-creation in a single phrase or sentence, but rather hope to highlight the complexities of the language around co-creation and to

contextualise the practice by nuancing the discussions around it (WI4; Queens Museum, 2021*b*). Indeed, an interviewee from Queens Museum argues that finding a single definition to represent their co-creation work would be reductive of the *"multiple different conversations [the museum is having with communities] that are all distinctive, and which embrace the intersectionality and distinctiveness of the needs of each of our communities and individuals that we work with"* (QI5: 9).

As a result, introducing the term 'radical co-creation' is not an attempt at offering a comprehensive definition, but rather at giving a starting point for a conversation about the complexities of co-creation practice. It aims to set a provocation to co-creators to invite them to give meaning to the concept in their own specific project contexts. This way, the choice to describe a project as a co-creation project would function a catalyst to initiate conversations about the project's power divisions and the negotiation of those throughout the project, as well as its expectations for making change.

The next section will offer an overview of what project conditions may enable such discussions on co-creation to take place and to form a fruitful foundation for understanding the term and making change as a result.

7.4. An extended set of core principles for radical co-creation

In all three case study museums, the ultimate goal of their co-creation projects is quite similar. Tate Exchange hopes to "make a difference to people's lives" (Tate, 2020: 28), the Whitworth wants to "create art and social change for

people" (Hudson, 2020) and Queens Museum's Year of Uncertainty aims to "explore new ways for institutions to support individuals and publics navigating a world that is always and increasingly shifting" (Queens Museum, 2021*a*). All acknowledge an element of social or global change, and the museum's role in helping people to achieve or navigate that change.

However, in order to achieve change, co-creation programmes can take a myriad of forms. Chapters 4-6 have shown that across the case study organisations co-creation projects may include public installations, activities or a food bank, as well as more internal-facing community boards, co-curation activities or even the renaming of a building. Hence, defining co-creation by *what* it is would require a wide-ranging list of possible outcomes. It may be more effective and relevant to define co-creation by *how* it is done, and define it as a process, rather than an end result. This could be done by describing what guiding principles are at the core of the (radical) co-creation process and what conditions need to be created to achieve those principles successfully.

The literature on co-creation already describes a range of key principles and values that are required to build equitable collaborations that can lead to change, which are summarised in section 2.2.4 as being shared power, equality and equitability in agency, equality and equitability in expertise, diversity and representation, reciprocity, flexibility, and trust (extracted from Govier, 2009; Lynch & Alberti, 2010; Simon, 2010; Jubb, 2018; Burns, 2019*a*; Involve, 2019; Matarasso, 2019; Burns et al., 2021). Staff at the three case studies indeed confirmed these values as important guiding principles in their co-creation work. Tate Exchange's values statement, for example, included "respect", "trust", and generosity" (Tate, 2020), which

respectively show similarities with the principles behind equality, trust and reciprocity listed in section 2.2.4. The Whitworth's new mission, published at the start of the Constituent Museum project, similarly made references to working "organically" (Whitworth Art Gallery, 2020), which shows similarities with the value of working flexibly, and mentioned the aim of creating a "participatory democracy […] for everyone" (ibid.), which reflects the principles around equitability. Queens Museum's mission and values focus on becoming a fully "inclusive museum" (Tallant, 2020: 11), which shows their commitment to equality, equitability and also to diversity and representation. Testing the list of guiding core principles from the literature against the values envisioned by the case study organisations, the principles mentioned in the original list seems to hold up, at least in the expression of their missions and values around co-creation work.

However, the case studies' descriptions of their values also raised a few other elements that suggest the current list was not exhaustive and may help to extend the set of core principles for co-creation work. They relate to five areas of practice, which if made key conditions for co-creation work, may help put the other core principles into practice. The five recommendations for extension are the following:

1. *Active listening*

The Constituent Museum Curator at the Whitworth highly prioritises the role of listening in co-creation work: *"My role as the Constituent Museum Curator, I guess, the first role really is to listen […] I see my role very much as a listener"* (Whitworth constituent Museum Curator: 1-2). They later specify that this has

to be active listening, which goes much beyond simply setting up a meeting in which listening might or might not take place:

> *"It's about finding out why they [the communities] want to share this experience and really listening, both at the beginning and then maybe having check in points at some point along the line of a project to say, 'do we need to revise some of that, has it shifted?'. You know, providing that kind of forum to discuss things rather than just another 'I've got a meeting, we're meeting, great'."* (Whitworth Constituent Museum Curator: 11).

Queens Museum's Community Organiser was hired with the same purpose in mind, as their community-insider role allows closer access to listen to what the local communities would like to see at the museum (QI2, 6).

This importance on genuine listening, which goes beyond mere 'hearing' and avoids making assumptions, is often implied in literature about co-creation, but rarely explicitly mentioned. Burns et al. (2021: 23) mention that in co-creation an effort should be made towards "active and responsive listening", but do not give tools or expand on what that entails, and Rovers (2022) does advocate for creating space for dialogue rather than monologue, but applies it only in the context of political decision-making. However, the most important motivation for active listening, they agree, is ensuring that programmes and decisions are informed by the ideas, demands and desires of the communities they are for (Burns et al., 2021; Rovers, 2022). RCMG and Kettle's Yard (2021) add, based on learning from their own co-creation work, that effective listening requires a space in which all contributions are valued

and in which dissent can happen without the risk of alienation or rejection. In other words, if the contributions shared with the listener are not taken seriously, listening might as well not happen at all. Moreover, responsive listening is as important as active listening, because if no action is taken in response to the listening, there looms a risk of tokenism (Burns et al., 2021).

2. *Experimentation*

Section 5.4.1 has highlighted the importance of experimentation in co-creation. All three case studies described themselves as 'experiments', with Tate and Queens Museum using such terms in their project statements (Tate, 2020; Queens Museum, 2021*a*) and the Whitworth's director offering a similar vision in his interview:

> *"It [the Constituent Museum] is about finding a way to force the issue [of giving more people access] and do some demonstrations of how it might work, but also in a way, as an old-school laboratory experiment where you do something and you see what happens. And you learn from it. And from that learning you go again and you grow again. So that's really the ambition."* (Whitworth director: 4).

Elements of experimentation also come through in Tate Exchange's value statement, which mentions "risk" (Tate, 2020) as one of its four key values. A willingness to take risk, section 5.4.2 has shown, as well as a certain level of "braveness" (WI1: 7) is closely related to successful experimentation. The literature, too, suggests an experimental mindset helps to open up space for

non-traditional or non-institutionalised voices to propose new approaches, solutions or practices (Kadoyama, 2018) and that the way co-creation often goes against traditional practices can be seen an experimental way of working in itself (Smørdal et al., 2014). It implies that teams who are not open to try new ideas risk running tokenistic practices, in which alternative voices are not truly being given power.

3. *Reflective practice*

A core condition of co-creation work, interviewees across all case studies agree, is an embedded practice of learning and reflection, especially if the work aims to make sustainable change (TI6, 12; WI6, 8; QI1, 5). One of them explains how an organisation committed to co-creating change should be:

> *"framing itself as a 'learning organisation', in the broadest sense. So actually taking on board what it learns from its experiences and then changing as a result. So not just doing, but reflecting and changing accordingly. Being nimble and agile, and genuinely recognising that it's part of an ecosystem, and not just this bastion of whatever it thinks it is."* (TI6: 13).

Queens Museum's updated vision similarly mentions the goal of becoming a "learning museum" (Tallant, 2020: 22). Both comments take inspiration from Senge's (1990: 3) model of a "learning organization", in which teams of professionals aim to continually improve their capabilities and where "new and expansive patterns of thinking are nurtured" to create more impactful

work. Senge (ibid.) underlines the value of constant reflection and evaluation to help such organisations adapt to needs, remain agile, and continue innovating their services. While his work is not specific to museums or co-creation projects, Involve's (2019) guidance on co-production work in healthcare similarly argues that staff who regularly consider their practices and test their effectiveness will learn quicker and will be able to produce outcomes that are better tailored to the needs of all stakeholders. It argues that having opportunities to reflect encourages ongoing dialogue (ibid.), which may give co-creators space to claim power where needed or to hold each other accountable. Moreover, Senge (1990) describes how learning can be done best through systems thinking, which he explains as a holistic way of looking at issues to ensure all possible impacts and solutions are considered, rather than just the straightforward or short-term ones. This shows similarities with Queens Museum's central aim to build a "situated practice" (Tallant 2020: 14), in which the museum sees itself as part of a complex context of diverse needs, issues and opportunities, which all inform its practice and decision-making. Following a learning organisation model, therefore, allows co-creators to improve in constructive and contextualised ways through embedding evaluation and reflective practice at the core of their projects.

Naturally, learning does not have to come from within the organisation only. Section 6.2.2 has shown the value of building a community of practice as a way to bring new learning to the organisation, and this shows how learning can come from many different sources, whether from communities or from other museum professionals both inside and outside the organisation. Such an open approach to gaining new knowledge and experience then helps co-

creation work to be better informed, to innovate quicker, and to make a more

significant impact on the museum, the community, and the wider museum

sector.

4. *Care and support*

Interviewees across the three case studies highlighted a supportive and caring

environment for all co-creators as being crucial to building trust and ensuring

everyone could offer their best work. One of Tate's main values, introduced

by overall director Maria Balshaw in 2019, is to be "kind" (Balshaw, 2019),

and this is echoed in Tate Exchange's own project values of "respect, trust,

[and] generosity" (Tate, 2020: 5). The Whitworth similarly prioritises "ethical"

and "considerate" ways of working in its own 2020 mission update. And the

Year of Uncertainty project at Queens Museum is described as being "focused

on creating new possibilities for culture, kinship, and mutual support"

(Queens Museum, 2021*a*) between the museum, its communities, and

constituents. Such statements suggest all three museums feel a responsibility

to support communities they serve and acknowledge a level of care in

interacting with them.

     The level of care that is involved in co-creation is sometimes alluded to

in the literature, but is rarely given a detailed description. Burns et al. (2021),

for instance, warn that anyone who does not feel understood or supported

may be reluctant to further contribute to the project (Burns et al., 2021), but

does not give examples of how to remedy that. The instance at the Whitworth

described in section 6.4.1, where a community panel did not feel confident to

advise the museum on new strategies because they were not given enough

training on and insight into the museum's strategies in the first place, would have made a good example. It shows that rigorous support mechanisms for all co-creators, such as training, mentoring, and peer-learning opportunities, are crucial to ensure they feel able and confident in their role and to produce valuable contributions. Successful co-creation projects therefore actively create space for personal growth and development for all of those involved (Involve, 2019).

However, growing the community's confidence to make most of their contributions and ensure a more impactful project is not the only reason why a "care-full" (Lynch et al., 2007; Gallagher & Turner-King, 2020) approach is important in co-creation projects. A Whitworth interviewee describes a second reason:

"It's particularly in some of our projects [that] engaged with issues such as sexual trauma and rape, early baby loss, or with recovering addicts – so projects that fit into our constituent working – that position the gallery out of its usual kind of bound comfort realm into working around sets of issues that are complicated, difficult. And there's a sense of responsibility to the constituents." (WI7: 4).

This interviewee highlights that co-creation work, due to the vulnerable nature of some of the communities involved or the experiences they bring, requires a way of working that puts much importance on care and safeguarding. The observation suggests that while co-creation projects need to give enough focus to supporting communities to be comfortable and confident, they also need to supply museum staff with enough support

around safeguarding and responsibilities around care. While considerations around care in museum are a growing field within museum literature (Morse, 2021; O'Neill, 2021), it requires more application in the context of co-creation work specifically.

5. *Setting expectations and ground rules*

Setting clear expectations – whether about outcomes or ways of working – seems to be a crucial condition for successful co-creation work among the three case studies. This could be done through a social contract that sets out the expectations of all co-creators concerned, the contributions they are willing to make, or how they would like to work together (Involve, 2019). Such an expectation-setting exercise often happens at the beginning of a project and can help stipulate the conditions of the co-creation collaboration, as well as what ways of working are understood to be suitable for successful co-creation.

In all three museums, interviewees indeed talk about the importance of managing expectations and gaining a clear understanding of all co-creators interests and commitment at the beginning of a project. One explains:

"I think we can be ignorant sometimes and assume that just because there's an awful lot of goodwill, that it's going to work out just fine. And, I don't mean that patronising, because I'm quite like that sometimes, like 'I'm sure it'll be fine'. But actually, sometimes you have to do a little bit of legwork and maybe it's about setting up those expectations right at the beginning, like

foundations. It's about finding out what other people think. Who

are you? Why are you in this? And I suppose that does come from

good communication at the beginning of a project." (WI4: 11).

While the literature sometimes mentions setting ground rules as an example of a co-creation tool (Involve, 2019; Burns et al., 2021), it is rarely described as a crucial process that is inherent to successful co-creation. Burns et al. (2021), however, acknowledge that the process helps to determine structures for power sharing, reflection and critique, and that it can therefore catch tokenism where structures are set up inequitably (Burns et al., 2021). This claim seems to be supported by the interviewees, who have experienced how inadequate expectation setting or social contracting can lead to disappointment further down the line:

> *"It [co-creation] is a lot is about managing expectations, I think,*
>
> *because you invite people in and you say you'd really like to do this*
>
> *work. And you're saying that we can do all these things, there's this*
>
> *opportunity to shift power, to not be the containers of the power. And*
>
> *what happens when people do genuinely want to invest so much into it,*
>
> *how do you manage that expectation? And I know I can get very*
>
> *excited about things, so if I'm talking to other people, they'll get equally*
>
> *excited as well. You know, that disappointment of being allowed in and*
>
> *then suddenly, it's token, it's not meant."* (WI4: 1).

Setting unrealistic expectations or failing to meet them does not only seem to be an issue between museums and their communities, but also within the

museums themselves. A staff member at the Whitworth describes what happened when the visitor services team, which historically has not been given much agency in shaping the content of the galleries, was invited to become co-creators alongside other staff and community members:

> *"Quite often visitor teams are made up of ambitious, extremely qualified people that have lots of ideas and want to have more impact than maybe just their job description in the gallery. When someone like Alistair comes in, and then projects like the Constituent Museum come in, it sparks this whole thing about the Whitworth working differently, about it being that space for ideas. Suddenly you've kind of riled all this group of creative people up to think 'oh I can have an impact in different ways, my ideas can be heard in new ways', which you've got somehow then to find space for. And it's almost worse now, because then it's appeared that you're not listening to them. Whereas if they're not even asked, they were perhaps quite content and they knew they weren't going to get asked, but now they're frustrated because they're not being listened to."* (WI8: 15).

The interviewee shows that not stating clear expectations or parameters for co-creators to work within can lead to overpromising agency, which can be detrimental for building the trust needed to do successful co-creation work. Hence, where open-ended programming is important at a *content*-shaping level (according to the value of 'flexibility' in section 2.2.4), a much more structured approach is needed to set out the *process* for working together. In other words, the *what* should remain open, but the *how* should be carefully

and transparently negotiated and agreed as early on into the project as possible.

It seems necessary to add a note here about the importance of setting expectations or ground rules for how risk should be managed in co-creation work. While the data gathered did not highlight significant concerns around this in the first instance, the progression in two of the three case studies after the data gathering period showed major collapse of trust that led to the discontinuation of the Tate Exchange programme and the departure of Hudson as director of the Whitworth (see section 5.4.2). In both cases, this collapse came as a result of boards and directors mitigating reputational risks, after they had been called out for giving voice to community activists whose opinions clashed with other voices represented by the museums or their existing audiences. Setting expectations around the extent to which the museum is a safe space for all opinions to be heard or setting ground rules that map and demarcate different stakeholders in contested conversations can help museums to prevent and manage risks and avoid having to fall back on drastic mitigation responses. This safeguards the sustainability of the co-creation projects, and ensures its community stakeholders remain heard.

These five key principles for co-creation extend the list of the seven core principles given in section 2.2.4 and together construct the beginnings of a more exhaustive framework for best practice in co-creation. While some of these points are highlighted across literature about co-creation in museums, or sometimes borrowed from non-museum fields, there seems to be very few publications that pulls all of these core conditions together in one place. The compiled and extended list that emerged through this research may inform

academic discussions around the practice or a future toolkit for co-creation professionals, but it may be most beneficial for informing discussions between co-creators at the start of co-creation projects. An open and transparent discussion about values and principles for collaboration can provide a useful framework and context that helps all co-creators to be on the same page or work through differences in interests and approaches at the beginning of the project. Like with a definition for co-creation, the precise emphasis across this core set of values can end up varying per project, depending on the types of co-creators involved and their exact needs. However, based on the recommendations from literature and from the interviewees at the three case studies, a common understanding and commitment to key values and conditions for co-creation help the group to design a balanced and equitable way of working that has the potential to really make a change.

7.5. The voices that shape co-creation discourse

Sections 7.2, 7.3 and 7.4 proposed that calling a project a 'co-creation' project can function as a provocation for the co-creators to collaboratively define what constitutes a successful co-creation process in the context of their project. Whereas the assumption is that all co-creators take part in these negotiations, in practice, such conversations often rely on very specific voices only. Is the process of defining co-creation an equal and equitable process, like co-creation itself would aim to be? This section will interrogate how and by whom co-creation language is shaped.

As a generalisation, it could be expected that professional staff may be more used to articulating strategies and protocols for how they expect to work, whereas for non-professional community members this may be a rather abstract and theoretical discussion and process. This assumption was tested across the three case study organisations.

At Tate, the core values of the Tate Exchange project and the social contract for how the Associates work together with the Tate team were shaped and agreed through a collective discussion during a Practice Day, which was attended by both Tate Exchange staff and Associates (TO3). The proposed drafts of the value and social contract statements, which the Tate Exchange team had prepared to kick off the discussion, avoided academic language (Tate, 2020), suggesting that the Tate Exchange team had considered issues of accessibility around such language. This is in contrast to its curatorial statement, which was not co-created with Associates and was heavy with jargon (e.g. "socially engaged", "participatory", "co-created"), academic language (e.g. "arts-led enquiry", "critical museology discourse") and even articulated a research question (namely "how can art make a difference to people's lives and society?") (Tate, 2018: 4). It illustrates how the Tate Exchange team defaulted to academic language in communication that was not explicitly targeted to community audiences, and shows they chose to adapt their approach when collaborating on texts with Associates to allow for a more equal discussion.

However, the discussion that informed the co-created statements did still require a high level of analytical thinking about collaborative strategies and engagement approaches from the participants (TO3). As Tate Exchange's Associates are generally charities and organisations largely made up of

community engagement professionals, this level could be expected from them, and indeed there was a high engagement level from all types of participants in the Practice Day discussions (ibid.). However, had Tate Exchange been working directly with the community members that these Associates serve, the discussion might have been an alienating experience for these groups, who are not professionals in the community engagement field. In fact, a level of alienation still happened by conducting this discussion only with Associates, and not with the Associates' own respective communities.

At the Whitworth, much of the co-creation work happened directly with community members, without the intermediation of charities or other professional representative bodies. Hence, the Whitworth interviewees report that they are much more aware of differences in language between museum staff and the community when it comes to co-creation (WI1, 5, 7). And so while the museum speaks about 'constituents' internally, that term is generally avoided outside of its professional discourse. One interviewee says:

"The term 'constituents' is fine in academic discourse, but as soon as you have a conversation with somebody from the local neighbourhood, you wouldn't dare using any of this language. It would frighten them to death." (WI5: 13).

The inconsistency between the internal and external use of language has not gone unnoticed by the staff, of which many are sceptical towards the term 'constituent' (WI1, 3-8). One interviewee explains: *"It seems contradictory to propose a radical new way for museums to democratise themselves that embraces*

language that […] seems exclusive, institutional, and intellectual and is hard to identify with." (WI7: 7).

Moreover, the discord in language makes assumptions about the community groups' level of understanding without testing their truth by consulting the group. Neither the formation of the funding application nor the naming of the Constituent Museum project involved local community members to test whether they identified with the term 'constituent' (WI4). Here the impact of being a university museum may be coming through, with the Whitworth intellectualising the language and taking a rather top-down approach to building its co-creation strategy, which was in turn not flagged as contradictory to its end goal by any of the university boards that oversee the gallery. Moreover, it may also show a way of building increased legitimacy for the new practice in an environment that values rigorous academic underpinnings and the carefully defined language that comes with that. Arguably, the term 'constituent' might have been a way to lobby for the importance of communities in a field that requires negotiating complex epistemological hierarchies.

Additionally, an interviewee at the Whitworth explains that the gallery was conducting a lot of co-creation work already, especially within its Civic Engagement and Education team, and argues that the Constituent Museum shift is merely a shift in language (WI1). They feel that the gallery unnecessarily "*academises*" (ibid.: 2) a practice that is not new or different from what they had been doing before. This viewpoint might, however, be specific to staff who have much experience with education, outreach and community engagement projects, as staff from most other fields (notably many of the gallery's curators) did seem to regard it as a much newer practice (WI6, 7). A

similar difference between the familiarity with co-creation among education and outreach staff and the newness of the concept for curatorial and other museum staff was visible at both Tate and Queens Museum too (TI2-10; QI1, 3-8), and was discussed in section 5.3.2.

At Queens Museum, much less priority was given to the naming and defining of new collaborative approaches, as the director worried it would compromise the nuance and distinctiveness of the conversations and co-creation partners involved. She argues:

I reject a patriarchal owning and naming of things. I hate it when institutions do that, and there are many male directors who think that it's their job to name practices. I couldn't care less about that. I just want to do the work." (Queens director: 9).

It is a pragmatic approach, which will likely have contributed to the interviewees from Queens Museum self-reporting the lowest level of confidence across the research in applying the term co-creation (QI2, 4, 6-9).

The processes for reflecting on and redefining co-creation language across all three case studies raises questions of power around who is being included and excluded in that discussion, whether on the basis of academic background, professional versus non-professional status, or even gender, as the above quote suggests. Such contestation only underlines the need for more discussion around co-creation concepts to prompt active reflection on any imbalances it creates to make the academic and professional theoretical frameworks more inclusive and representative. Naturally, such reflections should only happen on the condition that they are started from an equal

basis, choose a level of intellectualisation or simplification that suits all participants, and are transparent about what the expectations of such theorisations are.

Finally, another factor was mentioned as affecting the extent to which a staff member was involved in shaping conceptualisations of co-creation, although it did not seem to cause specific inequalities. This factor was time, as many interviewees stated that if they had more time for experimentation or for reflection, they would be able to develop more nuanced co-creation definitions and practices (TI1, 3, 5, 10; WI3, 4, 6-8; QI3, 4, 6-9). This however, seemed to be a challenge that was experienced across the board and so did not necessarily cause issues of exclusion for a specific group or team.

In fact, throughout the research process it became apparent that the research interviews themselves offered a unique respite in which interviewees were given a rare moment to reflect on their work. Every interviewee was asked to define what co-creation meant for them, and even if no steer was given by the researcher to what definitions were supposedly correct or desired in this context, the invitation to articulate their own definitions meant that most interviewees left the interview with a more clearly defined idea of what co-creation meant to them individually. It invited them to critically analyse their own position and this might have kicked off an individual reflection process for the interviewees, even if held internally.

7.6. Complexities of defining power sharing

A final consideration when shaping more nuanced understandings of co-creation practices is one around power sharing. Radical co-creation is argued to work towards a more equal or equitable relationship between the co-creators, but what does that mean precisely? Section 2.2.4 of the literature review already showed that definitions that describe co-creation as a fully equal practice are sometimes regarded as utopian, with power sharing being much easier to achieve rhetorically than in reality (Lynch & Alberti, 2010; Jancovich, 2011; Walmsley, 2013; Robinson, 2017; Coghlan, 2018). And even if fully equal practices were assumed as possible, there would also be the challenge of measuring and quantifying such power sharing to evidence its balance or change. This section will not offer a specific measuring tool, because as with co-creation definitions, a single tool could not capture the vast array of possible relationships that can constitute co-creation work. However, it will explore a range of complexities and challenges to help nuance how scholars and practitioners may consider reflecting on the equitability of such relationships.

The vague language around co-creation and the lack of a clear definition of equal and equitable relationships becomes most problematic when those involved overestimate their level of power sharing. Across the literature, but also among interviewees, museum staff with an ambition of doing co-creation sometimes wrongly use that term for types of collaboration that sit much closer to information, consultation, or participation levels (as based on the collaborative practice spectrum in section 2.2.3) (Simon, 2010; Lynch 2019; Tate interviewees 2, 4, 8; WI1, 4; QI1, 3-5). This is often done inadvertently as a result of the lack of a clear understanding, but it can create

structural tokenism in co-creation projects that may disillusion or even insult the communities who were promised more agency in the project.

This struggle around recognising and avoiding tokenism becomes clear from an agency pie chart activity that was conducted in all face-to-face interviews as part of this study (see 3.6.2). For the activity, each interviewee was asked to draw an agency map of a co-creation project they had worked on, in the shape of a pie chart. This showed the amount of agency or power each stakeholder had in shaping the project. The juxtaposition between verbally describing a project as a co-creation or even community-led project and then having to visualise the actual shares of power, offered some discrepancies. This highlighted several challenges in defining power balances in co-creation.

The first issue is one of defining equality. Following co-creation theory and its ambition of equality, one may expect to see in the agency charts an approximate 50-50% split in agency between the museum staff and community members, or a level of between 40% and 60%, as argued by Jubb (2018). However, in practice, most pie charts did not show such a split. In some cases, much higher or lower splits meant that these projects were inaccurately labelled as co-creations, while in fact they sat elsewhere on the collaborative spectrum. In other cases, co-creators had decided, in fully collaborative manner, that they wanted to distribute the work in certain ways that did not fit a 50-50% pattern, but would still be considered co-created. In such cases, projects adhered to an 'equitable' distribution of agency, rather than an 'equal' one, which highlighted the limitations of defining co-creation as having a 50-50% or even 40-60% agency distribution. One interviewee illustrates the difference:

"Co-creation I see as [...] not necessarily equally, but [working] in an
equitable way is what I mean. For example, I just had a meeting with a
very small organisation we're looking to do some partnership sessions
with and if we were to put in 50-50 budgets and staff time, that staff
time would be 100% of their organisation working on this project, and
that's not an equitable relationship just for two people. [...] So in terms
of our practice we move in and out of co-creation, we aim for it to be
more 'led-by', but for me co-creation is about an equitable practice."
(TI10: 11-12)

Following the experiences of the interviewee, it may be more accurate to
describe co-creation as an equitable practice, rather than one of equality.
However, to determine equitability necessitates a layer of interpretation as to
what each co-creator's capabilities are for a project, and may therefore create
even more opacity in determining whether those who started off with less
power have been truly allowed to contribute to their full potential. Hence, this
thesis uses both terms 'equal' and 'equitable' to prompt reflection on both
meanings and underline the aspiration for change that it implies.

A second issue came up when comparing the agency of individual co-
creation partners to the collective agency held by certain categories of
partners. The discrepancies that came up here were a consequence of
interviewees using two different approaches to determining the agency
balance. One approach used was to look at the agency level of every single
partner individually, to ensure that each partner had an approximately equal
say in the project. The other approach used was to first split all partners into

'institutional' and 'community' categories, and then compare the collective

agency levels between these two groups to ensure they were (close to) equal.

Both approaches can lead to different results.
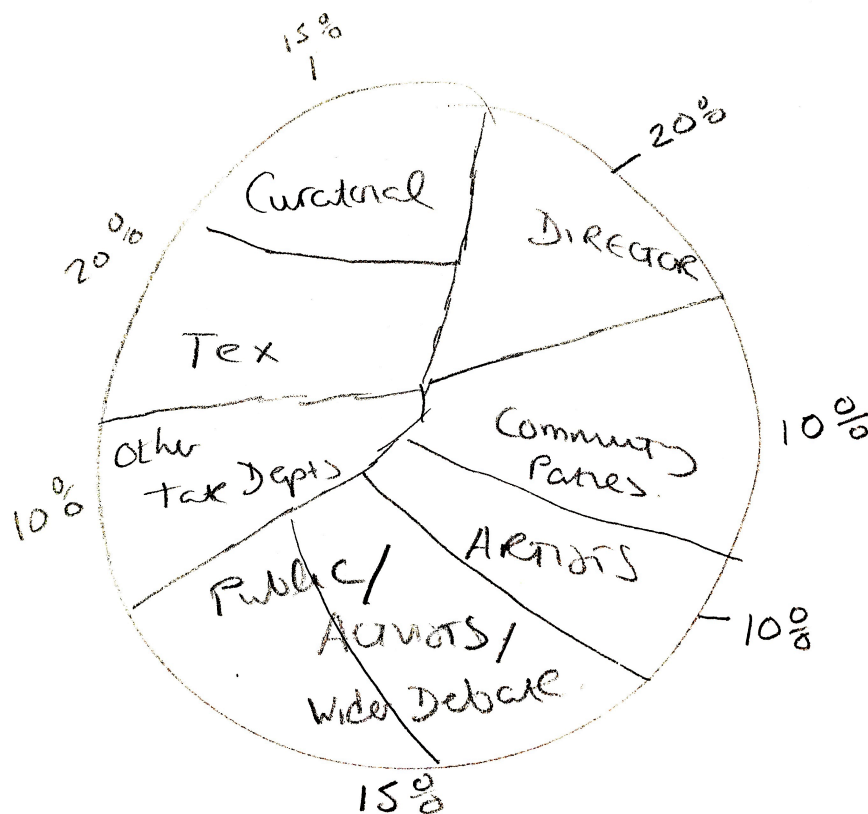
Figure 3: Agency chart of a co-creation project on climate change at Tate Modern.

Figure 3 shows that all co-creators on a co-creation project at Tate had

approximately equal power in shaping the project (between 10-20% each), but

that only one out of the eight groups described is made up of non-

professional community members. This group called "community parties"

only holds 10% of power within shaping the project, according to the

interviewee (TI4), while Tate holds 65% (sum of Tate's "Director",

"Curatorial", "TEx" (= Tate Exchange), and "Other Tate depts"), and further

external professionals hold another 25% (sum of "Artists" and

"Public/Activists/Wider debate"). Even if at an individual level each partner

has a similar share of power, a comparison at the collective institutional-

versus-community level shows a much less equal split between the different categories of partners, with the institutional partners dominating the overall balance. This raises questions around whether equal power sharing is being achieved, and it highlights the risk of tokenistic and even predatory power sharing (Singer, 2021), in which decision-making is ascribed to community groups but is in fact largely done by museum staff.
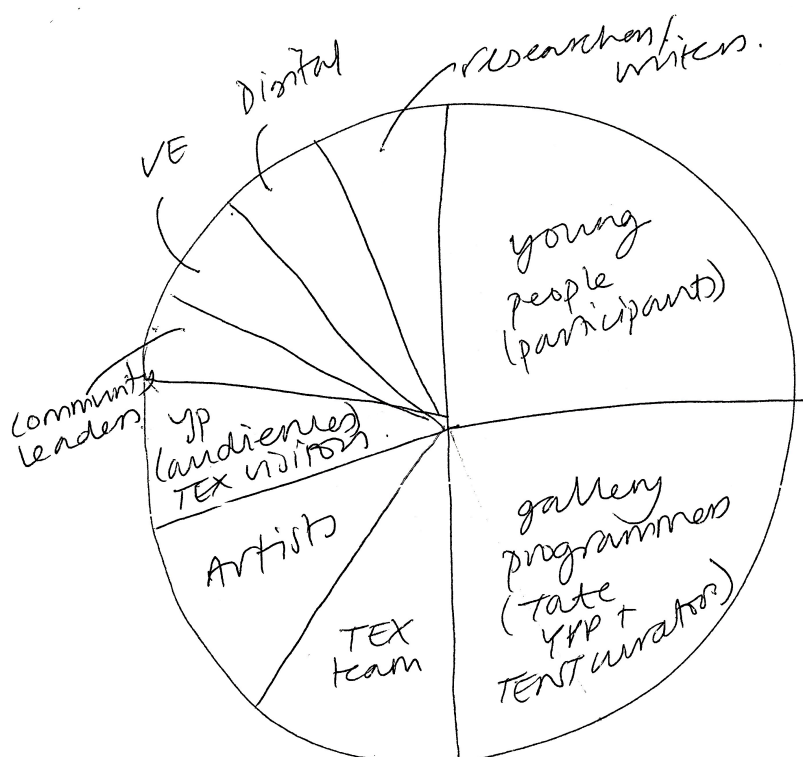
Figure 4: Agency pie chart of a young people's co-creation project at Tate Modern.

Figure 4 shows a similar issue. In this Tate project the community group, which are young people, are given 25% of agency in the project, which is equal to the 25% share given to the Young People's Programming team at Tate, and these together make up the biggest slices of the pie chart. However, the second 50% is mostly filled with other Tate teams, such as "TEx", "VE" (= Visitor Experience team), and "Digital", as well as other professionals, such as "Artists" and "Researchers and writers". This reduces the proportion of

agency that is given to non-institutionalised community voices to between a third and a quarter of the project overall, which seems significantly lower than the interviewee's initial claim of running a *"community-led"* project (TI10: 12).
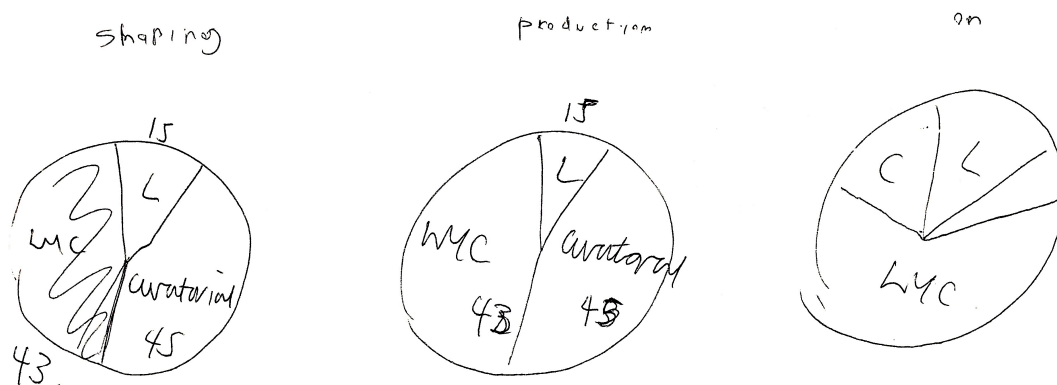
Figure 5: Agency pie chart of a young people's co-creation project at Whitworth Art Gallery, divided in three stages.

The pie chart exercise raised a third challenge of defining co-creation in museums, which was around the changeability of project dynamics. Figure 5 shows an interviewee at the Whitworth preferred to draw three different charts – one for the "shaping" phase, one for the "production" phase, and one for when the project was "on" – as they argued that the dynamics changed throughout the duration of the project and especially towards the end. Initially, they argued, the Whitworth's young people's panel (called Whitworth Young Contemporaries or "WYC") was given just under half of the agency in shaping the project, while the Curatorial team also had a significant say. Later, the curatorial agency was reduced and the young people were given over half of the decision-making power. A single pie chart, like Jubb's (2018) agency scale, could not represent such shifts. It shows that power dynamics are changeable, and that a project that might or might not initially meet co-creation criteria may still change to become one, or cease to

be one. Hence, labelling a project as co-creation requires constant evaluation and adaptation where necessary.

A fourth challenge that emerged from how interviewees described the power divisions between institutional and community partners was that of co-creators wearing two hats. It seems too simple to think that the community always stands in binary opposition to the institution, as most existing collaboration spectrums suggest (Simon, 2010; Brown et al., 2011; IAP2, 2014; McSweeney & Kavanagh, 2016; Torreggiani, 2018; Jubb, 2018), as there are many types of collaboration in which the two extremes seem to blend in places. In fact, many Whitworth and Queens Museum interviewees considered their museum staff to be included in the term 'constituents' (WI5, 7) or to be part of a community group alongside being museum staff (QI1, 2, 6). An example is the Whitworth's Still Parents project, which targeted parents who had experienced child loss and was initiated by a staff member who had gone through a similar experience and thus became part of that community too (WI3). While such overlaps in lived experience can give the project more buy-in across the museum and increase trust levels between the staff and community members (ibid.), they also require reflexivity from staff to negotiate their role and responsibility within the project. While it could be difficult – or even traumatic – to switch off a part of their identity and lived experience, they must also consider the risk of inadvertently creating a platform for other staff members where there should have been space for community voices. Consequently, labelling staff as community constituents should be paired with much reflection on what the effects of such overlaps would be on the relationships and dynamics between the co-creators.

The opposite form of this challenge – that of labelling community members as staff – can be equally problematic. For example, Queens Museum hired a member of the local community in Queens on their payroll to be the Community Organiser for the museum (QI2, 6) (see section 5.3.3). In addition to offering access to a wider local network, they were also hired for their fresh pair of eyes, their non-institutionalised viewpoint and to add diversity to the museum's ways of thinking (QI2). However, by offering a long-term contract and a wage that makes up a large part of the Community Organiser's income, the museum also takes away a level of agency and independence from this community member. Being dependent on the museum for their income, the staff member has the interest of maintaining their job in addition to representing the community, and as those two interests are at opposite ends of most collaboration structures, they have a realistic possibility of clashing. Hence the Community Organiser might end up disempowering the community to protect their own interests, which may lead to tokenistic or even predatory museum practices that use the illusion of community engagement to reinforce the museum's authority (Singer, 2021). Literature on historic co-creation case studies, such as Tate's Circuit project (Hall, 2014; Hyland, 2015), additionally highlights that even without a clash in interests, but merely by being embedded into the museum for a long time, community co-creators risk becoming institutionalised and losing the independent qualities that they were initially brought onto the project for. This risk is very much present for the Community Organiser too, whose role is not fixed-term and may choose to stay at the museum for years.

A fifth challenge is not around the false binary opposite of staff and community members, but about accounting for the power of any stakeholders

who may sit in neither the institutional nor the community category. This primarily includes independent artists working in between the museum and the community to facilitate co-creation projects. One of the interviewees for instance drew an agency pie chart of a project that artist Tania Bruguera ran at Tate with the Tate Neighbours community group (see Figure 6), and struggled with where to put the artist into the equation (TI3).
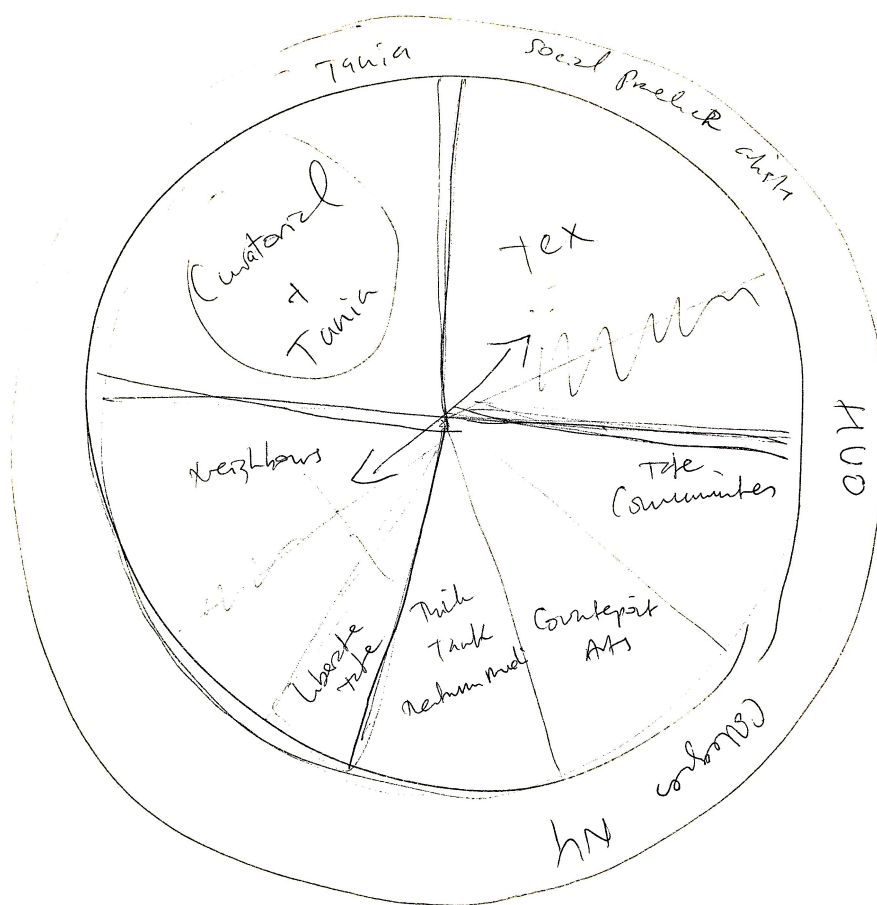
Figure 6: Agency pie chart of an artist-led co-creation project at Tate Modern.

They ended up drawing a second circle around the pie chart circle and put Bruguera's name in there, because they argued that the artist had the agency to veto any of the decisions in the project (ibid.). Similarly, they argued, Tate's directors could always sit in the outer circle of other pie charts too, having the power to pull any project if it went against their vision

completely (ibid.). While the interviewee described this power to veto as being considered as a last resort only (ibid.), the sudden discontinuation of the Tate Exchange project shows this consideration was realistic and describes an enormous amount of power in making the decision to veto. This power that the director has to veto community suggestions or entire projects was also highlighted at Queens Museum, where it was mostly shrugged away as a given, as opposed to being seen as compromising community power (QI1, 5).

What none of the interviewees considered in their pie charts, however, was that community groups may arguably have similar power if they decide to collectively pull out of a co-creation project. Likewise, the decision of Tate Exchange's Year 5 lead artist to stand by a fellow artist's dispute with Tate and end her involvement with the project (see section 4.2) shows the power she had in vetoing the artistic programme. The settlement claim she then demanded from Tate on top of her decision may have additionally influenced the discontinuation of the entire Tate Exchange programme, showing the power that a key co-creator can have in deciding the course of the project. Arguably, in an equally balanced co-creation project each co-creator should have the power to veto by pulling out of the project. However, in practice, individual co-creators may have most leverage as groups who can pull out collectively, unless they are key stakeholders, such as lead artists or directors. This shows a problematic imbalance in agency. As a solution a Tate interviewee suggests measures should be put in place to ensure that even when a project collapses, the other co-creators should still be able to benefit from the learning and network that the project had built up, so as to ensure all parties gained something from it (TI13).

The pie chart example of Tania Bruguera's project at Tate (see Figure 6) also raised a final challenge around determining power balances in co-creation. Namely, the interviewee reflected on how Bruguera's facilitation of the project influenced its direction, whether purposefully or unwittingly, and questioned how much of the artist's agency is inadvertently measured as community agency. The interviewee said:

"[Tania] would say she sits in it [the pie chart], rather than around it. This is the thing. She would say she didn't come up with any of the ideas; the Neighbours did. But she actually got other people to do everything she wanted to do. That's how she works. I'm not saying she even knew. I mean, it was their idea, but her idea was for it to be their idea. Tania was almost nowhere, but also everywhere." (TI3: 8).

The artist inhabits a complex position in a co-creation project and can have a major impact on the agency distribution among the stakeholders. An unequal power division between community and artist is often reinforced by traditional crediting mechanisms in museums, which – if not in the gallery space itself, generally in their marketing – often prioritise the artist over the community groups that the artist has worked with (ibid.). It does not mean that co-creation projects that involve artists are always problematic, but it can take away a layer of transparency about ownership and agency, which increases the risk of tokenistic collaboration.

The six challenges highlighted in this section show the extent of complexities that come with defining co-creation as a practice in which there is parity in power and agency between all co-creators. Moreover, it shows the

nuance needed to address the institution-versus-community binary, on which so much of co-creation theory is based (see section 2.2.3). The various challenges all highlight risks that may lead to tokenistic or even predatory practices (Singer, 2021), especially where projects under the banner of co-creation in fact lead to the museum bolstering its own authority while claiming it has approval from its communities. This may give the impression of shared power, but in fact only sustains traditional power structures, even if the co-creators might have the right intentions at heart. It risks that co-creation work achieves the opposite of what it sets out to do, and therefore the challenges raised are important elements that all co-creators should reflect upon and mitigate accordingly.

7.7. Conclusion

The theoretical understanding of co-creation has received much critique, as it is often seen as idealist and in contradiction with how collaborations are conducted in practice. As a result, the promise of co-creation can end up feeling tokenistic and the stakeholders involved may come out disillusioned, especially where rhetoric and practice do not match and community agency is overpromised. This, however, is not only an issue with the concept of co-creation as a collaborative method for community involvement, but also with the wide variety of definitions that exist, which risk making co-creation a rather vague or even meaningless term (Rock et al., 2018).

This chapter hence aimed to give a more nuanced understanding of the language around co-creation work. It proposed to redefine transformational

co-creation work as 'radical co-creation' and offered various ways for
negotiating how a new definition – or rather multiple new definitions – could
be formed. It does not give an exhaustive definition, following the multiform
and multivocal nature of co-creation projects themselves, but generally agrees
that what sets radical co-creation apart from other collaborative practices is its
aim to challenge and reset the power dynamics between the different co-
creators to one of more equitable cooperation. It argues that as a result,
radical co-creation may have the potential to lead to changes in the
assumptions, conditions and relationships that characterise the working
practices of the co-creators involved.

To achieve more tailored definitions of co-creation that can offer more
detailed application to specific projects, the chapter proposed approaching
the definitional question through open discussion among all co-creators and
through focusing on the values and conditions that inform co-creation
processes rather than its end goals. The chapter also highlighted the inherent
complexities of coming to such understandings, especially where certain
voices are missing from these definitional discussions or the power dynamics
at the core of these definitions are difficult to determine or visualise.

The analysis and the insights obtained through research at the case
study organisations helps to fill a gap in literature, which has either regarded
co-creation as utopian and impossible to achieve or has taken an
oversimplified approach that uses binary opposites where in fact co-creation
often happens in the grey areas in between (see section 2.2). The analysis
nuances claims from the literature review by arguing that perhaps finding an
all-encompassing single definition for co-creation may be utopian, but that
the value seems to be in having discussions about its meaning. The reflective

process brought about by such discussions is often what can impact on how its stakeholders work together and share power. Moreover, co-creation is rarely a fully defined stand-alone practice, but instead is often observed in the case study projects as being part of a much wider combination of collaborative practices, and should therefore be studied within each diverse and unique context.

This approach to defining co-creation suggests that the choice to engage in co-creation really sets a provocation to all co-creators to build an understanding of what they agree co-creation to be. In a way, a definition of co-creation needs to be co-created in itself. Moreover, these discussions require high levels of critical self-reflection, of open-minded listening and discussion, of willingness to adapt and change, and of constant evaluation in order to ensure that a project adheres and keeps adhering to the co-creation standard that is agreed. As a result, this chapter shows that co-creation is a constant negotiation process, which at its core focuses on renegotiating power, but can express itself as negotiations around language, values, and representation. Such negotiations are complex and can touch upon many deep lying historical and organisational structures that can have a great impact on the outcomes of the negotiations. Equally, it may challenge such structures and reframe them to create new practices based on equitable relationships and shared agency, which could in turn lead to change within the teams involved in the co-creation. If radical co-creation can be understood as a potential catalyst for change, then finding shared understandings and setting common expectations for co-creation work may be its first step.

The chapter also warns of challenges that risk the collapse of genuine and radical co-creation work, which can quickly turn this work into tokenistic

(Arnstein, 1969) or even predatory (Singer, 2021) practices that overpromise on agency and then do not deliver (on purpose or by accident), to the disappointment of all of those who put trust into the relationship. Holding close to the set of core principles for co-creation as outlined in sections 2.2.4 and 7.4 may offer help in navigating such challenges and protecting equitable practices during this process, for example through open communication and transparent expectation setting. While pointers to some of these challenges and their solutions are offered throughout the literature on co-creation in museums (see section 2.2) – even if they have rarely been discussed together to offer a full set of core values and conditions for successful co-creation work – the conversations with interviewees across the case studies in section 7.4 also raised five more conditions in addition. This offers a much more elaborate set of working practices that could be used as basic principles for successful co-creation work.

Conclusively, this chapter has offered a pragmatic description of co-creation as a practice, without attempting a reductionist, singular naming of what the chapter in fact shows to be a versatile, complex and ever-changing process. It has consequently offered a more nuanced understanding of co-creation that may increase the applicability of the term and offer a stronger theoretical framework for further development.

Chapter 8

Conclusion: Co-creating change

8.1. Summary and discussion of findings

This conclusion chapter consists of three parts. Section 8.1 gives a summary of the main arguments from the research to offer key responses to the research questions. Section 8.2 first discusses the relevance and implications of these findings to highlight the contribution they make to both the professional and academic understandings of co-creation in museums. After that, it also looks at the limitations of these findings and the questions that remain unexplored. Section 8.3 then looks towards the future and gives recommendations for future research themes and directions.

8.1.1. Co-creation and critical reflection

This section summarises the main findings relating to research sub-question 1: *How might co-creation be a catalyst for encouraging and embedding critical reflection in a museum context?* The thesis has shown that working with communities in ways that share power more equitably challenges existing hierarchies, conceptualisations and understandings of museum work. Such change in assumptions, reflections and approaches to work were mainly found in three areas.

The first area shows co-creation work instigating a turn in museum practice that puts community voices in museums more prominently (see section 5.2). This turn corresponds with a change in leadership approaches focused on 'space-making' (Simon, 2019) and on *"giv[ing] oxygen"* (Whitworth director: 10) to grassroots initiatives by communities who have traditionally had little power in museums (see section 5.2.2). However, examples from the case studies also show discrepancies between a leader's vision for a community-centred or co-created museum space and the challenging practicalities of embedding such a vision across the museum more widely and more long-term. Such barriers include levels of reluctance to change from museum staff across various departments, especially in the earlier stages of the change process, as well as the limitations of funding cycles and project grant timelines that do not encourage embedding learning for the long-term. And so the co-creative turn that was visible in the case studies during the research period also turned out to be a challenging process that required a major shift in thinking among staff and changes to deep-rooted organisational practices and beliefs.

The second area of change is visible in how museum workers approach the concept of expertise. The case studies saw a move away from professional

expertise to include more non-professional community voices with lived expertise, and this went alongside a move from object-centred working to people- or community-centred work. This then led to a reassessment of skills and roles necessary for caring for audiences, rather than just for objects, which in turn challenged the traditional hierarchy between curatorial expertise and pedagogic expertise to give a growing importance to learning, education and community outreach teams. The power dynamics around expertise were reconceptualised to achieve this shift, but the case studies also highlight that this shift does not happen without issues. In many cases, those who work most directly with communities are hired in the lowest positions or the work is largely carried by volunteers and lowly paid community groups, rather than paid staff. This raises questions about the ethics of making change through co-creation, and highlights the often precarious positions of community members, who are often the direct agents of change. In the case of Tate, the "censorship" (Sharrocks, 2020) of a black artist's experience and expertise led to a court settlement that may have contributed to the decision to close Tate Exchange, showing how valuing expertise requires a fine balance that can be explosive when lacking in co-creation projects.

A third area where change is visible in how museum staff reflect on their work is around the reconceptualisation of risk and uncertainty. In all three case studies co-creation work was branded as an *"experiment"* (TI9, 10; Queens Museum, 2021*a*) and *"learning process"* (TI6; WI8), which according to the interviewees corresponded to higher levels of flexibility, creativity, and risk-taking within their practices. The co-creation projects in the three case studies were specifically set up to generate learning and new practices that could then inform work in other areas of the organisations more widely, and

although there were signs of other departments taking some of the learning on board, the pandemic has also had a major influence here. The need in co-creation work to embrace and work with uncertainty was fully put to the test when Covid-19 happened and all teams across the three case studies had to reconsider their tolerance of risk. It is therefore difficult to pinpoint whether it was co-creation or the pandemic that instigated a higher tolerance, but it will likely have been elements of both. At Queens Museum the forced push towards uncertainty as a result of the pandemic was actually used to instigate their Year of Uncertainty co-creation project, and so the uncertainty of the pandemic might even have been an enabler of co-creation, as much as co-creation may have been an enabler of embracing uncertainty.

To come back to research sub-question 1, the research suggests that co-creation work did indeed instigate critical reflection in various areas of museum work and helped museum staff to challenge existing assumptions and hierarchies in order to share agency out to communities and create more community-centred organisations. However, some of the reflections raised other difficult questions around ethics or the role of the museum, which would require a more thorough reconceptualisation of some museum practices and roles to come to full fruition. Besides, while co-creation stimulated hypothetical reflections, there was also a range of inhibitors that prevented those reflections from turning into action. The biggest inhibitor in such cases was when co-creation is promised in theory, but power is not genuinely shared or fully shifted in practice, as will become clear from the next section.

8.1.2. Co-creation and change

This section summarises the main findings related to research sub-question 2: *What is the nature and extent of change that may take place in museums stemming from co-creation work?* Whereas sub-question 1 looked at changes in beliefs, assumption and conceptualisation of museum practices through reflection, sub-question 2 looks for tangible change that is actioned as a result of these reflections. These visible changes, all fully or partially stemming from co-creation work, were found in four areas.

The first area of change was one in which co-creation challenged departmental structures and de-siloed the three case study organisations. The projects studied all highlighted the value of working across departments and bringing together different types of expertise, including most notably a closer relationship between curatorial and educational museum practice traditions. While in some cases this was accompanied by a level of suspicion and territorialism, the *"clash"* (TI3: 8) that such new relationships created also helped to redraw organisational structures and thereby allowed change to happen. Additionally, interviewees reported the value they encountered in building closer communities of practice, both internal and external to their organisations, showing the importance of relationship building as a major change outcome of co-creation work. However, the findings also showed that co-creation practices were not adopted by all areas of the case study museums yet and that especially in fundraising and development, operations, visitor services, finance, human resources, and technical teams there was scope to bring in more co-creative practices and learning.

The second area of change in which co-creation made an impact was in the visual appearance and visitor experience of the galleries. Co-creation challenged the traditional configuration of museum spaces in favour of giving more space to community-focused galleries, with all three case studies making additional rooms or entire floors available for showing co-created work. In none of the cases they were given the most central rooms of the museum, but having dedicated spaces did increase the square footage that had previously been allocated to community-led displays, which one interviewee described as a long-term *"invasion strategy"* (WI5: 6). Also, the visitor experience of these rooms showed a stark contrast with other, more traditional, gallery spaces. The Tate Exchange space especially was considered to be messier and more interactive than the museum's other galleries, as well as a non-hierarchical space in which visitors and art were equally prioritised. As a result, Tate's co-creation work led to a redesign of the welcome protocols for visitors to Tate more widely, co-developed by Tate staff and community representatives. This example showed how the learning from co-creative ways of working was embedded within the organisation more widely to create wide-ranging and potentially long-lasting organisational change.

A third area in which some change was visible as a result of co-creation work was around decision-making and capturing learning across the organisation. The most prominent change here came in the shape of new community boards, panels and associate groups that were set up as part of co-creation projects. They were generally given some decision-making power over museum programmes, even if some of the examples highlighted the risk of such group turning into consultation boards that would show a much

lower level of power sharing on the collaboration spectrum than co-creation boards (see section 2.2.3). In all three case studies, the agency given in new shared decision-making structures showed tokenistic elements and often under-delivered on its initial promises of co-creation, which hindered more significant organisational change impacts. Moreover, limitations were also found to the sustainability of any learning stemming from such co-creative decision-making structures. Even when change happens, it is not always captured systematically and traditional project cycles and team capacities often do not offer enough time or resource to reflect on or implement learning fully. However, the co-creation projects at the Whitworth and Queens Museum were set up with a learning impact in mind and, rather uniquely, offered time and space to capture impact and change. But as with most temporary funding, they could only capture change happening within the timeline of the grant (i.e. 1-1.5 years), while long-term impacts that may only become visible over multiple years (including many larger organisational change processes) would not be captured by this strategy.

Finally, the fourth area of change stemming from co-creation was around museum missions and business models. The visions implemented by the new directors of the Whitworth and Queens Museum clearly showed a move to models that gave more prominence to communities, and in these museums co-creation helped to put this vision into practice. The Constituent Museum and Year of Uncertainty co-creation projects that were set up, however, were mostly a result of this vision rather than at the root of it, but it could be argued that wider co-creation values and principles did inform the new missions, as both directors brought a vision that was based on their extensive experience of running co-creation programmes previously. The

situation at Tate was different, as co-creation was not necessarily embedded in its museum-wide vision or mission, but was rather merely the focus of the Tate Exchange programme. As a result, the impact of co-creation practices within the organisation depended on the existence of the programme and its vulnerability was shown when the decision was made to discontinue Tate Exchange. Not being central to Tate's existence, it was cut out with relative ease and this diminished its legacy for the organisation too. Hence, in order for co-creation to achieve more long-term organisational impact, a level of embedding is needed at core levels of the organisation, including its mission and business structure.

In answering research sub-question 2, the findings suggest that co-creation does produce tangible change to museum structures and practices, but that the extent and longevity of this change varies in different areas of museum practice. Whereas all case studies showed change in how departments worked together or worked with visitors and communities within their galleries, the findings around more embedded decision-making structures and missions, as well as around more long-term learning and business model changes showed limitations to how much change could be achieved. The case studies showed that co-creation had the most chance of effecting long-term organisational change in these areas when it was set up to sit across all areas of the museum and when time and resource was given to absorbing and reflecting on the learning from these projects. The case studies showed that in some cases these conditions were lacking, leading to co-creation work having a reduced impact on their organisations.

8.1.3. Reconceptualising co-creation

This section summarises the main findings related to research sub-question 3: *How might co-creation be further conceptualised to nuance current understandings and applications of the term in a museum context?* This thesis has shown that current definitions of co-creation, both in the literature and in professional use, are often vague, contradictory, or covering an unhelpfully wide array of collaborative practices, which leads some to avoid or be suspicious of the term. The case studies provide more nuanced understandings, which may increase the usefulness of the term. It does that in two ways.

First, it proposes 'radical co-creation' as a more defined term that distinguishes transformational ways of collaborating with communities through co-creation from more transactional understandings to which the term has often been applied in the past. Radical co-creation highlights the potential for shifting power dynamics in collaborations and for instigating change as a result, although as a definition, it mainly aims to offer a starting point for more discussion. That is, the case studies show how co-creation is largely a negotiation process between different interests, expectations and agency levels of all parties involved, and building in discussion and reflection around what co-creation means for each party can help construct a more equal and equitable framework from the start. Hence, this thesis sees the term radical co-creation as a provocation for opening that discussion around power between all partners, which may then shape a tailored definition of co-creation that considers the specific needs and conditions of each individual co-creation project.

Second, this research offers a more nuanced conceptualisation of co-creation by extending the definition of 'what' co-creation is, to 'how' it is done. As a result, it proposes five key principles for co-creation practice, in addition to the seven already highlighted throughout existing literature within the field. These five core conditions are around active listening, experimentation, reflective practice, care and support, and setting expectations and ground rules between all co-creators. They offer a more extensive and nuanced guide on what makes co-creation both distinctive and successful, and the full set of principles collected from the literature and the findings could provide recommendations for anyone embarking on a co-creation project in the future.

However, an attempt at streamlining how co-creation is defined within museum studies and the museum sector also raises various critical concerns. One is around who is involved in shaping its definition. The case studies suggest that museums are keen to come to a definition through collaborative discussion with their communities, which naturally suits their co-creative premise, but in practice the language used within that discussion can often still feel rather *"academic"* (WI5: 3) and alienate the exact community groups who it should include.

Another challenge is about defining what constitutes an equal or equitable relationship, which section 2.2 has shown is one of the key conditions for successful co-creation. There is little literature that offers approaches for measuring or otherwise determining when a balanced co-creative relationship is reached (Jubb, 2018) and this study's use of a pie chart exercise highlighted some of the key issues. It showed that different ways of allocating or describing agency levels could falsely imply balances where

unspoken or wider organisational hierarchies in fact highly skewed that balance. It also highlighted the difficult position of the artist, who on the one hand might be an enabler of co-creation and collaborative discussion, but on the other hand often has significant power to give final sign-off on a work or veto major decisions. Finally, the case studies show that agency relationships in co-creation projects can change throughout the project and that agency measurements are therefore not always representative. More work could be done to help co-creation professionals and academics to understand what it really means to follow an equal, equitable or non-hierarchical co-creation project structure and how they can check if they are achieving that.

Finally, the findings around co-creation as a concept have also shown that there is often more value in the discussion about what a definition could be than the proposed definition itself. Taking the time to reflect together with all co-creation partners on what such collaboration can mean and which values underpin it, help all participants to understand the complexities and nuances of successful co-creation, which then creates more realistic expectations and less tokenism and performativity as a result. It may therefore be worth seeing co-creation as a provocation to come up with a collaborative definition, which will then lead the way to more equitable working underpinned by shared values and ethics.

8.1.4. Co-creation and changing working practices

The findings of the three research sub-questions in the previous sections lead on to a series of considerations that help offer some concluding thoughts on

the main research question of this thesis: *To what extent might co-creation challenge working practices across the museum?*

The sections above have shown that the key principles on which co-creation is based in some cases go against museum practices the case study museums were used to. This is most visible in two areas of work: one concerns the power distribution between museum professionals and members of community groups, and the other concerns levels of experimentation and flexibility in collaborative projects.

Examples of the first discrepancy showed how co-creation projects challenged existing hierarchies around expertise and power structures around decision-making. As a result, in many cases co-creation work was initially met with some suspicion or territorialism, which arguably underlined the extent to which it challenged the organisational power structures that staff had been used to. However, the case study examples showed that concerted efforts to make space for community voices and the skills necessary for co-creation and community-led working also led to a reconsideration of professional expertise hierarchies, most notably between curatorial and pedagogic traditions. Valuing a much wider set of skills and expertise, both across each museum as well as those of community members themselves, helped to challenge notions of expertise and practices around sharing agency and decision-making.

The second area in which museum practices were challenged was around levels of experimentation, flexibility and responsiveness to change. Co-creation requires an open-ended, iterative approach and a high level of trust in the contributions of all collaborators, which does not always match with more traditional funding and reporting structures, where outcomes,

roles and impacts are often set out at the start of a project and then highly controlled. Co-creation work therefore challenged the three case studies to build their projects around more iterative structures that put experimentation, reflection and learning centrally. This new way of working was then exacerbated (or in the case of Queens Museum perhaps initiated) by the Covid-19 pandemic, in which all project development was forced into more iterative and experimental formats, as the circumstances and conditions of the work changed continuously and to unprecedented levels. The pandemic made it difficult to define to what extent the change in practice stemmed from co-creation and to what level it was merely a result of the Covid-19 crisis, but the examples from the case studies suggest some change was visible before March 2020 and that the pandemic has likely accelerated it further.

These two core themes around flattening hierarchies and more experimental and flexible working suggest that co-creation work was *challenging* existing notions of museum work, but was it also tangibly *changing* museum practice? In other words, to what extent did this new way of thinking about museum practices result in tangible changes to those practices?

In challenging power structures between departments and between museums and their communities, there do seem to be legacies of defined change in the three case studies indeed. In all three museums, connections were made between curatorial and pedagogic practices, often through closer connections between curatorial and education teams and the introduction of cross-departmental project teams. This also fed the creation of more connected communities of practice, which could include knowledge exchange partners from both within and outside of the museum and flattened the

power dynamics across the expertise that each partner cold bring, which in turn helped to speed up learning processes. Moreover, in all case studies the physical galleries were adjusted to make space for community-focused outputs and in the case of Tate and the Whitworth these covered an entire floor of the museum. And finally, the case studies all revisited their welcome protocols and brought community-led thinking into their concepts of best practice when it came to visitor and community engagement on a daily basis.

Regarding the introduction of more experimentation and higher levels of flexibility within projects, tangible changes could also be noticed. An increase in shared decision-making structures, such as community boards and panels, showed that the case study museums had defined their intention to listen more actively to their communities and make space for alternative voices. While this did not always have the intended impact, with some of these structures showing symptoms of tokenism, the case study museums did implement structures for reflection and learning to increase the impact of such initiatives. At the Whitworth especially, valuable lessons were taken from the Whitworth Voices community panel, which then informed the design of a more permanent Constituent Board later down the line. Additionally, an increased focus on open-ended working and being prepared to respond to community needs was also visible in the new organisational missions of the Whitworth and Queens Museum, and in the vision set out for Tate Exchange (though arguably not for Tate more widely). As a result, this commitment to experimentation and flexibility helped the case studies to practice active listening at a more organisational scale and to make space for community voices not just in their programming, but also in some elements of their operational and business models (though still with some limitations).

Overall, all three case studies show some examples of tangible change in practice leading towards a more community-centred organisation.

The next logical question to ask is then about how sustainable this change might be. How may co-creation instigate a level of embedded institutional change that reaches across the organisations and remains for the long-term? The findings show that whereas there were some limitations to the conversion from challenged thinking to tangible changes in actions, there is an even stronger limitation to how this converts to instances of embedded organisational change. All three case studies point to the importance of change leaders – which are often directors with strong visions, but may equally be grass-roots change agents from the staff or community bodies – who may cause the collapse of long-won change when they leave the organisation. Moreover, long-term change often relies on the investment of resources as it is often a slow process. The funding structures of the co-creation projects at the Whitworth and Queens Museum were set up as 1- to 1.5-year catalyst programmes, but leave the challenge of maintaining the change process when the funding ends, and with it the time allocated to pushing and learning from the change process. And finally, the case studies also show a limitation around buy-in that can hinder organisational change. All three institutions have dealt with the departure of senior management staff who were instrumental in co-creation processes. At Queens Museum this happened before the data gathering period and so information to this particular case is limited, but the examples at Tate and at the Whitworth show how these decisions were initiated by forces more senior than the change-leading staff exerting their hierarchical power. This highlights how the wider organisational structures in which co-creation sits embedded have the

possibility to veto this kind of work and undo its impact within a short time. An added loss here, especially for Tate Exchange, was the suddenness of the decision, which gave little time to capture and structure the learning from the 5-year project, which then added to its lost long-term impact more extensively.

It could therefore be concluded that co-creation has the power to challenge museum practices – especially around traditional power hierarchies and approaches to experimentation – and offers prompts to make active changes to these practices as a result. However, it does often encounter hurdles around affecting organisation-wide and long-term change. Hence, co-creation might function as a contributing factor, or perhaps an initial seed, to building embedded institutional change that values and gives space to community agency within museums, but may encounter hurdles when being regarded as the sole vehicle for achieving this type of embedded organisational change. Without genuine buy-in from museum boards, trustees, funders, and other bodies who traditionally hold senior power in museums, co-creation – despite its best intentions – may still risk being tokenistic or leave little legacy.

8.2. Contextualising the findings

The research had three aims: to create a more developed theoretical understanding of the effects of co-creation work within museum settings; to offer scholars and professionals more insight the potential impact co-creation can have on organisational change processes to enable them to maximise

these impacts; and to offer a more nuanced theoretical framework and language around co-creation to encourage more meaningful applications of the concept. The following sections will discuss how the research findings achieved these aims.

8.2.1. New knowledge contribution

In museum and cultural studies literature, co-creation is sometimes met with criticism for being a nebulous term that is applied to a wide range of different practices, or for being a tokenistic practice that consists mostly of rhetoric rather than real change (Lynch, 2011; Walmsley 2013; Gardner, 2015; Bienkowski, 2016). Rather than rejecting the term due to these two points, this research aims to bring more nuance both to its definition as well as its potential to challenge practices, by bringing out the intricacies and challenges of co-creation practice, especially around making real change. This way, co-creation can be conceptualised more usefully, which is especially relevant in a museum sector that is moving more closely to community-focused working as part of a co-creative turn.

To tackle the point around a lack of precise definition, this research offers to academic discourse a more demarcated conceptualisation of co-creation by introducing the term 'radical co-creation', and gives a thorough analysis of both academic and professional literature. It provides an understanding that is specific to a museum context, whereas other co-creation literature often builds on marketing and productivity studies that are not representative of the way cultural organisations work. Additionally, it offers

an extension to the current literature descriptions of a set of core principles underpinning co-creation work, and provides a more nuanced understanding of the consequences for when they are or are not followed. As a result, this research offers a more detailed and nuanced theoretical understanding of co-creation, based on and illustrated by examples from real organisations.

To tackle the point around tokenism then, this research takes a uniquely organisational perspective, which has been little covered in co-creation literature to date (Morse, 2016). This perspective offers a holistic view to organisational change processes that co-creation might be part of or influence in turn, which can offer a better understanding of the impact that such practices might make beyond its immediate community participants or organisers. In the studies that exist, co-creation projects are often studied as delineated, temporary, one-off instances (Smørdal et al., 2014; Thyne & Hede, 2016; Robinson, 2017), while this thesis has looked beyond their immediate outcomes and analysed the extent of impact across different museum departments and wider organisational practices and infrastructures such as internal collaboration, visitor welcome protocols, business models and organisational missions. Discrepancies between the aims of co-creation projects and the expectations and workings of such wider organisational structures are often where tokenism is born, and taking this wider view has highlighted and nuanced various of these discrepancies. This was most visible in the Tate and Whitworth examples, where the principles of the co-creation projects did not match the priorities of the senior management and board members, which led to the departure of the Whitworth director and the discontinuation of Tate Exchange. The contextualisation of these examples offer a considered exploration of the extent to which co-creation projects are

at risk of tokenism, which may help those engaged in researching or practising co-creation to notice and tackle this risk more accurately in the future.

8.2.2. Implications of the research for the museum sector

Section 8.2.1 shows how this research offers new perspectives on co-creation to further academic knowledge about co-creation and community engagement work in the wider museum sector, but this study also stands out due to its practical applications. This thesis offers a range of implications for professionals working in the co-creation sector, both at the three case study organisations and within the museum sector more widely.

Being set up as a Collaborative Doctoral Partnership, this study always aimed to contribute new knowledge to real-world institutions and to answer real research questions that were relevant to these organisations. The project was welcomed by Tate in 2018, indicating their interest in the research questions, and both additional case studies came on board within a single conversation, suggesting a similar interest. The staff at each of these organisations were keen to learn more about the co-creative journey they had embarked upon and as a result, all three organisations also invited a sharing of the findings. This was done through a *Tate Papers* manuscript for Tate, through a publication in the *Constituent Museum Cook Book* publication for the Whitworth, and though a presentation and publication on the Year of Uncertainty online platform for Queens Museum (see Appendix 7). This was in addition to more informal moments of sharing learning through

conversations and meetings, as well as by creating a space for reflection during the research interviews, which the interviewees remarked as being both valuable and rare.

The findings from this research also offer implications beyond the three case study organisations. First of all, the research creates a legacy of knowledge and data about all three co-creation projects, which continues to exist now that the Constituent Museum and Year of Uncertainty projects have come to an end and Tate Exchange no longer exists. This knowledge can offer learning for other organisations planning to run similar projects and inform their strategies. Second, the findings offer examples of best practice and also lessons about pitfalls to avoid, and summarises extensive examples of challenges and how they were or could have been managed. This presents a source of learning or even inspiration to professionals about to embark upon new co-creation process or looking for support on how to manage existing co-creation work. Third, the theoretical contributions of the thesis, including the collaborative spectrum introduced in section 2.2.3, the set of co-creation principles built across sections 2.2.4 and 7.4, and recommendations from the agency pie chart exercise from section 7.6, could offer models and tools that have application in museum practice. Such models might offer the beginnings of a toolkit for co-creation best practice or a guide on how co-creation may be used to achieve (organisational) change. Finally, this research may also inform future evaluations of co-creation projects. Whereas such evaluations traditionally often focus on social value impacts on community members – as a result of funding reporting requirements perhaps (Arts Council England, 2020) – this research might help consider the impacts on organisations

themselves and offer examples for areas of practice in which change may be found.

8.2.3. Limitations of the research

Any research, but especially in projects set in live case studies where not all conditions can be controlled, will encounter limitations. In this case too, the choice of case study methodology in combination with a unique and unprecedented pandemic landscape in 2020 makes this research very specific and difficult to replicate. Moreover, the abundance of change stemming from the pandemic made it hard to distinguish any change specifically stemming from co-creation, as both were often intertwined. However, besides the unique and challenging context of the research period, there were several other delineations and limitations to how this research was designed that should be acknowledged.

One is a limitation to employing interviews as a research method within an ongoing organisational case study. Researching current organisations may show that in interviews they have a reputation to save, and current staff may want to protect their job or the legacy of their work, as well as feel the need to remain on brand and give the answers that their organisations would like them to give. These answers might not always represent the truth or have a level of critical reflection that is important for studies like these. The most critical interviews were indeed with two staff members who had given their notice and were about to leave their organisations, and with one staff member who felt underpaid and

disenfranchised by their management. Naturally, these hold a level of bias towards the other extreme, where they might paint a more negative picture than is necessary or accurate across the project more widely. While all opinions are valid and subjectivity is part of the epistemological foundation of this study, this requires extra care from the researcher to interpret both the interviewees' and their own positionality in such discussions. While this was planned to be fully embedded within the research methods, the remote interview settings forced by the Covid-19 pandemic made it slightly harder to read such subjectivities (e.g. through body language) as well as prevented from doing in-person observations that would have given more accurate comparative material to counter any bias stemming from the interviews. Had this study had the chance to be conducted in person, this may have given a fuller dataset to work with.

Other limitations are the Western-centric view of the study, by choosing three case studies in developed Western and Northern-hemisphere countries, whereas there is significant co-creation activity happening on other continents and in the global south. Practical constraints around language were the reason for this, but were later reinforced by Covid-19 travel restrictions, which prevented most in-person knowledge exchange with colleagues abroad. Covering perspectives from other areas might be an angle to consider for future research.

Another limitation is the time-restriction that a PhD project enforces. Organisational change often happens across years, and all of these projects had a longer timespan than a yearlong data gathering period would allow. Moreover, the decision to discontinue Tate Exchange and for Alistair Hudson to resign as director of the Whitworth were taken after the original data

gathering period, which meant that there was merely time for a single follow-up interview as a minimal data update around these topics, but not a fully developed second round of data gathering. Had there been more time, a more nuanced analysis of these particular decisions could have offered new insights into what risks come with co-creation work and how they are managed, successfully or unsuccessfully. This would have also given more insight into choices around the prioritisation of accountability (see section 1.2), which guide museums in balancing their accountability to communities with protecting their wider public accountability, reputation or organisational interests.

Finally, this research made the conscious decision to limit its scope to changes within organisations only, and to not include looking at direct impacts on community groups. It would have made the research focus unmanageable and the existing body of research with this focus was more extensive than that taking an organisational focus. However, with more time and resources, there may have been merit in looking at the impact of these three case study projects on the Associates, communities, constituents and artists involved and to consider their role as agents of change within the larger organisational change outcomes of these projects.

8.3. Directions for future research

Following on from the limitations mentioned above, new research projects may be developed to cover any of the gaps outlined in section 8.2.3. These

could increase diversity, especially through the inclusion of case studies from non-Western countries, for example from the Global South. But they could also include more ethnographic methods (similar to Macdonald, 2002), which may give additional detail on the balance between rhetoric change and tangible change in co-creation work.

Other directions for future studies could expand the scope of this research to include community members (who are not also museum staff) as research participants to research their role as leaders of change across museums. A research question in this direction could focus on the change observed in the relationships between museums and their communities, which is a type of change that was not fully investigated within this research. The same may be done for artists, who did come up occasionally in this research, but were not studied as a definitive group of change-makers, as the focus remained on museum staff. Research on artist-led pedagogic practice (Pringle, 2009*b*) and artist-led socially engaged practice (Helguera, 2011), however, suggests that there may be relevance for understanding artists as important instigators of change, and this, in turn, may also change the relationship between the museum and its artists.

Another way to broaden the scope of this research and consider its questions at a more macro scale, would be to zoom out and look at to what extent co-creation could impact larger systemic structures around funding, policy or social change. This research has shown that such systems do have an influence on the effectiveness of change within the case study museums, but it does not answer whether this exchange could also work the other way around, where co-creation case studies could be influencing much larger systems above them that go beyond the reach of a single organisation. This

view would also then give insight into how museums might balance their accountabilities towards communities they co-create with with the accountabilities they hold to the wider public and as a public institution in the cultural sector.

There is also considerable progress to be made still in conceptualising co-creation further and offering stronger models to inform co-creation theory. The collaborative spectrum typology distilled from the literature in section 2.2.3 could for example be improved to add more collaboration levels to the community-led side of the spectrum, which would not only offer more nuance around highly under-researched practices, but also help co-creation to sit in the middle of that spectrum, rather than at position 4 out of 5. This would offer a more natural fit with its 50-50% aim for sharing agency.

There is a similar need for a stronger reincarnation of an agency scale for co-creation projects. The research presents Jubb's (2018) scale as being inadequate, but the pie chart exercise conducted as part of the interviews also had its limitations. Some of the researchers required three pie charts to explain fluctuations in agency throughout the project, while others showed tokenistic divisions of agency by drawing a circle around the first pie chart for those who in fact had full veto power over the co-creation project. It may be worth considering a more flexible and accurate model to measure or even just identify levels of agency, so it may become easier for co-creators to spot power imbalances or tokenistic relationships.

Finally, this research highlighted a few ethical questions around risk tolerance. These include how to balance giving freedom to community or artist voices while also mitigating the risk of reputational damage (such as in Tate Exchange's dispute with its lead artist) or what happens when senior

managers with co-creation visions clash with the decision-making bodies that govern them (such as Hudson's dispute with the Whitworth university board). As the incidents fell outside the original data collection period for this research, a full answer to these questions could not be included, but the radical consequences of these incidents (i.e. the departure of senior leaders and the discontinuation of a major flagship co-creation project) clearly show the importance of such questions. Perhaps this set of ethical questions and the approach to adequate risk management is the most urgent, as the consequences of such clashes can undo much of the impact of its respective co-creation projects and can be detrimental to the change, learning, and legacy that remain in the long term.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Case study long list

The research to compile this list was done in March and April 2019.

Organisation (Project name)	Description	Organisation type	Location	Project type	Geographical remit	Since
Tate (Tate Exchange)	Floor dedicated to art interventions by curated associates	Art museum	UK, London (and Liverpool)	Programme (in physical space)	National (looking at international)	2016
Museum of London (new capital project)	Capital project to include local and diverse voices in displays?	History museum	UK, London	Capital project	National/ Regional?	2018?
Horniman Museums and Gardens (The Studio)	New studio space for collaborative, co-curated, socially engaged exhibitions	Ethnography/ natural history museum	UK, London	Programme (in physical space)	Regional	2018
V&A (Create Voice)	Young people's collective who co-create youth programmes	Design museum	UK, London	Programme	National/ Regional	2012?
Derby Museums (Museum of Making)	Capital project which invites local residents to co-create the new museum	Art and crafts museum?	UK, Derby	Organisation/ Programme/ Capital project	Regional	2011

Mima (Middlesbrough Settlement)	Inviting visitors to use the museum as a community centre, project looking at their needs	Art museum	UK, Middlesbrough	Organisation/ Project	Regional	?-2020
Manchester Museum (Hello Future)	Capital project focusing on improving diversity and inclusion across the museum	Ethnography/ natural history museum	UK, Manchester	Capital project	Regional	2018-2020
Whitworth and Manchester Art Gallery (new projects coming up)	Museum's vision is to use art for social change, with projects on sustainability and health	Art museum	UK, Manchester	Projects	National/ Regional?	New vision since 2017
Pitt Rivers Museum and History of Science Museum (Multaka)	Museums collaborating to provide volunteering for refugees and help them integrate	Ethnography/ science museum	UK, Oxford	Project	Local	Until 2019
Collective	Creative space in which artists and community members come together to create art	Art museum and observatory	UK, Edinburgh	Projects	Regional	1984

The Portland Inn Project	Artist-led project to turn a local pub into a community arts centre, together with the community	Arts centre	UK, Stoke	Project	Local	2018
Queerseum	Collective of activists collecting queer experiences and stories	Collection campaign	UK, London	Project	Regional	2016
Furtherfield (Platforming Finsbury Park - Sci-Fi Project)	Arts and digital centre in Finsbury Park running citizen science/journalism project	Arts production company	UK, London	Programme	Local	Sci-Fi project: 2019-2021
The Showroom (Communal Knowledge)	Community gallery working with local residents in all elements of their organisation	Art gallery	UK, London	Organisation	Local?	1983
Cubitt Gallery	Artist-led gallery with major outreach projects for local area	Art gallery	UK, London	Organisation	Local?	1991

British Museum (Object Journeys)	Capital project to include authentic and diverse voices in displays	Ethnography Museum	UK, London	Capital project	International	2015-2018
National Maritime Museum (Endeavour Gallery)	Co-curation project that lets community groups shape four new galleries	Maritime museum	UK, London	Capital project	National/ Regional	2016-2018
Battersea Arts Centre (Co-Creating Change)	Knowledge exchange network for co-creation practitioners to share learning and to collaborate	Theatre/ Knowledge network	UK, London	Network	National	2018
History of Science Museum (Curate)	The public is invited to help shape the display about Islamic artefacts	Science museum	UK, Oxford	Project	Regional/ Local?	2017
Turner Contemporary (Journeys with 'The Waste Land')	Co-curated exhibition being interpreted by local residents	Art museum	UK, Margate	Exhibition	Regional	2015-2018

Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery (The Past Is Now)	Co-curated exhibition to incude BAME voices in post-colonial exhibition narrative	Art museum/ History museum	UK, Birmingham	Exhibition	Regional	2017-2018
Eastside Projects	Artist-run gallery proposing a model in which programme and space are shaped by members	Art gallery	UK, Birmingham	Organisation	Local?	2008
IKON Gallery (Slow Boat)	Contemporary art gallery with off-site mobile museum boat to increase engagement with art	Art gallery	UK, Birmingham	Public programme	Regional/ Local?	2017-2019
Grizedale Arts	Art producers running artist-led socially engaged art projects	Arts production company	UK, Lawson Park (Lake District)	Projects	International?	1969
Multistory	Art producers working with local community to produce exhibitions and art festivals	Arts production company	UK, West Bromwich	Projects	Local	2010

Cornwall Museums Partnership (Citizen Curators)	Training programme for community volunteers to engage in curation and produce shows	Training programme	UK, Cornwall	Training	Regional	2018
Creative People and Places	National network with funding for 'culturally deprived' places	Funding network	UK, across England	Network/ Action research project	National	2009?
Tensta Konsthall	Grass-roots museum servicing and by the community	Art museum	Sweden, Stockholm	Organisation	Local?	1998
Van Abbemuseum (Werksalon)	Space dedicated to art interventions by curated associates	Art museum	Netherlands, Eindhoven	Programme (in physical space)	Regional	2017-2020
Amsterdam Museum (Ontmoet Amsterdam)	Co-creation programme to showcase the diversity of the city	History museum	Netherlands, Amsterdam	Programme	Local	2015

Van Gogh Museum (Van Gogh Verbindt)	Consultation project to programme activities to draw in more diverse audiences	Art museum	Netherlands, Amsterdam	Research programme	National/ Local	2017-2021
Museum of Contemporary Art Antwerp - M KHA (Lodgers Programme)	Museum inviting artistic initiatives to occupy a floor of the museum doing interventions	Art museum	Belgium, Antwerp	Programme	National/ Regional	2015-2017?
Humboldt Forum (Tanzania collaboration)	Capital project to include authentic and diverse voices in displays	Ethnography museum	Germany, Berlin	Capital project	International	2019 (TObe opene d)
Kunsthalle Wien (Community College)	Contemporary art museum running a youth programme co-created by young people	Art museum	Austria, Vienna	Programme	Regional	2017
Museum of Broken Relationships	Collection of stories crowd-sourced from across the world	Collection campaign	Croatia, Zagreb/ USA, Los Angeles	Programme	International	2006

SALT Galata (Office of Useful Art)	Museums hosting workshops and events under the Arte Útil banner	Art museum	Turkey, Istanbul	Public programme	National?	2017
SKCNS - Student Culture Center Novi Sad (Exhibitions programme)	The Centre supports emerging talent and puts on 20 exhibitions a year with students	Arts centre	Serbia, Novi Sad	Programme	Regional?	1993
Toplocentrala	Capital project which invites local residents to co-create the new arts centre	Arts centre	Bulgaria, Sofia	Capital project	Regional?	2019 (TObe opened)
Myseum	City museum telling the stories of its local residents	History museum	Canada, Toronto	Organisation	Regional/ Local?	2014
MOCA - Museum of Contemporary Art (Art in Use)	Museum running a year-long Arte Útil programme	Art museum	Canada, Toronto	Exhibition	Regional/ Local?	2018-2019

Queens Museum (Immigrant Movement International)	Community museum providing Tania Bruguera's IMI movement with a community space	Art museum	USA, New York	Project	International / Regional?	2013?
Queens Museum (Corona Plaza projects)	Community museum co-creating with locals an events programme for a public square	Art museum	USA, New York	Programme	Local	2017?
Queens Museum (Community Partnership Exhibition Program)	Community museum providing a space for local artists to organise exhibitions	Art museum	USA, New York	Programme	Local?	2013?
El Museo del Barrio (various community projects)	Community museum running socially engaged projects for the Latin community	Art museum	USA, New York	Projects	Local	1969
9/11 Memorial and Museum (Museum Planning Conversation Series)	Museum invites public to have a say in planning, as well as contribute objects and stories	History museum, memorial	USA, New York	Programme	Local	2011

Santa Cruz Museum of Art & History (Pop-up Museum)	Community museum co-creating all programmes and functioning as local community centre	Art museum/ History museum	USA, Santa Cruz (California)	Organisation	Regional/ Local?	2011
Oakland Museum of California (Center for Audience and Civic Engagement)	Community museum with a mission to create a better community in California	Ethnography, art and natural history museum	USA, Oakland (California)	Programme	Regional?	New vision since 2013
The New Children's Museum	Contemporary art museum for children, allowing them to interact with the exhibitions	Art museum	USA, San Diego (California)	Public programme	Regional	
Portland Art Museum (Object Stories)	Exhibition series in which community storytellers help shape exhibitions about their histories	Art museum	USA, Portland (Oregon)	Exhibition programme	Regional	2010
Philbrook Museum of Art	City museum engaging new audiences by involving them	Art museum	USA, Philbrook (Oklahoma)	Public programme	Regional	

	in art activities and interventions					
OfByForAll	Consultancy network to train member organisations in participatory practice	Knowledge network	USA/ International	Network	International	2018
Immigration Museum (Talking Difference)	Collecting stories to celebrate diversity across the museum	History museum	Australia, Melbourne	Digital project	Regional	2010
Australian Museum (various citizen science projects)	Museum running 6-8 citizen science projects for volunteers to get involved in	Ethnography/ natural history museum	Australia, Sydney	Digital project	National?	Various
MAMBA - Museum of Modern Art Buenos Aires (El Museo Humano)	Contemporary art museum working to make their institution more inclusive	Art museum	Argentina, Buenos Aires	Project	National?	2018
MUAC - Museo Universitario Arte Contemporaneo	University museum working with local neighbourhood to increase access to art	Art museum	Mexico, Mexico City	Programme	National/ Regional?	2008

(Pedregal de Sante Domingo)						
JA.CA Centre for Art and Technology (various projects)	Independent arts centre working with locals to experiment with architecture and urban design	Arts centre	Brazil, Mina Gerais	Organisation	Local	2010
Platohedro (various community projects)	Arts organisation producing creative community projects to enable a city of Good Living	Arts production company	Colombia, Medellin	Projects	Local?	2004
Conflictorium - Museum of Conflict (#KeepTalking)	Providing a platform for discussion between participants	History museum	India, Ahmedabad	Organisation	Regional/ Local?	2013
Old Weather	Digital project for citizen-scientists to help transcribe archival material about sea journeys	Citizen science organisation	Digital only	Digital project	International	2010

Regional Arts Australia	Network championing and funding regional and rural arts	Funding network	Australia, Victoria?	Network	National	1943

Appendix 2: List of all interviews and observations

Tate interviews

Interviewee 1: 5 February 2020, in person, Tate Modern.

Interviewee 2: 29 February 2020, in writing, via email.

Interviewee 3: 4 February 2020, in person, Tate Modern.

Interviewee 4: 5 February 2020, in person, Tate Modern.

Interviewee 5: 5 February 2020, in person, Tate Modern.

Interviewee 6: 28 January 2020, in person, Tate Britain.

Interviewee 7: 29 January 2020, in person, Tate Modern.

Interviewee 8: 11 February 2020, in person, Tate Britain.

Interviewee 9: 12 February 2020, in person, Tate Modern.

Interviewee 10: 13 January 2020, in person, Tate Modern.

Interviewee 11: 23 February 2021, via online video call.

Interviewee 12: 24 February 2021, via online video call.

Interviewee 13: 19 January 2022, via online video call.

Tate observations

Observation 1: Tate Exchange Staff Tour, 24 Oct 2019, Floor 5, Tate Modern.

Observation 2: Evaluation Meeting, 9 Dec 2019, Tanks Studio, Tate Modern.

Observation 3: Practice Day, 13 Jan 2020, Southwark Room, Tate Modern.

Observation 4: Practice Day, 16 Mar 2020, via online video call.

Observation 5: Practice Day, 18 May 2020, via online video call.

Observation 6: Practice Day, 15 July 2020, via online video call.

Observation 7: Practice Day, 14 September 2020, via online video call.

Observation 8: Offers and Needs Marketplace, 28 September 2020, via online video call.

Observation 9: Tate all staff meeting, 26 November 2020, via online video call.

Observation 10: Community Practice Group, 17 September 2021, via online video call

Observation 11: Community Practice Group, 6 December 2021, via online video call

Observation 12: Community Practice Group, 7 February 2022, via online video call

Whitworth interviews

Interviewee 1: 10 March 2020, in person, Whitworth Art Gallery.

Interviewee 2: 16 March 2020, via online video call.

Interviewee 3: 17 March 2020, via online video call.

Interviewee 4: 21 April 2020, via online video call.

Interviewee 5: 23 April 2020, via online video call.

Interviewee 6: 27 April 2020, via online video call.

Interviewee 7: 29 April 2020, via online video call.

Interviewee 8: 1 May 2020, via online video call.

Whitworth observations

Observation 1: Oaklands Project Workshop, 6 March 2020, Whitworth Art Gallery.

Observation 2: Art in Action Meeting, 29 April 2020, via online video call.

Observation 3: Art in Action Meeting, 6 May 2020, via online video call.

Observation 4: Art in Action Meeting, 13 May 2020, via online video call.

Observation 5: Art in Action Meeting, 22 May 2020, via online video call.

Observation 6: Constituent Voices Meeting, 1 June 2020, via online video call.

Observation 7: Art in Action Meeting, 5 June 2020, via online video call.

Observation 8: Art in Action Meeting, 11 June 2020, via online video call.

Observation 9: Constituent Voices Meeting, 15 June 2020, via online video call.

Observation 10: Constituent Voices Meeting, 29 June 2020, via online video call.

Observation 11: Constituent Voices Meeting, 13 July 2020, via online video call.

Observation 12: Constituent Voices Meeting, 24 August 2020, via online video call.

Observation 13: Evaluation Meeting, 3 September 2020, via online video call.

Observation 14: Constituent Voices Meeting, 7 September 2020, via online video call.

Queens Museum interviews

Interviewee 1: 18 September 2020, via online video call.

Interviewee 2: 19 October 2020, via online video call.

Interviewee 3: 9 December 2020, via online video call.

Interviewee 4: 11 December 2020, via online video call.

Interviewee 5: 15 December 2020, via online video call.

Interviewee 6: 15 December 2020, via online video call.

Interviewee 7: 16 December 2020, via online video call.

Interviewee 8: 23 December 2020, via online video call.

Interviewee 9: 29 December 2020, via online video call.

Queens Museum observations

Observation 1: All staff meeting, 3 September 2020, via online video call.

Observation 2: All staff meeting and video gallery tour, 10 September 2020, via online video call.

Observation 3: All staff artist presentation, 17 September 2020, via online video call.

Observation 4: Evaluation meeting, 18 September 2020, via online video call.

Observation 5: All staff MIXdesign presentation, 24 September 2020, via online video call.

Observation 6: All staff meeting, 8 October 2020, via online video call.

Observation 7: All staff meeting, 15 October 2020, via online video call.

Observation 8: All staff gallery tour, 22 October 2020, via online video call.

Observation 9: Elections Content Working Group, 23 October 2020, via online video call.

Observation 10: All staff meeting, 29 October 2020, via online video call.

Observation 11: All staff meeting, 5 November 2020, via online video call.

Observation 12: All staff meeting, 12 November 2020, via online video call.

Observation 13: EDIA Working Group, 19 November 2020, via online video call.

Observation 14: All staff meeting, 19 November 2020, via online video call.

Observation 15: All staff meeting, 3 December 2020, via online video call.

Observation 16: All staff artist presentation, 17 December 2020, via online video call.

Observation 17: All staff meeting, 24 December 2020, via online video call.

Appendix 3: Interview topic guide

Questions for a 60-90 minute interview:

1. **Situating your role**

   A. Could you give me a short description of your role at this museum?

   B. To what extent does your work involve engaging with community groups? These could be local people, people from a certain ethnic background, age or country, or people with a specific interest in the collection for instance.

   C. [If they don't work with communities]: Some of the other teams work with community groups. In your role or department, do you think there would be benefits of working with communities? If so, what would they be? What would be the challenges?

2. **Situating the co-creation project (Tate Exchange/Constituent Museum/Year of Uncertainty)**

   A. Could you give a brief introduction into the project to me, as if I am a visiting staff member from another museum who hasn't heard of the project before?

   B. Could you give a short description of your role within this project / your relation to this project?

3. **Reflection on practices and change**

   A. Could you give a description of what you understand the [name of co-creation project] to be?

B. Do you have any relation to this project, and if so, could you describe that relationship to me?

C. [If no relationship]: Is there a particular reason for not engaging with this project? If it did not feel relevant, what would make it feel more relevant to you?

D. [If there is a relationship]: What were your expectations for engaging with this project? How did you think it would benefit you or your work? Have they been met?

E. [Also if there is a relationship]: What have you learnt or taken away from spending time with / working on this project? Did you ever take time to reflect upon this before?

F. [Also if there is a relationship] Are there things you learnt that you have applied to your own practice afterwards? Is there anything you have learnt from the community group in particular perhaps, or through working with them?

G. [Also if there is a relationship] Are there any differences in how you work or how you see your practice now, compared to at the beginning of the project? Did you apply any of your learning to your own job?

H. [Also if there is a relationship] What changes did you make to the way you (and the team) work to accommodate the needs of the community (if any)?

4. **Power dynamics in this project**

A. On a sheet of paper, could you make a list of the different stakeholders of this project / of a recent project you have worked

on with other stakeholders? These could include teams within your own department, but also other departments, external partners, community groups, etc.

B. How much of a say did each stakeholder have in the project? Could you draw a pie chart and indicate the proportions for how much agency each stakeholder type has within the project? Can you talk me through the proportions you have chosen?

C. Were there moments or project phases where those proportions changed?

D. [If proportions are close to equal:] Would you describe this project as an equal collaboration between the stakeholders?

E. [If the proportions aren't close to equal:] Could you imagine a (version of this) project in which the stakeholders have equal roles? What would that look like? Or why is that not feasible?

5. **Mission change**

A. If you worked here before the arrival of your new director, do you notice any changes between how you worked then and how you work now? What changes have had an effect on you and on the organisation?

B. What role do you think community groups have in the new vision for the museum you work for? How do you feel your work fits into that new mission?

C. Could you describe what functions you think museums might have in today's society? What functions might they have for their communities in particular?

D. How do you feel your work fits into the functions you have described (if at all)?

6. Reflecting on the impact of Covid-19

A. Has Covid-19 had any impact on how you approach the role of a museum in society? How has it changed?

B. Has Covid-19 had any impact on the importance [the relevant co-creation project] is given within your organisation? How has it changed?

7. Definitions of co-creation practice

A. How would you describe what [the word the respective museum uses to indicate collaborative practices, e.g. 'socially engaged'] means? What types of activities would be included under that heading?

B. What role do you think [your term for collaboration] has in this museum? Is it important? For whom is it important and for whom is it not?

C. Could you indicate which teams / departments you think are concerned with [your term for collaboration]? Could you talk me through your answer? Which departments do not engage with this practice at all?

D. What does the word 'co-creation' mean to you? What types of activities could it encompass?

E. What role do you think co-creation has in your museum? If very little, what do you think the potential for it is?

8. **Reflecting on the future**

   A. Where would you like to see your museum in five years?

   B. What is needed to get there? And what would be the barriers that might keep you from getting there?

Appendix 4: Coding framework

Core codes	Descriptive themes	Analytical sub-themes
New museum models	Changed relationship to community	Exchange
		Constituents
		Accessing new audiences
		Alienation and fresh eyes
	Useful museums	Community museum
		Arte Útil
		Usership and instrumentalisation
		Resources
		Expertise
		Social return on investment
		Open
		Welcome
		Community needs
	Ambitions for socially-engaged museums	Listening organisations
		Deep relationships
		Civic and social roles

		Social justice
		Situated practice
		Ecology approach
		Future of museums
Critical reflection	Exploring new practices	Experimentation
		Institutional change
		Embracing uncertainty
		Uncertainty as a practice
		Risk-taking
	Reflective practice	Resilience
		Flexibility
		Expectations and motivations
		Managing expectations
		Institutional reflection and evaluation
		Institutional critique
Organisational change	Reprioritising organisational structures	Organisational silos
		Departmental silos
		Hierarchies

		Reprioritising learning vs curatorial work
		Job titles and organograms
	Transforming organisational practices	Consultation and listening practices
		Decision-making processes
		Negotiation
		Ethics
		Responsibility of co-creation labour
		Access and inclusion
		Recruitment
		Project management and cycles
		Internal collaboration
		Dismantling hierarchies
	Co-creation projects	Audience engagement programming
		Learning and outreach programmes
		Co-curated displays

		Governance and community boards
		Shop and café spaces
	Changing art practice	Artist-led co-creation
		Artist-driven change
		Role of artists
		Role of curator
Change process	Change enablers	Confidence
		Individual champions
		Grassroots vs top-down
		Leadership
		Internal communication
		Community of practice
		Absences of co-creation
	Leadership	Vision and mission
		Leading organisational change
		Embedded organisational change
		Future of the museum
		Sustainability

		Partnerships
	Barriers to change	Funding
		Risk
		Physical barriers
		Engagement as peripheral
		Co-creation zeitgeist
		Departmental territorialism
		Institutionalised communities
	External change factors	Covid-19 pandemic
		Initial pandemic response
		Pandemic downtime
		Participation agenda
Conceptualising co-creation	Co-creation theory	Defining co-creation
		Defining community
		Collaborative spectrum
		Criticism on language
		Confidence using language
		Individual agency

	Co-creation relationship values	Sense of ownership
		Trust
		Transparency
		Authenticity
		Accountability
		Diversity and inclusion
		Managing conflict
		Not unique or new

Appendix 5: Information sheet for research participants

The following text was sent to interviewees, gatekeepers and other research participants as a PDF document in advance of taking part in the research. A hardcopy of it was also handed to participants before each interviews, where these took place in person.

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

Ethical Clearance Reference Number: LRS-19/20-14664

YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS INFORMATION SHEET

Challenging ways of working: the impact of co-creation projects on museum practice

I would like to invite you to participate in this research project, which forms part of my PhD research. Before you decide whether you want to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what your participation will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

What is the purpose of the study?

The purpose of the study is to understand the impact that community co-creation work at museums has on the working practices of those museums. I

am interested in seeing if museums change their ways of working when they invite community participants to get involved, and so if co-creation could be regarded as a catalyst for reflection and change across the museum. There has been very little research that looks at the impact of co-creation processes on organisations and its potential connection to organisational change.

Why have I been invited to take part?

You are being invited to participate in this study because you have been involved – directly or indirectly – in the process or an output of a co-creation project run by this research' case study museums.

What will happen if I take part?

If you choose to take part in the study you will be asked to give your views, opinions and experiences of the relevant co-creation project, and potentially about any impact of it you might have noticed on the rest of the museum. This might happen as part of an interview with you, or as part of my observation of museum events relating to the co-creation process. Participation in the interviews or observations will take place at the museum, and the duration will generally be agreed in advance. In most cases your involvement will be a one-off participation, unless otherwise agreed. As part of participation you will be asked to talk about your views, opinions and experiences – I will not ask for personal or sensitive information about you. I might propose to audio-record your interview, but will only do so with your permission.

Do I have to take part?

Participation is completely voluntary. You should only take part if you want to and choosing not to take part will not disadvantage you in anyway. Once you have read the information sheet, please contact us if you have any questions that will help you make a decision about taking part. If you decide to take part we will ask you to sign a consent form and you will be given a copy of this consent form to keep. Where consent forms might be impossible or inappropriate, we will ask to you state your verbal consent instead, which we will document accordingly.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

We do not offer any remuneration for taking part. Your data will be used to make the museum more aware of its practice and potentially follow any recommendations outlined in the research outcomes to improve the impact of its co-creation work. Therefore your participation will help the museum reflect on its work and make improvements (while your comments will be treated anonymously and confidentially – see below).

Data handling and confidentiality

Your data will be processed in accordance with the General Data Protection Regulation 2016 (GDPR) and be held in compliance with UK data protection standards. Your participation will be anonymous and I will not use your name, however if you are museum staff I will ask you if I can use your job title. You can refuse, and you will be able to indicate on the consent form what level of anonymity you consent to. The research will be mentioning the name of the museum. I will be the only person to have access to your data, and so your data will not be passed on to anyone at the museum. The data

will be kept for a maximum of four years after the end of the research project. will be pseudonymised, password protected and stored on an off-line external hard drive in a locked cabinet.

Data Protection Statement

The data controller for this project will be King's College London. The University will process your personal data for the purpose of the research outlined above. The legal basis for processing your personal data for research purposes under GDPR is a 'task in the public interest' You can provide your consent for the use of your personal data in this study by completing the consent form that has been provided to you.

You have the right to access information held about you. Your right of access can be exercised in accordance with the General Data Protection Regulation. You also have other rights including rights of correction, erasure, objection, and data portability. Questions, comments and requests about your personal data can also be sent to the King's College London Data Protection Officer Mr Albert Chan info-compliance@kcl.ac.uk. If you wish to lodge a complaint with the Information Commissioner's Office, please visit www.ico.org.uk.

What if I change my mind about taking part?

You are free to withdraw from the study at any point during your participation, without having to give a reason. Withdrawing from the study will not affect you in any way. You are able to withdraw your data from the study up until two weeks after your data was collected by the researcher. After that, withdrawal of your data will no longer be possible due to the data having been

anonymised and committed to the final report. If you choose to withdraw from the study within the aforementioned period we will not retain the information you have given thus far.

How is the project being funded?

This study is being funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, through the Collaborative Doctoral Partnership scheme.

What will happen to the results of the study?

The results of the study will be summarised in my PhD thesis, which will be published online and will be free to access. Additionally, the data might provide a basis for write-ups in the shape of articles, book chapters, oral presentations or other types of publications and might be disseminated via journals, magazines, conferences or through presentations at the case study museums, among other options. The anonymised data set will not be made publically available.

Who should I contact for further information?

If you have any questions or require more information about this study, please contact me using the following contact details:

Stella Toonen

PhD student in the Department of Culture, Media and Creative Industries

King's College London

stella.toonen@kcl.ac.uk

What if I have further questions, or if something goes wrong?

If this study has harmed you in any way or if you wish to make a complaint about the conduct of the study you can contact King's College London using the details below for further advice and information:

Dr Anna Woodham

Lecturer in Arts and Cultural Management

Department of Culture, Media and Creative Industries

1.05 Chesham Building

King's College London (Strand Campus)

London WC2R 2LS

anna.woodham@kcl.ac.uk

Thank you for reading this information sheet and for considering taking part in this research.

Appendix 6: Consent form for research participants

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

KING'S
College
LONDON

Title of Study: Challenging ways of working: the impact of co-creation projects on museum practice

King's College Research Ethics Committee Ref: LRS-19/20-14664

Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The person organising the research must explain the project to you before you agree to take part. If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

	Please tick or initial
I confirm that I understand that by ticking/initialling each box I am consenting to this element of the study. I understand that it	

will be assumed that unticked/initialled boxes mean that I DO NOT consent to that part of the study. I understand that by not giving consent for any one element I may be deemed ineligible for the study.	
1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet dated 10/12/2019 for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information and asked questions which have been answered to my satisfaction.	
2. I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this study and understand that I can refuse to answer questions and I can withdraw from the study at any time, without having to give a reason, during the session with the researcher. I can withdraw my data up until 2 weeks after the data collection session with the researcher.	
3. I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes explained to me in the Information Sheet. I understand that such information will be handled in accordance with the terms of the General Data Protection Regulation.	
4. I understand that my information may be subject to review by responsible individuals from the College for monitoring and audit purposes.	
5. I understand that confidentiality will be maintained and that my name will not be used in the research.	
6. I agree to be partially identified (e.g. by job title/professional relationship to the researched project) in	

any research outputs, as explained in the Information Sheet. If you'd like to specify any restrictions, please add them here: _____	
7. I agree that the researcher may use my data for future research and understand that any such use of identifiable data would be reviewed and approved by a research ethics committee and be treated with the same levels of anonymity as agreed for this research.	
8. I understand that the information I have submitted will be published as a report and I wish to receive an electronic copy of it.	
9. I consent to my interview being audio recorded.	

_____   _____   _____

Name of Participant   **Date**   **Signature**

STELLA TOONEN   _____   _____

Name of Researcher   **Date**   **Signature**

Appendix 7: Publications and presentations

Publications

Toonen, S. (2019). Can museums save European democracy? *Are We Europe*, issue 4. Available at:

https://magazine.areweeurope.com/stories/elections-issue/stella-toonen-museums-democracy

Toonen, S. (2020). Museums making a demonstrable positive impact in the fields of education and employability. *MGS Evidence Literature Review Series*. Glasgow: Museums Galleries Scotland. Available at:

https://www.museumsgalleriesscotland.org.uk/media/2454/mgs-lit-review-on-impact-education-employability.pdf

Toonen, S. (2021*a*). Co-creation in Covid-time: Embracing change and uncertainty. *Cultural Practices*, 28 April 2021. Manchester: University of Manchester. Available at: https://www.culturalpractice.org/article/co-creation-in-covid-time-embracing-change-and-uncertainty

Toonen, S. (2021*b*). Adapting to a changing world: How co-creation with communities informed organisational change in museums throughout 2020. *Museological Review,* 25: 99-110. Leicester: University of Leicester. Available at: https://le.ac.uk/-/media/uol/docs/academic-departments/museum-studies/museological-review/mr-issue-25-revisiting-museums.pdf

Toonen, S. (2021*c*). Uncertainty as a new community practice at the Queens Museum. *Year of Uncertainty,* 15 September 2021. New York: Queens Museum. Available at:

https://you.queensmuseum.org/2021/09/15/stella-toonen-uncertainty-as-a-new-community-practice-at-the-queens-museum/

Toonen, S. (2021*d*). Co-creating the city. *Dutch Culture*, 10 November 2021. Amsterdam: Dutch Culture. Available at: https://dutchculture.nl/en/news/co-creating-city

Toonen, S. (2022). Tate's 'backward step'. *Arts Professional*, 16 February 2022. Available at: https://www.artsprofessional.co.uk/magazine/article/tates-backward-step

Toonen, S. (2023). The rise of the constituent museum. In: Armin, J. and Bowler, D. (Eds.) (2023). How many eggs does it take to make an omelette? The Constituent Museum cookbook. Manchester & Eindhoven: Whitworth and Van Abbemuseum, 28-34.

Toonen, S. (submitted). Co-creation at Tate Exchange as a catalyst for critical reflection and organisational change. *Tate Papers.* London: Tate. [Currently being revised].

Brennan, L., Brader, C., Matarasso, F., Hajiyianni, N., Blowers, S., Manning, E., Elmer-Gorry, C., Toonen, S. (Eds.) (2023). *Co-creation principles*. [Online]. Available at: https://salfordlcep.com/co-creation-principles.html

Presentations and conference papers

Toonen, S. (2019). Community co-creation in museums. [Guest lecture]. *Curating Protest Memory*, 28 March 2019. London: King's College London.

Toonen, S. (2019). Challenging ways of working: The impact of co-creation projects on museum practice. [Upgrade presentation]. *CMCI PhD Seminar Series,* 5 June 2019. London: King's College London.

Toonen, S. (2019). Co-creation, co-production, co-curation: An analysis of definitions used around collaborative museum practice. [Conference paper]. *CMCI PhD Conference*, 6 June 2019. London: King's College London.

Toonen, S. (2019). Co-creation, participation, collaboration: A critical typology of collaborative practices between museums and community groups. [Conference paper]. *NWC DTP PhD Conference*, 28 October 2019. Manchester: University of Manchester.

Toonen, S. (2020). Can museums save democracy? [Keynote]. *TEDxEindhoven*, postponed due to Covid-19. Eindhoven: TEDxEindhoven.

Toonen, S. (2020). Researching co-creation at the Queens Museum. [Guest lecture]. Queens Museum staff meetings, 3 September 2020. New York: Queens Museum.

Toonen, S. (2021). Co-creation, participation, collaboration: How communities might change museums from within. [Keynote]. *Lancaster Institute for the Contemporary Arts Lecture Series*, 22 February 2021. Lancaster: Lancaster University.

Toonen, S. (2021). Co-creation 101. [Guest lecture]. *Leading Creative Communities,* 19 April 2021. London: 64 Million Artists.

Toonen, S. (2021). Evaluating co-creation. [Guest lecture]. *Leading Creative Communities,* 10 May 2021. London: 64 Million Artists.

Toonen, S. (2021). Co-creation in Covid-time: Opportunities for change in
museums. [Conference paper]. *CMCI Conference*, 2 June 2021. London:
King's College London.

Toonen, S. (2021). The impact of co-creation. [Guest lecture]. *YPP Guiding
Principles for Co-Creation Series,* 5 July 2021. Manchester: Salford LCEP.

Toonen, S. (2021). Co-creation: Opportunities for change in museums.
[Training]. *DCMS Staff Conference*, 22 July 2021. London: DCMS.

Toonen, S. (2021). Co-creating the city. [Keynote]. *Collecting the City*, 5
November 2021. Amsterdam: Amsterdam Museum and Dutch Culture.

Toonen, S. (2021). Collaboration, participation, co-creation: A new curatorial
turn. [Guest lecture]. *Museums, audiences and communities*, 25 November
2021. London: King's College London.

Toonen, S. (2022). Introduction to co-creation. [Guest lecture]. *Thrive
Programme*, 12 April 2022. Dublin: University College Dublin.

Toonen, S. (2022). How co-creation can save democracy. [Keynote].
Euroculture Intensive Programme, 26 June 2022. Krakow: Jagiellonian
University.

Toonen, S. (2022). Collaboration, participation, co-creation: A new curatorial
turn. [Keynote]. *The Participatory Site*, 28 November 2022. Kassel:
Documenta Fifteen.

Videos and podcasts

Bortkevičiūtė, R. (Host) (2021). Interview with Stella Toonen. [Podcast].
Meetings at the Museum, 11 August 2021. Vilnius: Lithuanian National

Museum. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MUX-ehmfKmg&t=132s

Vindum, N. (Host) (2021). Online interviewing tips for researchers. [Video episode]. *Media & Culture Research + Study Tips + Methods*, 26 August 2021. London: Nina Vindum. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WPrAWW4YGPw&t=105s

Rumsey, K. and Mathiasson, J. (Hosts) (Forthcoming in April 2023). Co-creation and adult learning. [Podcast]. *The C-Word*, 28 April 2023. London: The C-Word.

Bibliography

64 Million Artists (2018). *Cultural democracy in practice.* Manchester: Arts Council England.

Abraham, M., Griffin, D. and Crawford, J. (1999). Organisation change and management decision in museums. *Management Decision*, 37(10): 736-751.

Acevedo, S. and Madara, M. (2015). *The Latino experience in museums: An exploratory audience research study.* San Francisco: Contemporanea. Available at: https://blog.americansforthearts.org/sites/default/files/Latino-Experience-in-Museums-Report-Contemporanea.pdf [Accessed 29 Jan 2022].

Addington, E. (2010). *Out there: The Open Museum – Pushing the boundaries of museums' potential.* Glasgow: Culture and Sport Glasgow.

Aldrich, H. and Ruef, M. (2006). *Organisations evolving.* 2nd Ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Algar, S. (2019). Queens is crowned nation's most diverse large county. *New York Post*, 4 July 2019. Available at: https://nypost.com/2019/07/04/queens-is-crowned-nations-most-diverse-large-county [Accessed 28 Apr 2022].

ALVA (Association of Leading Visitor Attractions) (2020). *2019 visitor figures.* [Online]. Available at: https://www.alva.org.uk/details.cfm?p=610. [Accessed 30 Jan 2022].

Ames, M. M. (2003). How to decorate a house: The renegotiation of cultural representations at the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology. In: Brown, A. K. and Peers, L. (Eds.) (2003). *Museums and source communities*. London: Routledge.

Amsterdam Museum (2022). *Collecting the city*. [Online]. Available at: https://www.amsterdammuseum.nl/en/exhibition/collecting-the-city/1250 [Accessed 20 Jan 2023].

Andersen, R. and Ponti, M. (2014). Participatory pedagogy in an open educational course: Challenges and opportunities. *Distance Education*, 35: 234-249.

Anderson, G. (Ed.) (2004). *Reinventing the museum: Historical and contemporary perspectives on the paradigm shift*. Lanham, MD: Altamira Press.

Anderson, G. (Ed.) (2011). *Reinventing the museum: The evolving conversation on the paradigm shift*. Lanham, MD: Altamira Press.

Anita, H. (2003). Objects, agency, and museums: Continuing dialogues between the Torres Strait and Cambridge. In: Brown, A. K. and Peers, L. (Eds.) (2003). *Museums and source communities*. London: Routledge.

Antón, C., Camarero, C. and Garrido, M. J. (2017). Exploring the experience value of museum visitors as a co-creation process. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 21(12): 1406-1425.

ARCHES (2019). *Towards a participatory museum: A how-to guide on inclusive activities*. Cornella de Llobregat: Nova Era Publications.

Armin, J. and Bowler, D. (Eds.) (2023). *How many eggs does it take to make an omelette? The Constituent Museum cookbook*. Manchester & Eindhoven: Whitworth and Van Abbemuseum.

Arnaboldi, M. and Diaz Lema, M. L. (2021). The participatory turn in museums: The online facet. *Poetics,* 89: 1-13.

Arnstein, S. (1969). A ladder of citizen participation. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 35(4): 216-224.

Arte Útil (2013). *Arte Útil Lab, Queens Museum.* [Online]. Available at: https://www.arte-util.org/studies/queens-museum/ [Accessed 10 Sep 2021].

Arte Útil (2019). *The constituent museum: collecting relations and the transformational potential of arte útil*. [Online]. Available at: http://www.arte-util.org/the-constituent-museum-collecting-relations-and-the-transformational-potential-of-arte-util/ [Accessed 15 Aug 2019].

Arts Council England (2018). *Shaping the next ten years: Developing a new strategy for Arts Council England 2020-2030.* Manchester: Arts Council England.

Arts Council England (2020). *Let's create: Strategy 2020-2030.* London: Arts Council England. [Online]. Available at: https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/sites/default/files/download-file/Strategy%202020_2030%20Arts%20Council%20England.pdf [Accessed 3 Dec 2021].

August Tree (n.d.). *About the August Tree.* [Online]. Available at: https://theaugusttree.com/pages/about-us [Accessed 8 Jan 2022].

Bailey, M. (2021). Running at 7%: Tate Modern's visitors slumped from 5.7 million at its peak to just 361,000 in 2020/21. *The Art Newspaper,* 10 November 2021 [Online]. Available at: https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2021/11/10/tates-income-loss-reflects-disastrous-impact-of-covid [Accessed 30 Jan 2022].

Bakare, L. (2020). Tate to cut 120 gallery jobs in £4.8m cost-cutting drive. *The Guardian*, 3 December 2020. [Online]. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2020/dec/03/tate-to-cut-120-gallery-jobs-in-48m-cost-cutting-drive [Accessed 20 Jul 2022].

Baker, M. and Engebretsen, E. (2022). Evidence and uncertainty in the time of pandemics. [Presentation]. *Cultures of Care: Tolerating Uncertainty*, digital seminar at King's College London, 21 January 2022. Available at: https://culturesofcare.com/uncategorized/cultures-of-care-tolerating-uncertainty/ [Accessed 20 July 2022].

Baldwin, S. (2021). Queens Museum Executive Director Sally Tallant on her vision for a more just art world. *Artnet News*, 27 July 2021. [Online]. Available at: https://news.artnet.com/career-stories/queens-museum-sally-tallant-more-just-museum-world-1987272 [Accessed 20 Jun 2022].

Balshaw, M. (2019). *Tate vision and 5-year plan.* [Internal document]. London: Tate.

Baveystock, Z. (2013). *Co-creating community projects: An introductory guide.* SHARE Museums East. [Online]. Available at: http://sharemuseumseast.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/Co-creating-Community-Projects.pdf [Accessed 10 January 2022].

BBC News (2022). Covid: US to lift travel ban for the fully jabbed on 8 November. *BBC News*, 15 October 2021. [Online]. Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-58929441 [Accessed 15 Oct 2021].

Bell, J. (2016). Tate Modern's Switch House extension takes the gallery into a bold new era. *The Spaces: Architecture*. [Online]. Available at:

https://thespaces.com/tate-moderns-switch-house-extension-takes-the-gallery-into-a-bold-new-era/ [Accessed 22 June 2022].

Bendapudi, N. and Leone, R. P. (2003). Psychological implications of customer participation in co-production. *Journal of Marketing*, 67(1): 14-28.

Berg, B. and Lune, H. (2014). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences.* 8th Ed. Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd.

Bermeo, E. (2010). *Creating an exhibition at Partnership Gallery in collaboration with the Queens Museum of Art.* [Online]. Available at: https://queensmuseum.org/2010/02/creating-an-exhibition-at-partnership-gallery-in-collaboration-with-the-queens-museum-of-art [Accessed 3 Dec 2021].

Bherer, L., Dufour, P., and Montambeault, F. (2016). The participatory democracy turn: An introduction. *Journal of Civil Society*, 12(3): 225-230.

Bienkowski, P. (2016). *No longer us and them – How to change into a participatory museum and gallery: Learning from the Our Museum programme.* Our Museum: Communities and Museums as Active Partners. London: Paul Hamlyn Foundation.

Bienkowski, P. and McGowan, H. (2021). *Managing change in museums and galleries: A practical guide.* London and New York: Routledge.

Birchall, M. (2015). Socially engaged art in the 1990s and beyond. *On Curating*, 25: 13-19.

Bishop, C. (2004). Antagonism and relational aesthetics. *October Magazine*, Fall 2004, no. 110: 51-79.

Bishop, C. (2006*a*). The social turn: Collaboration and its discontents. *Artforum*, 44(6): 176-183.

Bishop, C. (Ed.) (2006*b*). *Documents of contemporary art: Participation.* London: Whitechapel Gallery.

Bishop, C. (2012). *Artificial hells: Participatory art and the politics of spectatorship.* London, New York: Verso.

Black, G. (2012). *Transforming museums in the twenty-first century.* London & New York: Routledge.

Black, G. (2018). Meeting the audience challenge in the 'Age of Participation'. *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 33(4): 302-319.

Bloch, A. (2004) Doing social surveys. In: Seale, C. (Ed.) (2004). *Researching society and culture*. 2nd Ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 163-178.

Boiling, S. and Thurman, C. (2018). *Mapping and analysis of engagement approaches across the Creative People and Places programme.* Ashington: Creative People and Places.

Bonet, L. and Négrier, E. (2018). The participative turn in cultural policy: Paradigms, models, contexts. *Poetics*, 66: 64-73.

Bonet, L., Calvano, G., Carnelli, L., Dupin-Meynard, F. and Négrier, E. (2018). *Be SpectACTive! Challenging participation in the performing arts.* Spoleto, Italy: Editoria & Spettacolo.

Boucher, B. (2018*a*). 'I did not mislead the board': Former Queens Museum director Laura Raicovich defends herself against a scathing museum report. *Artnet News*, 14 February 2018. Available at: https://news.artnet.com/art-world/queens-museum-laura-raicovich-report-1224590 [Accessed 20 July 2022].

Boucher, B. (2018*b*). Queens Museum director Laura Raicovich resigns amid political differences with board. *Artnet News*, 26 January 2018. [Online].

Available at: https://news.artnet.com/art-world/queens-museum-director-raicovich-departs-political-leanings-1208804 [Accessed 3 Dec 2021].

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In: Richardson, J., ed. *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education.* New York: Greenwood, 241-258.

Bourriaud, N. (1998). Relational aesthetics. In: C. Bishop (Ed.) (2006). *Documents of contemporary art: participation.* London: Whitechapel Gallery, 160-171.

Bovill, C. (2013). An investigation of co-created curricula within higher education in the UK, Ireland and the USA. *Innovations in Education and Teaching International*, 51(1): 15-25.

Bowen, G. (2009). Document analysis as a qualitative research method. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 9(2): 27-40.

Brandsen, T., Steen, T. and Verschuere, B. (2018). *Co-production and co-creation: Engaging citizens in public services.* London & New York: Routledge.

Braun, V. and Clarke ,V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2): 77-101.

Brekke A. A. (2019). Quiet is the new loud? On activism, museums and changing the world. In: Janes, R. R. and Sandell, R. (Eds.) (2019). *Museum activism.* London & New York: Routledge.

Brekke, A. A. (2018). Changing practices: A qualitative study of drivers for change in Norwegian museums and archives. [PhD Thesis.] Leicester: University of Leicester.

Brennan, L., Brader, C., Matarasso, F., Hajiyianni, N., Blowers, S., Manning, E., Elmer-Gorry, C., Toonen, S. (2023). *Co-creation principles*. [Online].

Available at: https://salfordlcep.com/co-creation-principles.html# [Accessed 30 Jan 2023].

British Museum (2018). *Object journeys.* [Online]. Available at: https://objectjourneys.britishmuseum.org/ [Accessed 20 Jan 2023].

Brown, A., Novak-Leonard, J. and Gilbride, S. (2011). *Getting in on the act: How arts groups are creating opportunities for active participation.* San Francisco, CA: The James Irvine Foundation.

Bruguera, T. (2018). Tania Bruguera: Why I renamed Tate Modern. *The Art Newspaper*, 3 October 2018. [Online]. Available at: https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2018/10/03/tania-bruguera-why-i-renamed-tate-modern [Accessed 8 Jan 2022].

Bruguera, T. (n.d.). *About: Arte Util.* [Online]. Available at: https://www.arte-util.org/about/colophon/ [Accessed 9 May 2022].

Brulon Soares, B., Brown, K. and Nazor, O. (2017). *Defining museums of the 21st century: Plural experiences.* Paris: International Council of Museums (ICOM) and International Committee for Museology (ICOFOM).

Bryant, M. and Wolfram Cox, J. (2006). The expression of suppression: Loss and emotional labour in narratives of organisational change. *Journal of Management & Organization*, 12(2): 116-130.

Bryman, A. (2004). *Social research methods.* (2nd ed.) Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Burns, S. (2019*a*). What do we mean when we talk about co-creation? *Co-Creating Change blog,* 28 October 2019. [Online]. Available: http://www.cocreatingchange.org.uk/stories/what-do-we-mean-when-we-talk-about-co-creation/ [Accessed 20 May 2022].

Burns, S. (2019*b*). Providing learning support to the Co-Creating Change
network. *Co-Creating Change Stories,* Battersea Arts Centre, 5 July 2019.
[Online]. Available at:
http://www.cocreatingchange.org.uk/stories/providing-learning-
support-to-the-co-creating-change-network/ [Accessed 3 Feb 2022].

Burns, S. (2022). Growing, replicating or rebuilding? *Co-Creating Change
Stories,* Battersea Arts Centre, 18 January 2022. [Online]. Available at:
http://www.cocreatingchange.org.uk/stories/growing-replicating-or-
rebuilding/ [Accessed 21 Jun 2022].

Burns, S., Tiller, C. and Fox, P. (2021). *Considering co-creation.* St Helens: Heart
of Glass, and London: Battersea Arts Centre. [Online]. Available at:
https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/sites/default/files/download-
file/ConsideringCo-Creation.pdf [Accessed 22 May 2022].

Byrne, B. (2004). Qualitative interviewing. In: Seale, C. (Ed.) (2004).
Researching society and culture. (2nd ed). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
Publications, 179-192.

Byrne, J., Morgan, E., Paynter, N., Sánchez de Serdio, A., and Železnik, A.
(2018). *The Constituent Museum: Constellations of knowledge, politics and
mediation: A generator of social change.* Amsterdam: Valiz and
L'Internationale.

Cain, L. (2019). Keeping it real: Co-creating the evaluation of co-production.
UCL Public Engagement Blog, 4 June 2019. [Online].
https://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/public-engagement/2019/06/04/evaluating-co-
pro/ [Accessed 3 Feb 2022].

Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (2016). *Case Study: Derby Museums*. [Online].
Available at:

https://civicroleartsinquiry.gulbenkian.org.uk/resources/derby-museums [Accessed 3 Feb 2022].

Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (2017). *Rethinking relationships: Inquiry into the civic role of arts organisations (Phase 1 report).* London: Calouste Gulbenkian UK branch.

Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (2018). *Case Study: Queens Museum.* [Online]. Available at:
https://civicroleartsinquiry.gulbenkian.org.uk/resources/queens-museum [Accessed 10 Sep 2021].

Cameron, D. (1971). The museum, a temple or the forum. *Curator: The Museum Journal,* 14(1): 11-24.

Carter, N., Bryant-Lukosius, D., DiCenso, A., Blythe, J. and Neville, A. (2014). The use of triangulation in qualitative research. *Oncology Nursing Forum,* 41(5): 545-547.

Cascone, S. (2022). A Manchester museum director has been forced out after a group of pro-Israel attorneys objected to his Forensic Architecture show. *Artnet News*, 23 February 2022. Available at:
https://news.artnet.com/art-world/whitworth-art-gallery-director-forced-out-2076635 [Accessed 16 Jun 2023].

Charmaz, K. (2007). Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Chow, C. C. and Sarin, R. K. (2002). Known, unknown, and unknowable uncertainties. *Theory and Decision*, 52: 127-138.

Chynoweth, A., Lynch, B., Petersen, K. and Sarah Smed (Eds.) (2020). *Museums and social change: Challenging the unhelpful museum.* London: Routledge: 1-32.

Co-Creating Change (2022). Project commissions: The case studies. *Co-Creating Change resources*, 22 February 2022. [Online]. Available at: http://www.cocreatingchange.org.uk/resources/project-commissions-the-case-studies/ [Accessed 20 June 2022].

Co-Creating Change (n.d.). *About*. [Online] Available at: http://www.cocreatingchange.org.uk/about/ [Accessed 12 Aug 2019].

Coghlan, R. (2018). 'My voice counts because I'm handsome.' Democratising the museum: The power of museum participation. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 24(7): 795-809.

Coleman, L. E. S. and Moore, P. (2019). From the ground up: Grassroots social justice activism in American museums. In: Janes, R. R. and Sandell, R. (Eds.) (2019). *Museum activism.* London & New York: Routledge, 91-103.

Collins, S., Brueton, R., Greenough Graham, T., Organ, S., Strother, A. and West, S. E. (2020). Parenting Science Gang: Radical co-creation of research projects led by parents of young children. *Research Involvement and Engagement,* 6(9): 1-15.

Connelly, L. M. (2010). What is phenomenology? *MedSurg Nursing*, 19(2): 127-128.

Conner, D. and Patterson, R. (1982). Building commitment to organizational change. *Training & Development Journal*, 36(4): 18-30.

Cook, C. (2018). *Co-creation network: Evaluation of communities of practice.* Leeds, Durham: Yorkshire and the Humber Leadership Academy.

Cowley, D. and Cooke: (2021). *Creative people and places: Profiling and mapping 2020/21 – National report.* Commissioned by Arts Council England. London: The Audience Agency.

Cox, L. (2022). Equality vs equitability: What's still missing from a diverse workplace? *DIVERSEability Magazine,* March 2022. [Online]. Available at: https://diverseabilitymagazine.com/2022/03/equality-vs-equitability-whats-still-missing-diverse-workplace/ [Accessed 22 May 2022].

Crooke, E. (2011). Museums and community. In: Macdonald, S. (Ed.) (2011). *A companion to museum studies.* Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Crooke, E. (2020). Communities, change and the COVID-19 crisis. *Museum and Society,* 18(3): 305-310.

Crossick, G. and Kaszynska: (2016). *Understanding the value of arts and culture: The AHRC Cultural Value Project.* Swindon: AHRC.

Curato, N., Hammond, M. and Min, J. B. (2019). *Power in deliberative democracy*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Cutler, A. (2010). What is to be done Sandra? Learning in cultural institutions of the 21st century. *Tate Papers,* 13 (Spring). [Online] Available at: https://www.tate.org.uk/research/tate-papers/13/what-is-to-be-done-sandra-learning-in-cultural-institutions-of-the-twenty-first-century [Accessed 19 Aug 2022].

Cutler, A. (2018). The value of values: Reflections on Tate Exchange. *Tate Papers*, 30(Autumn).

Cutler, A. (n.d.). *Tate Learning: Vision and practice.* Tate. [Online]. Available at: https://www.tate.org.uk/research/research-centres/tate-research-centre-learning/arts-learning-tate [Accessed 19 Aug 2022].

Da Silva, J. (2019). Tania Bruguera's 2018 Turbine Hall commission becomes permanent at Tate Modern. *The Art Newspaper*, 4 October 2019. [Online]. Available at: https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2019/10/04/tania-

brugueras-2018-turbine-hall-commission-becomes-permanent-at-tate-modern [Accessed 8 Jan 2022].

Dafoe, T. and Boucher, B. (2019). New York City told its museums to diversify or lose funding. Here's how they plan to address the problem. *Artnet News*, 6 August 2019. [Online] Available at: https://news.artnet.com/art-world/new-york-museum-diversity-plans-1615537 [Accessed 6 Aug 2019].

Darwin Holmes, A. G. (2020). Researcher positionality – A consideration of its influence and place in qualitative research: A new researcher guide. *International Journal of Education*, 8(4): 1-10.

Davies, S. (2010). The co-production of temporary museum exhibitions. *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 25(3): 305-321.

Davis, A. (2008). Investigating cultural producers. In: Pickering, M. (Ed.) (2008). *Research methods for cultural studies*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Davis, P. (2004). Ecomuseums and the democratisation of Japanese museology. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 10: 93-110.

Davis, P. (2008). New museologies and the ecomuseum. In: Howard, P and Graham, B. (Eds.) (2008). *The Routledge research companion to heritage and identity*. London: Routledge.

Davis, P. (2011). *Ecomuseums: A sense of place.* (2nd ed). London, New York: Continuum.

Dawson, E. (2014). "Not designed for us": How science museums and science centers socially exclude low-income, minority ethnic groups. *Science Education,* 98(6): 981-1008.

Denscombe, M. (2010*a*). *The good research guide for small-scale social research projects.* (4th ed). Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Denscombe, M. (2010*b*). *Ground rules for social research: Guidelines for good practice.* (2nd ed). Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Denzin, N. K. (1978). Triangulation: A case for methodological evaluation and combination. In: Denzin, N. K. (1978). *Sociological Methods*: *A source book.* (2nd ed). New York: Mcgraw-Hill, 339-357.

Derby Museums (2016). *Human-centred design and co-production handbook.* Derby: Derby Museums.

Derby Museums (2020). *Museum of Making*. [Online]. Available at: https://www.derbymuseums.org/museum-of-making/ [Accessed 20 Jan 2023]

Desvallées, A. (Ed.) (2000). L'écomusée: Rêve ou réalité? *Publics et Musée*, nos. 17-18.

Duncan, C. (1995). *Civilizing rituals: Inside public art museums.* London: Routledge.

Dwyer, S. and Buckle, J. (2009). The space between: On being an insider-outsider in qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 8(1): 54-63.

Ekeberg, J. (2003). *New institutionalism*. Oslo: Office for Contemporary Art Norway.

Finkelpearl, T. (2013). *What we made: Conversations on art and social cooperation.* Durham & London: Duke University Press.

Fitzsimmons, J. A. (1985). Consumer participation and productivity in service operations. *Interfaces*, 15(3): 60-67.

Fleming, D. (2002). Positioning the museum for social inclusion. In: Sandell, R. (Ed.) (2002). *Museums, Society, Inequality*. London: Routledge, 213-224.

Forsey, M. G. (2010). Ethnography and the myth of participant observation. *Studies in Qualitative Methodology*, 11(Dec): 65-79.

Fouseki, K. (2010). Community voices, curatorial choices: Community consultation for the 1807 exhibitions. *Museum and Society,* 8(3): 180-192.

Fraser, J., Coleman, L. E. S. and Bennett, B. (2020). Neutrality is not an option, museums don't need left-over statues. *Curator: The Museum Journal*, 63(3): 295-298.

Fraser, N. (1990). Rethinking the public sphere: A contribution to the critique of actually existing democracy. *Social Text,* no. 25-26: 56-80.

Freelands Foundation (2016). *Tate Exchange.* [Online]. Available at: https://freelandsfoundation.co.uk/partnership/tate-exchange [Accessed 3 Dec 2021].

Freeston, M. (2022). Owning uncertainty. [Presentation]. *Cultures of Care: Tolerating Uncertainty*, digital seminar at King's College London, 21 January 2022. Available at: https://culturesofcare.com/uncategorized/cultures-of-care-tolerating-uncertainty/ [Accessed 20 July 2022].

Freire, P. (1968). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Translated by M. Bergman Ramos, 1970. New York: Herder and Herder.

Gaggiotti, H., Kostera, M. and Krzyworzeka: (2017). More than a method? Organizational ethnography as a way of imagining the social. *Culture and Organization*, 23(5): 325-340.

Gallagher, P. and Turner-King, R. (2020). Performing a museum of living memories: Beholding young people's experiences and expressions of

care through oral history performance. In: Stuart Fisher, A. and
Thompson, J. (Eds.) (2020). *Performing care: New perspectives on socially
engaged performance*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 139-155.

Gardner, L. (2015). Why every artist should be a community artist. *The
Guardian*, 25 June 2015. [Online] Available at:
https://www.theguardian.com/stage/theatreblog/2015/jun/25/why-
every-artist-should-be-a-community-artist [Accessed 24 May 2022].

Garz, J. (2013). *The museum as agent of participatory planning: The Queens
Museum of Art engages an immigrant neighborhood*. [PhD Thesis].
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Department of Urban Studies
and Planning. Available at:
https://dspace.mit.edu/handle/1721.1/79200 [Accessed 29 April 2022].

Gerring, J. (2004). What is a case study and what is it good for? *American
Political Science Review*, 98(2): 341-354.

Gilbert, L. (2016). "Loving, knowing ignorance": A problem for the
educational mission of museums. *Curator: The Museum Journal,* 59(2):
125-140.

Golding, V. and Modest, W. (Eds.) (2013). *Museums and communities: Curators,
collection and collaboration*. London and New York: Bloomsbury
Publishing.

Gomm, R., Hammersley, M. and Foster, P. (Eds.) (2000). *Case study methods*.
Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Gompertz, W. (2020). How UK museums are responding to Black Lives
Matter. *BBC News*. Available at:
https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/entertainment-arts-53219869 [Accessed
22 May 2022].

Góralska, M. (2020). Anthropology from home: Advice on digital ethnography for the pandemic times. *Anthropology in Action*, 27(1): 46-52.

Gordon da Cruz, C. (2018). Community-engaged scholarship: Toward a shared understanding of practice. *The Review of Higher Education*, 41(2): 147-167.

Gordon, P. (2004). Community museums. In: Corsane, G. (Ed.). (2004). *Heritage, museums and galleries: An introductory reader.* London: Routledge, 357-364.

Goulding, C. (2000). The museum environment and the visitor experience. *European Journal of Marketing*, 34(3/4): 261-278.

Govier, L. (2009). *Leaders in co-creation? Why and how museums could develop their co-creative practice with the public, building on ideas from the performing arts and other non-museum organisations.* [Online] MLA Museums Clore Leadership Fellowship 2008-2009. Available at: https://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/museumstudies/rcmg/projects/leaders-in-co-creation/Louise%20Govier%20-%20Clore%20Research%20-%20Leaders%20in%20Co-Creation.pdf [Accessed 13 Jan 2022].

Graham, H. (2016). The 'co' in co-production: Museums, community participation and Science and Technology Studies. *Science Museum Group Journal*. Spring 2016, no. 5: 1-23.

Greenbank, P. (2003). The role of values in educational research: The case for reflexivity. *British Educational Research Journal*, 29(6): 791-801.

Griffith, A. I. (1998). Insider/outsider: Epistemological privilege and mothering work. *Human Studies*, 21(Oct): 361-376.

Grimm, K. (2018). Assessing the industrial PhD: Stakeholder insights. *Journal of Technology and Science Education*, 8(4): 214-230.

Günel, G., Varma, S. and Watanabe, C. (2020). A manifesto for patchwork
ethnography. [Online]. Society for Cultural Anthropology, 9 June 2020.
Available at: https://culanth.org/fieldsights/a-manifesto-for-
patchwork-ethnography [Accessed 3 May 2022].

Gurian, E. (2006). *Civilizing the museum*. London & New York: Routledge.

Hall, R. (2014). Peer led approaches and ensuring parity. In: Miller, M.,
Moilliet, R., and Daly, E. (Eds.) (2019). *Circuit: Test, risk, change*. London:
Tate and Paul Hamlyn Foundation, 166-168.

Hall, W. and Callery: (2001). Enhancing the rigor of grounded theory:
Incorporating reflexivity and relationality. *Qualitative Health Research,*
11(2): 257-272.

Hammersley, M. and Atkinson, P. (1995). *Ethnography: principles in practice*.
2nd ed. London & New York: Routledge.

Hartley, J. and Benington, J. (2000). Co-research: A new methodology for new
times. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, 9(4): 463-
476.

Hauenschild, A. (1988; reprinted 2022). *Claims and reality of New Museology:
Case studies in Canada, the United States and Mexico.* Lisbon: Edicões
Universitárias Lusófonas.

Helguera, P. (2011). *Education for socially engaged art: a materials and techniques
handbook*. New York: Jorge Pinto Books.

Heritage Lottery Fund (2010). *Thinking about… Community participation.*
[Online]. Available at:
https://www.heritagefund.org.uk/sites/default/files/media/guidance
/thinking_about_community_participation.pdf [Accessed 20 May 2022].

Hesse-Biber, S. N. (2010). *Mixed method research: Merging theory with practice.* New York: Guilford Press.

Heumann Gurian, E. (2020). An open letter to my colleagues. *Museum Management and Curatorship,* 35(5): 462-467.

Hicks, D. (2020). *The brutish museums: The Benin bronzes, colonial violence and cultural restitution.* London: Pluto Press.

Hitchings, R. (2012). People can talk about their practices. *Area*, 44(1): 61-67.

Hollows, V. (2019). The activist role of museum staff. In: Janes, R. R. and Sandell, R. (Eds.) (2019). *Museum activism.* London & New York: Routledge, 80-90.

Hooper-Greenhill, E. (2000). *Museums and the interpretation of visual culture.* London & New York: Routledge.

Hooper-Greenhill, E. (2007). *Museums and education: Purpose, pedagogy, performance.* London: Routledge.

Howell, K. E. (2013). *An introduction to the philosophy of methodology.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Huberman, A. (2011). Take care. In: Abu ElDahab, M., Choi, B., and Pethick, E. (2011). *Circular facts.* London: Sternberg Press.

Hudson, A. (2015). *Middlesbrough Institute of Modern Art: Where do we go from here? Vision for 2015-2018.* [Online] Available at: http://www.visitmima.com/about/vision-for-2015-2018 [Accessed 3 Dec 2019].

Hudson, A. (2018). Missioning and visioning: Part one: The Whitworth. *Manchester Evening News*, 18 May 2020. [Online]. Available at: https://manchestereveningviews.wordpress.com/2020/05/18/missioning-and-visioning-part-one-the-whitworth/ [Accessed 5 Jan 2022].

Hyland, S. (2015). The trouble with youth voice. In: Miller, M., Moilliet, R, and Daly, E. (Eds.) (2019). *Circuit: Test, risk, change.* London: Tate and Paul Hamlyn Foundation, 105.

Icarus (2019). *Creative People and Places: National evidence review and evaluation report.* Manchester: Arts Council England.

Iervolino, S. (2013). Museums, migrant communities, and intercultural dialogue in Italy. In: Golding, V. and Modest, W. (Eds.) (2013). *Museums and communities: Curators, collections and collaboration.* London: Bloomsbury, 113-129.

Ind, N., Fuller, C., and Trevail, C. (2012). *Brand together: How co-creation generates innovation and re-energizes brands.* London: Kogan Page.

International Association of Public Participation (IAP2) (2014). *IAP2's public participation spectrum.* [Online]. Available at: https://www.iap2.org.au/Tenant/C0000004/00000001/files/IAP2_Public_Participation_Spectrum.pdf [Accessed 13 Jan 2019].

International Council of Museums (ICOM) (2019). ICOM announces the alternative museum definition that will be subject to a vote. *ICOM News*, 25 July 2019. Available at: https://icom.museum/en/news/icom-announces-the-alternative-museum-definition-that-will-be-subject-to-a-vote/ (Accessed 18 Sep 2022).

International Council of Museums (ICOM) (2022). Museum definition. *ICOM Resources*, 24 August 2022. Available at: https://icom.museum/en/resources/standards-guidelines/museum-definition/ (Accessed 18 Sep 2022).

Involve (2019). *Guidance on co-producing a research project.* Southampton: National Institute for Health Research.

Jancovich, L. (2011). Great art for everyone? Engagement and participation policy in the arts. *Cultural Trends,* 20(3-4): 271-279.

Jancovich, L. and Stevenson, D. (2020). Why feel-good narratives must end. *Arts Professional*, 5 November 2020. [Online]. Available at: https://failspaceproject.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/AP-05.11.2020.pdf [Accessed 3 Feb 2022].

Jancovich, L. and Stevenson, D. (2021). Failure seems to be the hardest word to say. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 27(7): 967-981.

Janes, R. R. (2007). Embracing organizational change in museums. In: Sandell, R. and Janes, R. R. (Eds.) (2007). *Museum management and marketing*. London & New York: Routledge, 67-81.

Janes, R. R. (2013). Museums and the paradox of change (3rd ed). London & New York: Routledge.

Janes, R. R. (2015). The end of neutrality: A modest manifesto. *Informal Learning Review*, 135(Nov/Dec): 3-8.

Janes, R. R. and Sandell, R. (Eds.) (2019). *Museum activism.* London & New York: Routledge.

Jeffers, A. (2017). Then and now: Reflections on the influence of the community arts movement on contemporary community and participatory arts. In: Jeffers, A and Moriarty, G. (Eds.) (2017). *Culture, democracy and the right to make art: The British community arts movement*. London: Bloomsbury Methuen Drama, 133-160.

Jennings, G. and Jones-Rizzi, J. (2017). Museums, white privilege, and diversity: A systemic perspective. *Dimensions,* special edition February 2017: 63-74.

Jhala, K. (2022). Frances Morris to leave Tate Modern in April after seven years as director. *The Art Newspaper*, 31 October 2022. Available at: https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2022/10/31/frances-morris-to-leave-tate-modern-in-april-after-seven-years-as-director [Accessed 3 Jan 2023].

Jones, J. (2016). Why it's great news that Frances Morris will run Tate Modern. *The Guardian*, 22 January 2016. [Online] Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2016/jan/22/frances-morris-takes-tate-modern-helm [Accessed 20 Aug 2019].

Jorek, S. and White, F. (2021). Doing the work: Exploring black history in Bristol Museums. *Museological Review*, 25: 124-134.

Jubb, D. (2017). *How can cultural centres also be community centres?* [Blog] Battersea Arts Centre: Blog, 31 December 2017. Available at: https://batterseaartscentreblog.com/2017/12/31/how-can-cultural-centres-also-be-community-centres/ [Accessed 23 Jan 2022].

Jubb, D. (2018). Update: co-creating change 25 Apr. *Battersea Arts Centre Blog*, 25 April 2018. [Online]. Available at: https://batterseaartscentreblog.com/2018/04/25/update-co-creating-change-25-apr/ [Accessed 2 Jan 2022].

Jung, Y. (2021). *Transforming museum management: Evidence-based change through open systems.* London: Routledge.

Kadoyama, M. (2018). *Museums involving communities: Authentic connections.* London & New York: Routledge.

Kambil, A., Friesen, G. and Sundaram, A. (1999). Co-creation: A new source of value. *eEconomy Accenture Outlook*, no. 2 (June): 38-43.

Karp, I., Kreamer, C., and Lavine, S. (Eds.) (1992). *Museums and communities: The politics of public culture.* Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Katz, S. (2021). Co-creating with students: Practical considerations and approaches. *Times Higher Education,* 22 October 2021. [Online]. Available at: https://www.timeshighereducation.com/campus/cocreating-students-practical-considerations-and-approaches [Accessed 22 May 2022].

Kendall Adams, G. (2022). Alistair Hudson to leave Manchester galleries for new role in Germany. *Museums Association*, 22 July 2022. [Online]. Available at: https://www.museumsassociation.org/museums-journal/news/2022/07/alistair-hudson-to-leave-manchester-galleries-for-new-role-in-germany/ [Accessed 22 Jul 2022].

Kershaw, A., Bridson, K. and Parris, M. A. (2017). Encouraging writing on the white walls: Co-production in museums and the influence of professional bodies. *Australian Journal of Public Administration,* 77(1): 19-34.

Kettle's Yard, Lees, J., Soer, A. and Plumb, S. (2018). *The conditions for creative communities.* Cambridge: University of Cambridge.

Kidd, J. (2019). Unprecedented times? Shifting press perceptions on museums and activism. In: Janes, R. R. and Sandell, R. (Eds.) (2019). *Museum activism.* London & New York: Routledge.

King, E., Smith, M. P., Wilson: F., Williams, M. A. (2021). Digital responses of UK museum exhibitions to the COVID-19 crisis, March – June 2020. *Curator: The Museum Journal*, 64(3): 487-504.

Knell, S., MacLeod, S. and Watson, S. (Eds.) (2007). *Museum revolutions: How museums change and are changed.* London: Routledge.

Kreye, M. E., Goh, Y. M., Newnes, L. B. and Goodwin, P. (2012). Approaches of displaying information to assist decisions under uncertainty. *Omega: International Journal of Management Science*, 40(6): 682-692.

L'Internationale (2015). *Decolonising museums*. Europe: L'Internationale Books.

L'Internationale (n.d.). *About: L'Internationale online.* [Online]. Available at: https://www.internationaleonline.org/about/ [Accessed 29 Jan 2022].

Lang, C. and Reeve, J. (Eds.) (2006). *The responsive museum: Working with audiences in the twenty-first century.* London: Routledge.

Lave, J. and Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation.* Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.

Leadbeater, C. (2009), *The art of with*. Manchester: Cornerhouse.

Legrand, M. and Chlous, F. (2016). Citizen science, participatory research, and naturalistic knowledge production: Opening spaces for epistemic plurality. *Environmental Development*, 20(Nov): 59-67.

Lynch, B. (2011*a*). *Whose cake is it anyway? A collaborative investigation into engagement and participation in 12 museums and galleries in the UK.* London: Paul Hamlyn Foundation.

Lynch, B. (2011*b*). Custom-made reflective practice: Can museums realise their capabilities in helping others realise theirs? *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 26(5): 441-458.

Lynch, B. (2013). Reflective debate, radical transparency and trust in museums. *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 28(1): 1-13.

Lynch, B. (2019). 'I'm gonna do something': Moving beyond talk in the museum. In: Janes, R. R. and Sandell, R. (Eds.) (2019). *Museum activism.* London & New York: Routledge, 115-126.

Lynch, B. (2020). Neither helpful nor unhelpful – a clear way forward for the useful museum. In: Chynoweth, A., Lynch, B., Petersen, K. and Sarah Smed (Eds.) (2020). *Museums and social change: Challenging the unhelpful museum.* London: Routledge, 1-32.

Lynch, B. and Alberti, S. (2010). Legacies of prejudice: racism, co-production and radical trust in the museum. *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 25(1): 13-35.

Lynch, K., Lyons, M. and Cantillon, S. (2007). Breaking silence: Educating citizens for love, care and solidarity. *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 17(1): 1-19.

Macdonald, S. (2002). *Behind the scenes at the science museum*. Oxford: Berg.

Manchester Museum (2023). *South Asia Gallery.* [Online]. Available at: https://www.museum.manchester.ac.uk/visit-us/galleries/ [Accessed 20 Jan 2023].

Marçal, H. and Macedo, R. (2018). From the periphery to the centre: Community engagement and justice in conservation decision making. In: Bridgland, J. (Ed.) (2018). *ICOM-CC 18th Triennial Conference Preprints, Copenhagen, 4-8 September 2017*. Paris: International Council of Museums.

Marstine J. C. (2011). Situated revelations: Radical transparency in the museum. In: Marstine, J. C., Bauer, A. A. and Haines, C. (Eds.) (2019). *New directions in museum ethics.* London: Routledge.

Marstine, J C. (2017). *Critical practice: Artists, museums, ethics.* London: Routledge.

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

465

Matarasso, F. (2019). *A restless art: how participation won and why it matters.* Lisbon & London: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.

McCall, V. and Gray, C. (2014). Museums and the 'new museology': Theory, practice and organisational change. *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 29(1): 19-35.

McFadyen, J. and Rankin, J. (2016). The role of gatekeepers in research: Learning from reflexivity and reflection. *GSTF Journal of Nursing and Health Care*, 4(1): 82-88.

McGivern, H. (2019). New £150,000 grant to 'embolden' museums goes to Whitworth and Van Abbemuseum. *The Art Newspaper*, 14 March 2019. [Online]. Available at: https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2019/03/14/new-pound150000-grant-to-embolden-museums-goes-to-whitworth-and-van-abbemuseum [Accessed 22 June 2022].

McSweeney, K. and Kavanagh, J. (Eds.) (2016). *Museum participation: New directions for audience collaboration.* Edinburgh: MuseumsEtc.

Mellon Foundation (2017). *Queens Museum of Art: From museum to commons.* [Online]. Available at: https://mellon.org/grants/grants-database/grants/queens-museum-of-art/1708-04795/ [Accessed 3 Dec 2021].

Merlin, L. (2022). Hello Future: A new vision for Manchester Museum. *Blooloop In Depth*, 14 April 2022. [Online]. Available at: https://blooloop.com/museum/in-depth/manchester-museum/ [Accessed 22 June 2022].

Merton, R. (1972). Insiders and outsiders: A chapter in the sociology of knowledge. *American Journal of Sociology*, 78(1): 9-47.

Middlesbrough Institute of Art (2015). *Office of Useful Art at the Middlesbrough Institute of Art.* [Online]. Available at: https://www.arte-util.org/studies/office-of-useful-art-at-the-middlesbrough-institute-of-art/ [Accessed 20 Jan 2023].

Miles, S. (2019). "I've never told anyone this before": Co-constructing intimacy in sex and sexualities research. *Area*, 52(1): 1-8.

Miles, S., Renedo, A. and Marston, C. (2018). 'Slow co-production' for deeper patient involvement in health care. *The Journal of Health Design*, 3(1): 57-62.

MIXdesign (2021). Access in the atrium: A reflection in-process. *Queens Museum's Year of Uncertainty*, 2 November 2021. [Online]. Available at: https://you.queensmuseum.org/2021/11/02/access-in-the-atrium/ [Accessed 6 Jan 2022].

Mogilevich, V., Mogilevich, M., and Queens Museum staff (2016). *Corona Plaza es para todos: Making a dignified public space for immigrants.* New York: Queens Museum. Available at: http://www.queensmuseum.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Corona-Plaza-Es-Para-Todos_web.pdf [Accessed 8 Jan 2022].

Moreno, M. J. (2003). Art museums and socioeconomic forces: The case of a community museum. *Review of Radical Political Economics,* 36(4): 506–527.

Morris, F. (2020). On Tate Modern's 20th anniversary, director Frances Morris says we must assert the value of culture. *Financial Times*, 11 May 2020. [Online]. Available at: https://www.ft.com/content/c86f856e-9043-11ea-9207-ace009a12028 [Retrieved 11 Jun 2020].

Morrison, K. (2021). *Co-creation and ethics.* [Conference presentation]. The Co-Creating Change Festival, Battersea Arts Centre, London, 25 November 2021.

Morse, N. (2018). Patterns of accountability: An organizational approach to community engagement in museums. *Museum & Society*, 16(2): 171-186.

Morse, N. (2021). *The museum as a space of social care.* London: Routledge.

Morse, N. and McCann, M. (2019). *Becoming a change-maker in museums: Experiences, opportunities and challenges: Reflections on the Museums Association's Transformers workforce development initiative.* Leicester: University of Leicester.

Morse, N. and Munro, E. (2018). Museums' community engagement schemes, austerity and practices of care in two local museum services. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 19(3): 357-378.

Murawski, M. (2021). *Museums as agents of change: A guide to becoming a changemaker.* Washington, DC: American Alliance of Museums.

Myseum of Toronto (n.d.). *About Myseum.* [Online]. Available at: https://www.myseumoftoronto.com/about/ [Accessed 20 Jan 2023].

National Maritime Museum (2018). *Creating a more inclusive museum: Learning from the Endeavour Galleries Project*. [Online]. Available at: https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5f2299e1de06c727c555f80c/t/5f2801698686ab0463cc6dc8/1596457342772/Endeavour_creating+a+more+inclusive+museum.pdf [Accessed 20 Jan 2023].

National Museums Scotland (2021). *Exchange: Community-led collections research.* [Online]. Available at: https://www.nms.ac.uk/collections-research/our-research/current-research/exchange/ [Accessed 29 Jan 2022].

O'Leary, Z. (2014). *The essential guide to doing your research project.* 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

O'Neill, M. (2021). Caring museums. *Event*, 14 October 2021. Available at: https://eventcomm.com/latest/caring-museums [Accessed 22 Jan 2023].

O'Neill, P. and Wilson, M. (Eds.) (2010). *Curating and the educational turn.* London: Open Editions and Amsterdam: De Appel.

Outset (2018). *The Constituent Museum: Collecting relations and the transformational potential of Arte Útil, 2018-present.* [Online]. Available at: https://outset.org.uk/supported-projects/the-constituent-museum-collecting-relations-and-the-transformational-potential-of-arte-util/ [Accessed 22 Jan 2022].

Parker, C., Scott, S., and Geddes, A. (2019). Snowball Sampling. In Atkinson, P., Delamont, S., Cernat, A., Sakshaug, J. W., and Williams, R. A. (Eds.) (2019). *SAGE Research Methods Foundations.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Parsons, K., Courpasson, D. and Delbridge, R. (2022). Futures of organizational ethnography. In: Pandeli, J., Sutherland, N. and Gaggiotti, H. (Eds.) (2022). *Organizational ethnography: An experiential and practical guide*. London & New York: Routledge.

Peacock, D. (2008). Making ways for change: Museums, disruptive technologies and organisational change. *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 23(4): 333-351.

Perkin, C. (2010). Beyond the rhetoric: Negotiating the politics and realising the potential of community-driven heritage engagement. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 16(1-2): 107-122.

Pidd, H. (2015). Maria Balshaw: 'Galleries that have collections like ours don't usually reside in Moss Side'. *The Guardian*, 9 Feb 2015. [Online]. Available: https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/feb/09/maria-balshaw-whitworth-manchester-art-gallery [Accessed 3 Jan 2022].

Pool, H. (2017). Maria Balshaw, the first woman at the top of the Tate: "We need to speak to the whole of society". *The Guardian*, 7 July 2017. [Online] Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2017/jul/07/maria-balshaw-fresh-slate-tate-modern-african-american-new-director-exhibitions-society [Accessed 20 Aug 2019].

Prahalad, C. and Ramaswamy, V. (2000). Co-opting customer competence. *Harvard Business Review*, 78(1): 79-87.

Pringle, E. (2006). *Learning in the gallery: Context, process, outcomes.* London, UK: Engage.

Pringle, E. (2009*a*). The artist as educator: Examining relationships between art practice and pedagogy in the gallery context. *Tate Papers*, no. 11, Spring 2009: 1-26.

Pringle, E. (2009*b*). The artist-led pedagogic process in the contemporary art gallery: Developing a meaning making framework. *The International Journal of Art and Design Education*, 28(2): 174-182.

Pringle, E. (2018). Teaching and learning in the art museum. Oxford Research Encyclopedias. [Online]. Available at: https://oxfordre.com/education/display/10.1093/acrefore/9780190264093.001.0001/acrefore-9780190264093-e-399#acrefore-9780190264093-e-399-bibItem-0056 [Accessed 22 Jan 2023].

Pringle, E. (2019). *Rethinking research in the art museum.* London: Routledge.

Pringle, E. (n.d.). Practitioner research in the art museum: About. [Online]. Available at: https://practitionerresearchintheartmuseum.com/about/ [Accessed 22 Sep 2021].

Prior, L. (2003). *Using documents in social research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt, P. and Runnel, P. (2018). The museum as an arena for cultural citizenship: Exploring modes of engagement for audience empowerment. In: Drotner, K., Dziekan, V., Parry, R. and Schrøder, K. C. (Eds.) (2018). *The Routledge Handbook of Museums, Media and Communication*. London & New York: Routledge, 143-159.

Queens Museum (2015). *Corona Plaza*. [Online]. Available at: https://queensmuseum.org/corona-plaza [Accessed 8 Jan 2022].

Queens Museum (2020*a*). *La Jornada and Queens Museum Cultural Food Pantry.* [Online]. Available at: https://queensmuseum.org/in-the-community/la-jornada-and-together-we-can-food-pantry-at-queens-museum [Accessed 20 Jun 2022].

Queens Museum (2020*b*). *Hecho Local product development workshop.* [Online]. Available: https://queensmuseum.org/2020/09/hecho-local-8-week-product-development-workshop [Accessed 20 Jun 2022].

Queens Museum (2021*a*). *Year of Uncertainty (YoU).* [Online]. Available at: https://queensmuseum.org/2021/03/year-of-uncertainty [Accessed 30 Jan 2022].

Queens Museum (2021*b*). *Year of Uncertainty.* [Online]. Available at: https://you.queensmuseum.org/ [Accessed 23 Aug 2022].

Queens Museum (2021*c*). *Adeze Wilford joins the Queens Museum's board of trustees.* [Online]. Available at: https://queensmuseum.org/2021/03/adeze-wilford-joins-the-queens-museums-board-of-trustees [Accessed 22 Jan 2022].

Queens Museum (2022*a*). *Queens Museum announces acclaimed architecture firm LEVENBETTS to lead final phase of the institution's $69 million expansion.* [Online]. Available at: https://queensmuseum.org/2022/08/levenbetts-announcement [Accessed 30 Aug 2022].

Queens Museum (2022*b*). *Year of Uncertainty (YoU) phase III: Synthesize & reflect.* [Online]. Available at: https://queensmuseum.org/2022/01/year-of-uncertainty-phase-3-synthesize-and-reflect [Accessed 22 Jan 2022].

Queens Museum (n.d. *a*). *Staff.* [Online]. Available at: https://queensmuseum.org/about/staff-page [Accessed 30 Jan 2022].

Queens Museum (n.d. *b*). *The Queens Teens Institute for Art and Social Justice.* [Online]. Available at: https://queensmuseum.org/the-queens-teens-institute-for-art-and-social-justice [Accessed 20 Jun 2022].

Queens Museum (n.d. *c*). *Queens Museum today.* [Online]. Available at: https://queensmuseum.org/queens-museum-today [Accessed 10 Sep 2021].

Queens Museum (n.d. *d*). *About: Mission Statement.* [Online]. Available at: https://queensmuseum.org/about [Accessed 19 Sep 2021].

Queens Museum (n.d. *e*). *Corona Plaza.* [Online]. Available at: https://queensmuseum.org/corona-plaza [Accessed 20 Jun 2022].

Queens Museum (n.d. *f*). *Studio in the park.* [Online]. Available at: https://queensmuseum.org/studio-in-the-park [Accessed 20 Jun 2022].

Queens Museum (n.d. *g*). *New New Yorkers.* [Online]. Available at:

https://queensmuseum.org/new-new-yorkers [Accessed 20 Jun 2022].

Quinn, B. (2022). 'They moved to silence and erase': Artists who sued Tate

speak out. *The Guardian*, 7 August 2022. [Online]. Available at:

https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2022/aug/07/artists-

who-sued-tate-speak-out [Accessed 8 Aug 2022].

Rami, T. (2020). The Instagram account 'Change the Museum' is doing just

that. *Vulture,* 15 July 2020. [Online]. Available at:

https://www.vulture.com/2020/07/change-the-museum-

instagram.html [Accessed 22 June 2022].

Rancière, J. (1991). *The ignorant schoolmaster: Five lessons in intellectual

emancipation.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Reddy, P. (2011). Chapter fifteen: Being a good neighbor: Queens Museum of

Art's experiments in community engagement. *Arts Engaged: Create

Community Connections.* [Online]. Available at:

https://www.artsengaged.com/chapter-fifteen [Accessed 3 Dec 2021].

Research Centre for Museums and Galleries (RCMG) & Kettle's Yard (2021).

An ethical framework for collaborating with communities. [Online].

Available at: https://le.ac.uk/-/media/uol/docs/research-

centres/rcmg/publications/an-ethical-framework-for-collaborating-

with-communities_final.pdf [Accessed 20 May 2022].

Righolt, N. (2018). Whose culture is it anyway? Tendencies in Scandinavian

cultural politics, trends in institutional governance, artistic leadership

and the potential impact of a wider cultural democracy. In: Bonet, L.,

Calvano, G., Carnelli, L., Dupin-Meynard, F. and Négrier, E. (2018). *Be

SpectACTive! Challenging participation in the performing arts. Spoleto, Italy: Editoria & Spettacolo, 279-292.

Robinson, H. (2017). Is cultural democracy possible in a museum? Critical reflections on Indigenous engagement in the development of the exhibition *Encounters: Revealing Stories of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Objects from the British Museum. International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 23(9): 860-874.

Rock, J., McGuire, M. and Rogers, A. (2018). Multidisciplinary perspectives on co-creation. *Science Communication*, 40(4): 541-552.

Rodley, E. (2011). Co-production, co-creation, co-curation. *Thinking about museums*, 13 July 2011. [Online]. Available at: https://thinkingaboutmuseums.com/2011/07/13/co-production-co-creation-co-curation/ [Accessed 21 May 2022].

Rørbæk Olesen, A., Holdgaard, N. and Sundnes Løvlie, A. (2022). Co-designing a co-design tool to strengthen ideation in digital experience design at museums. *International Journal of Co-Creation in Design and the Arts*, 18(2): 227-242.

Rovers, E. (2022). *Nu is het aan ons: Oproep tot echte democratie.* Amsterdam: De Correspondent.

Rubin, H. and Rubin, I. (2012). *Qualitative interviewing: The art of hearing data.* (3rd ed). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Sandell, R. (1998). Museums as agents of social inclusion. *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 17(4): 401-418.

Sandell, R. (Ed.) (2002). *Museums, society, inequality.* London: Routledge.

Sandell, R. and Janes, R. R. (2007). *Museum management and marketing*. London & New York: Routledge.

Sandell, R. and Nightingale, E. (2012). *Museums, equality and social justice*. London & New York: Routledge.

Sandelowski M., and Barroso J. (2007). *Handbook for synthesizing qualitative research.* New York: Springer Publishing Company.

Santa Cruz Museum of Art and History (n.d.). *About*. [Online]. Available at: https://www.santacruzmah.org/about [Accessed 20 Jan 2023].

Scoones, I. and Stirling, A. (Eds.) (2020). *The politics of uncertainty: Challenges of transformation.* London & New York: Routledge.

Selvi, K. (2011). Phenomenology: Creation and construction of knowledge. *Annalecta Husserliana* 110: 279-294.

Sen, A. (2010). Amartya Sen on power and capability. *Annual DEMOS Lecture*, 15 March 2010, London. Available at: http://www.demos.co.uk/events/annual-lecture2010-hd [Accessed 22 July 2022].

Senge, P. (1990). *The fifth discipline: The art and practice of the learning organization.* New York: Doubleday.

Serafini, P. and Garrard, C. (2019). Fossil fuel sponsorship and the contested museum: Agency, accountability and arts activism. In: Janes, R. R. and Sandell, R. (Eds.) (2019). *Museum activism.* London & New York: Routledge, 69-79.

Sharrocks, A. (2020). Open letter protesting Tate's censorship of a Black woman artist. *Industria,* 15 September 2020. Available at: https://www.we-industria.org/openletter [Accessed 3 January 2022].

Sharrocks, A. (2022). Collective organising. *Industria,* n.d. Available at: https://www.we-industria.org/collectiveorganising [Accessed 3 January 2023].

Shaw, A. and Carrigan, M. (2020). Reform or reset? How cultural institutions are facing a reckoning over racism. *The Art Newspaper*, 3 July 2020. Available at: https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2020/07/03/reform-or-reset-how-cultural-institutions-are-facing-a-reckoning-over-racism [Accessed 12 Aug 2022].

Shelton, A. (2003). Curating African worlds. In: Brown, A. K. and Peers, L. (Eds.) (2003). *Museums and source communities.* London: Routledge.

Simon, N. (2010). *The participatory museum.* Santa Cruz, CA: Museum 2.0.

Simon, N. (2016). *The art of relevance.* Santa Cruz, CA: Museum 2.0.

Simon, N. (2019). From risk-taker to spacemaker: Reflections on leading change. *Museum 2.0*, 26 March 2019. [Online]. Available at: http://museumtwo.blogspot.com/2019/03/from-risk-taker-to-spacemaker.html [Accessed 23 July 2022].

Simon, N. (2020). *Re-visioning relevance.* [Conference presentation]. Governance Now Conference: Diversity and Community keynote session, online, 5 November 2020.

Simon, N. (2021). Foreword. In: Bienkowski: and McGowan, H. (2021). *Managing change in museums and galleries: A practical guide.* London and New York: Routledge, xiv-xvi.

Simons, H. (2009). *Case study research in practice.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Singer, I. (2021). Museums as predators. *American Perceptionalism*, 29 November 2021. [Online]. Available at: https://itsallhowyourememberit.wordpress.com/2021/11/29/museums-are-predators/ [Accessed 30 Jan 2022].

Sinker, R. (2008). On the evolution of a peer-led programme: Tate Forum. *Tate Papers*, 10: 1-10.

Smith, J. and Firth, J. (2011). Qualitative data analysis: Application of the framework approach. *Nurse Researcher*, 18(2): 52-62.

Smith, M., Kaufman, N., and Dearlove, A. (2013). External community review committee: A new strategy for engaging community stakeholders in research funding decisions. *Progress in Community Health Partnerships*, 7(3): 301-312.

Smørdal, O., Stuedahl, D. and Sem, I. (2014). Experimental zones: Two cases of exploring frames of participation in a dialogic museum. *Digital Creativity*, 25(3): 224-232.

Smyth Zahra, F. (2022). Learning to care: Educating for uncertainty. [Presentation]. *Cultures of Care: Tolerating Uncertainty*, digital seminar at King's College London, 21 January 2022. Available at: https://culturesofcare.com/uncategorized/cultures-of-care-tolerating-uncertainty/ [Accessed 20 July 2022].

Spear, D., Pauly, G., and Kaiser, K. (2017). Citizen science as a tool for augmenting museum collection data from urban areas. *Frontiers in Ecology and Evolution*, 5(86).

Stace, D. and Dunphy, D. (1994). *Beyond the boundaries: Leading and recreating the successful enterprise*. New York: McGraw Hill Book Company.

Statistical Atlas (2020). *Race and ethnicity in Queens, Queens County, New York (Borough).* [Online]. Available at: https://statisticalatlas.com/county-subdivision/New-York/Queens-County/Queens/Race-and-Ethnicity [Accessed 28 Apr 2022].

Stobierski, T. (2020). Organisational change management: What it is and why it is important. Harvard Business School Online, 21 January 2020. [Online]. Available at: https://online.hbs.edu/blog/post/organizational-change-management [Accessed 20 July 2022].

Sultana, F. (2007). Reflexivity, positionality and participatory ethics: Negotiating fieldwork dilemmas in international research. *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies*, 6(3): 374-385.

Swanborn, P. (2010). *Case study research: what, why and how?* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Tallant, S. (2020). *Vision overview.* [Presentation]. New York: Queens Museum, 15 December 2020.

Tate (2016). *Welcome to Tate Exchange.* [Gallery wall text]. Tate Modern, London, 30 September 2016.

Tate (2018). *Tate Exchange.* [Presentation]. Tate Exchange Year 2 Evaluation presentation event, Tate Modern, London, 2 July 2018.

Tate (2020). *Tate Exchange.* [Presentation]. Tate Exchange Practice Day, Tate Modern, London, 13 January 2020.

Tate (2021). *Power to Change*. [Online]. Available at: https://www.tate.org.uk/whats-on/tate-modern/festival/power-change [Accessed 24 Jan 2022].

Tate (2022*a*). Email announcement from Cara Courage, 13 January 2022.

Tate (2022*b*). The Board of Trustees of the Tate Gallery Annual Accounts 2021-2022. [Online]. *Tate Annual Accounts*, 8 November 2022. Available at: https://www.tate.org.uk/documents/1803/E02803724_HC_Tate_Gallery_ARA_21-22_Accessible.pdf [Accessed 22 Jan 2023].

Tate (n.d. *a*). *Tate Exchange*. [Online]. Available at:

https://www.tate.org.uk/tate-exchange and

https://www.tate.org.uk/visit/tate-modern/tate-exchange [Accessed
18 Apr 2021].

Tate (n.d. *b*). *About Tate.* [Online]. Available at:

https://www.tate.org.uk/about-us [Accessed 24 Jan 2022].

Tate (n.d. *c*). *Reshaping the collectible: When artworks live in the museum.*

[Online]. Available at: https://www.tate.org.uk/about-

us/projects/reshaping-the-collectible [Accessed 24 Jan 2022].

Tate Exchange (2018). *Tate Exchange year 2 – Production: Evaluation Report 2017-*

2018. [Online]. Available at:

https://www.tate.org.uk/documents/1468/tex_0039_tate_exchange_ev

aluation_report_y2_web_aw.pdf [Accessed 20 Jun 2022].

Tate Exchange (2020). *How can we be of service to you?* [Email correspondence].

Tate Exchange team to Associates, 23 April 2020.

Tate Exchange (2021). *Visitor numbers.* [Internal document].

Taylor, J. K. (2020). *The art museum redefined: Power, opportunity, and community*

engagement. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Thelen, D. (2001). Learning community: Lessons in co-creating the civic

museum. *Museum News,* May/June 2001: 56-59, 68-73, 92, 94-95.

Thomas, J. and Harden, A. (2008). Methods for the thematic synthesis of

qualitative research in systematic reviews. *BMC Medical Research*

Methodology, 8(45).

Thyne, M. and Hede, A. (2016). Approaches to managing co-production for

the co-creation of value in a museum setting: When authenticity matters.

Journal of Marketing Management, 32(15-16): 1478-1493.

Tlili, A., Gewirtz, S. and Cribb, A. (2007). New Labour's socially responsible museum. *Policy Studies*, 28(3): 269-289.

Torreggiani, A. (2018). The rise and rise of co-creation in the search for relevance in the English cultural sector. In: Bonet, L., Calvano, G., Carnelli, L., Dupin-Meynard, F. and Négrier, E. (2018). *Be SpectACTive! Challenging participation in the performing arts.* Spoleto, Italy: Editoria & Spettacolo, 295-313.

Turnbull. S. (1999). Emotional labour in corporate change programmes. *Human Resource Development International*, 2(2): 125-146.

UNESCO (1972, reprinted 2014). Basic principles of the integral museum: Resolutions adopted by the Round Table on the Role of Museums in Today's Latin America. *Museum International*, 66(1-4): 175-182.

University of Manchester (2017). *Alistair Hudson appointed as new director for Manchester Art Gallery and the University of Manchester's Whitworth.* [Press release]. Manchester, 11 October 2017. Available at: https://www.manchester.ac.uk/discover/news/alistair-hudson--director-manchester-art-gallery-university-of-manchester-whitworth/ [Accessed 22 May 2021].

University of Manchester (2019). *Financial statements for the year ended 31 July 2019.* [Online]. Available at: https://documents.manchester.ac.uk/display.aspx?DocID=46451 [Accessed 30 Jan 2022].

University of Manchester (2020). *Financial statements for the year ended 31 July 2020.* [Online]. Available at: https://documents.manchester.ac.uk/display.aspx?DocID=52991 [Accessed 30 Jan 2022].

Varine, H. de (1996). Ecomuseum or community museum? 25 years of applied research in museology and development. *Nordisk Museologi*, 2: 21-26.

Vargo, S. L. and Lusch, R. F. (2004). Evolving to a new dominant logic for marketing. *Journal of Marketing*, 68: 1-17.

Vargo, S. L. and Lusch, R. F. (2008). Service–dominant logic: Continuing the evolution. *Journal of the Academic Marketing Science*, 36(1): 1-10.

Vergo, P. (1989). *The new museology*. London: Reaktion Books.

Vlachou, M. (2019). Dividing issues and mission-driven activism: Museum responses to migration and policies and the refugee crisis. In: Janes, R. R. and Sandell, R. (Eds.) (2019). *Museum activism.* London & New York: Routledge, 47-57.

Wajid, S. and Minott, R. (2019). Detoxing and decolonising museums. In: Janes, R. R. and Sandell, R. (Eds.) (2019). *Museum activism.* London & New York: Routledge, 25-35.

Wallis, J. (2018). "Useful" partnerships: The Queens Museum and Immigrant Movement International. In: Krause Knight, C. and Senie, H. (Eds.) (2018). *Museums and public art?* Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 222-237.

Walmsley, B. (2013). Co-creating theatre: Authentic engagement or inter-legitimation? *Cultural Trends*, 22(2): 108-118.

Walsh, D. (2004). Doing ethnography. In: Seale, C. (Ed.) (2004). *Researching society and culture.* (2nd ed). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 225-238.

Walsham, G. (1993). *Interpreting information systems in organisations.* Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.

Waterton, E. and Smith, L. (2010). The recognition and misrecognition of community heritage. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 16(1-2): 4-15.

Watson, S. (Ed.) (2007). *Museums and their communities.* London: Routledge.

Watts, J. (2011). Ethical and practical challenges of participant observation in sensitive health research. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology,* 14(4): 301-312.

Weber, R. (2004). Editor's comments: the rhetoric of positivism versus interpretivism: a personal view. *MIS Quarterly*, 28(1): iii-xii.

Whitworth Art Gallery (2017). *Waqas Khan.* [Online]. Available at: https://www.whitworth.manchester.ac.uk/whats-on/exhibitions/currentexhibitions/waqaskhan/ [Accessed 7 Jan 2022].

Whitworth Art Gallery (2020). *A new vision.* [Online]. Available at: https://www.whitworth.manchester.ac.uk/whats-on/exhibitions/currentexhibitions/standardisationanddeviation/future/ [Accessed 3 Feb 2022].

Whitworth Art Gallery (n.d., *a*). *Our staff.* [Online] Available at: https://www.whitworth.manchester.ac.uk/about/staff/ [Accessed 11 Aug 2019].

Whitworth Art Gallery (n.d. *b*). *The gallery in the park.* [Online]. Available at: https://www.whitworth.manchester.ac.uk/visit/thenewgallery/thegalleryinthepark/ [Accessed 22 May 2021].

Whitworth Art Gallery (n.d. *c*). *About the Whitworth.* [Online]. Available at: https://www.whitworth.manchester.ac.uk/about/ [Accessed 22 May 2021].

Whitworth Art Gallery (n.d. *d*). *History.* [Online]. Available at: https://www.whitworth.manchester.ac.uk/visit/thenewgallery/history/ [Accessed 22 May 2021].

Whitworth Art Gallery (n.d. *e*). *Our current sponsors and funders.* [Online]. Available at: https://www.whitworth.manchester.ac.uk/about/supportus/ourcurrentsponsorsandfunders/ [Accessed 20 Jan 2023].

Wilcox, D. (1994). *The guide to effective participation.* Joseph Rowntree Foundation. Brighton: Delta Press. Available at: http://ourmuseum.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/The-Guide-to-Effective-Participation.pdf [Accessed 20 May 2022].

Wilmot, H. (2018). *Tate Exchange year 2: Production – Evaluation report 2017-18.* London: Tate.

Wilson, N., Gross, J. and Bull, A. (2017). *Towards cultural democracy: promoting cultural capabilities for everyone.* London: King's College London.

Wiseman, V., Mooney, G., Berry, G., and Tang, K. (2003). Involving the general public in priority setting: Experiences from Australia. *Social Science and Medicine*, 56(5): 1001-1012.

Wolfe-Robinson, M. (2022). Whitworth gallery director Alistair Hudson forced out over Palestinian statement. *The Guardian*, 22 February 2022. [Online]. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2022/feb/22/whitworth-gallery-director-alistair-hudson-forced-out-over-palestinian-statement [Accessed 20 Apr 2022].

Wood, B. (2019). Who holds power in heritage and what does that mean for museums? *Museological Review*, 23: 15-24.

Wood, E. and Cole, S. A. (2019). Growing an activist museum professional. In: Janes, R. R. and Sandell, R. (Eds.) (2019). *Museum activism.* London & New York: Routledge, 36-46.

Woodham, A. and Kelleher, S. (2020). What's in a name? The ethics of care and an "unloved" collection. In: Woodham, A., Smith, R. and Hess, A. (Eds.) (2020). *Exploring emotion, care and enthusiasm in "unloved" museum collections.* Leeds: Arc Humanities Press.

Wright, S. (2013). *Towards a lexicon of usership.* Eindhoven: Van Abbemuseum.

Ybema, S., Yanow, D., Wels, H. and Kamsteeg, F. (Eds.) (2009). *Organizational ethnography: Studying the complexities of everyday life.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Yin, R. (2003). *Case study research: Design and methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Yin, R. (2014). *Case study research methods* (5th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.