Museums and Communities

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Diversity, Dialogue and Collaboration in an Age of Migrations

Edited by

Viv Golding and Jen Walklate

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ICOM-ICME dedicates this book to all those still looking for home.

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November, 1910) describing a collection of "specimens" that had been obtained from farmers and described as "Bushmen". Photo courtesy IZIKO Archive.

INTRODUCTION

CROSSING THE FRONTIER: LOCATING MUSEUMS AND COMMUNITIES IN AN AGE OF MIGRATIONS

VIV GOLDING AND JEN WALKLATE

Introduction

We live in an age of anxiety, and museums, as inherently anxious institutions (Walklate 2018; Modest and De Koning 2016), are caught up in this collective unease. *Museums and Communities: Diversity, Dialogue and Collaboration in an Age of Migrations* appears against a global background of conflict and unrest. Much of that disturbance–the Trump presidency, Brexit–seems to have to do with borders, with locking the "we" in, and locking the "Other" out.

This book, on the other hand, seeks to explore and embrace such "frontier" zones (Golding 2016) that are a subject of current concern for ICOM (the International Council of Museums) in general and for ICME (the International Council of Museums and Collections of Ethnography) in particular. ICOM's website states that they are a "unique network of more than 37,000 members and museum professionals" seeking to "represent the global museum community" and "respond to the challenges museums face worldwide" (ICOM n.d.). Museums are not homogenous; they range from tiny local museums with limited resources and staff to vast encyclopedic sites such as the Louvre in France, with its international work in Abu Dhabi. Finding a common language or "shared framework" from which to effectively critique the fundamental differences, values and assumptions that linger from earlier periods is a vital task for ICOM today, as stated by the MDPP's Standing Committee pages (ICOM n.d.b). From all over the world this volume showcases and surveys the wide variety of ways in which museums and communities are traversing their intersectional peripheral spaces, and are pointing a way forward to a place

beyond strict curator/community divisions (Golding and Modest 2014, 2), beyond us/them binaries, and beyond fearful stereotypes.

Four concepts lie at the heart of this book: communities; diversity; dialogue; and collaboration. Before we present the contents, it is necessary to define these concepts in this particular context, in order to challenge western dominance and embrace the inclusivity sought by ICME. None of these terms are unambiguous, and all of them are complex and debated; this we acknowledge. But we also acknowledge the need for a clarity of stance; or, at least, a shared (mis)understanding of terms.

Frontier-speak: Communities, Diversity, Dialogue and Collaboration

"Communities" is neither a simple nor uncontested word (Watson 2007, 3). Whether considered in the abstract or the specific, the edges of "communities" are shifting and ambiguous. Community has been efficiently identified as a sense of belonging (Kavanagh 1990, 68); however, belonging is not enough to define community. Sheila Watson argued that communities were formed along two axis: how individuals see themselves, and how they are seen by others (Watson 2007).

However, the decade since the writing of this definition has seen greater granularity appear in the museological idea of community. Though some of the communities in this volume are indeed identified as such by external sources, such identification from the outside is less about a "sense of belonging", and more about clearly defining a demographic within a wider political and philosophical context. Communities and museums exist within intersecting networks that are impacted by contested histories, politics, economics and value systems. Perhaps most importantly, in the global contemporary museums are increasingly seeking to acknowledge historical wrongs and engage in activist practice to address negative legacies such as racism and sexism that impact on the present. To take just one example, the National Museum of African American History and Culture in Washington DC, which opened on 24 September 2016 and has visitor waiting lists of three months, admirably highlights the social role of the museum today. Over five floors, the displays, moving from the earliest horrors of enslavement to the enduring struggles for human rights and social justice, as well as the Sweet Home café space, make this an exemplary museum celebrating the resiliance, creativity and diversity of a "community".

Founding Director Lonnie G. Bunch III and his team have clearly worked tirelessly to ensure there are ample opportunities for visitor

reflection and engagement in the strong themes of resistance and activism on every floor. One exhibition on floor C2 (see Figures 0.1-0.4) considers the time on 1 February in 1960, when four Black students sat in the whites' only Woolworth Lunch Counter, Greensboro, North Carolina. They were refused service but continued to sit "for justice" all day until closing time. The next day twenty-five students arrived to sit for equal rights and refused to move despite being spat at and physically threatened. Over six months increasing numbers of students, Black and white, engaged in passive resistance in the diner until the policy changed. Here on C2, the exhibition features an authentic green stool from the period, a projection of activist events over one wall and a huge interactive lunch counter where visitors sit and work in conversation, to decide together what particular periods of this history to explore and what action they would have taken.

Figure 0.1 "We are tired of seeing our people locked up in jail over and over again" wall projection at the F. W. Woolworth's diner interactive at the National Museum of African American History and Culture (NMAAHC), Washington DC. Photo by Viv Golding, with grateful thanks to the NMAAHC.

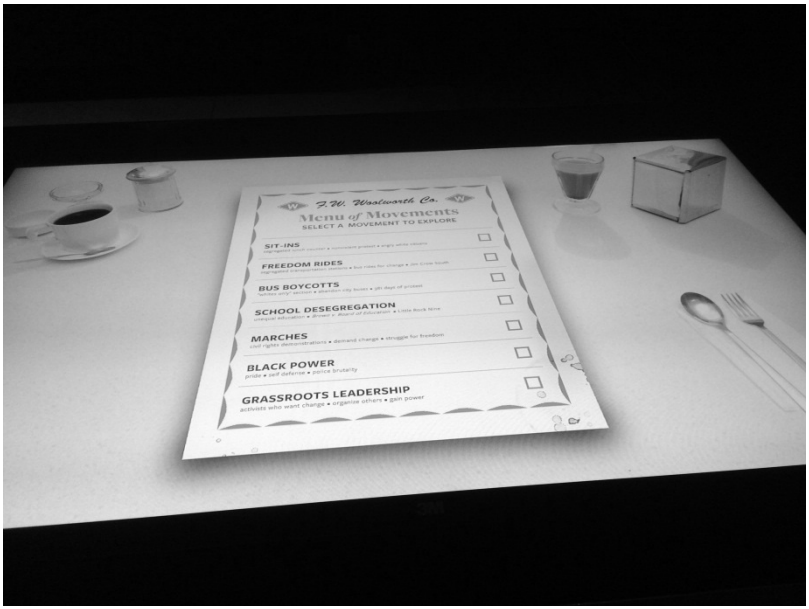

Figure 0.2 "Menu of movements: sit-ins, freedom rides, bus boycotts, school desegregation, marches, black power, grassroots leadership", interactive table at the F. W. Woolworth's diner interactive at the National Museum of African American History and Culture (NMAAHC), Washington DC. Photo by Viv Golding, with grateful thanks to the NMAAHC.

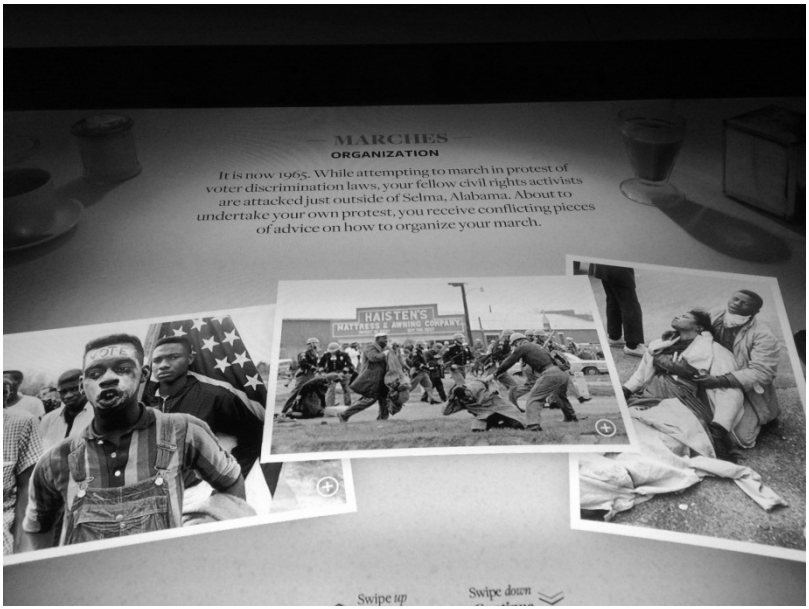

Figure 0.3 "Marches organization". Select from conflicting pieces of advice on how to organise your march in protest against voter discrimination following attacks on civil rights activists outside Selma Alabama in 1965, interactive table at the F. W. Woolworth's diner interactive at the National Museum of African American History and Culture (NMAAHC), Washington DC. Photo by Viv Golding, with grateful thanks to the NMAAHC.

Figure 0.4 "Activism", James Baldwin section at the National Museum of African American History and Culture (NMAAHC), Washington DC. Photo by Viv Golding, with grateful thanks to the NMAAHC.

The importance of taking action across barriers including ethnicity, gender, class and sexual preference is foregrounded in excellent wall text throughout. Two examples illustrate this point:

> Differences are not intended to separate, to alienate. We are different precisely in order to recognise our need of one another (Desmond Tutu).

> I have not been animate in my life to fight against race and sex discrimination simply because of my own identity. That would mean that one must be south African to fight Apartheid, or a poor white in Appalachia to fight poverty, or Jewish to fight Anti-Semitism (Eleanor Holmes Norton).

It is notable that this attention to activism and human rights does not entail the loss of "scholarship" at the NMAAHC, since Bunch's team share their curatorial authority of with a range of diverse voices to include the knowledges, memories and objects of a community. The NMAAHC vitally emphasises the complexity of this community within a wider

political field. As Cornel West notes, "America … needs citizens who love it enough to re-imagine and re-make it" (NMAAHC wall text).

Reimagining the individual and the community may be seen as a key role for the activist museum. If auto-identification is indeed one "essential defining factor" of a community, then any attempt from external bodies to locate and, too often, disparage communities, requires not just observation, but activism and conversation, empowering individuals with the authority to self-define. An individual who *appears* to the outside observer to have all the characteristics of belonging to any given community may not identify themselves as such in a significant way–or even, at all.

As The NMAAHC and others acknowledge, neither do individuals exclusively belong to any single community. Individuals will, at any given time, associate themselves with a variety of different groups, which they may consider to be communities, and which they may move in and out of as their identities continue to shift over the course of their lives. Perhaps it is worth considering communities as kinds of abstracted "spaces", in which people take different positions at center or periphery, depending on commitments, inclination and social factors. Thus communities are not homogeneous and singular, and individual members of communities are always intersectional.

This, in turn, points to another oft repeated truism that must be acknowledged. "Communities" is a term that has, historically, been used primarily in the positive–at least, in regard to museums. But, as Viv Golding has identified, communities can also be exclusionary (Golding 2013a, 20). Those who possess some of the attributes of community membership, alongside attributes from Other communities which are considered *not to belong* may well be exorcised. As a consequence, although an individual then may think of themselves as belonging, the community itself may deny them that choice. The definition of community as "individual belonging" thus faces real-world opposition from demographers and opposition from within communities themselves.

We are left, then, with communities as internally heterogeneous, potentially intersectional, and exclusionary on some axis, but held together by the communication of some commonality–whether of history, culture, experience, or personal characteristic. Given such a definition, it is time to turn to diversity.

In *Valuing Diversity: The Case for Inclusive Museums*, the UK Museums Association (MA) defined diversity as "any characteristic which can differentiate groups and individuals from one another." (Turtle 2016, 3). Their definition included not only protected characteristics, but others, such as socio-economic background, values, perspectives, and life

experiences. Key to developing diversity in the sector was an integration of audience development with that of the workforce (ibid, 7).

However, diversity is another of those words which is used in a primarily positive way by museums; and yet it is not unambiguously considered so. For the Incluseum blog, Porchia Moore wrote provocatively of the need to end diversity initiatives, viewing them as primarily "racially coded" attempts to include minority groups *some of the time*, whilst still retaining a white majority as the core audience (Moore 2014). This apparently positive act, then, can also become an act of othering in the museum context, and can further cement barriers which exist between different groups. This, Moore writes, is untenable, as society continues to become more complex and multi-racial (Moore 2014). Instead, she suggests museums should move towards a "kaleidoscopic vision" in which individuals feel as invested in other cultures as they do their own, and in which there is a shared "passion for culture and memory" (Moore 2014).

Rose Kinsley, who founded the Incluseum, writes passionately about the need for museums to be more inclusive, arguing that it is not a matter of metrics, but of social justice (Kinsley 2016). She suggests that, hitherto fore, efforts at inclusion have failed, "…because there has been (1) insufficient attention to demands of recognition and (2) insufficient coordination of redistribution and recognition endeavours" (Kinsley 2016, 475). Using Fraser (1995, 2007) and Fraser and Honneth's (2003) "two-dimensional theory of social justice", she frames the ways in which museums might succeed in their inclusion efforts through "redistribution and recognition remedies, coordinated and balanced within a scope of radical transformation" (486); that is, redistribution (as something addressing socio-economic injustice) and recognition (as acceptance of non-dominant cultural practices, as non-erasure, and as respect for difference) as acts which dismantle inequitable underlying cultural frameworks (*transformative remedies*) rather than simply correcting inequitable outcomes without removing or changing the underlying problem (*affirmative remedies*) (479). It is through the lens of transformation–with affirmation as a stepping stone–that this book seeks to look at communities, boundaries, diversity, and dialogue.

What is needed, then, is a critical diversity, defined by Cedric Herring and Loren Henderson as a type of diversity perspective which "confronts issues of oppression and stratification that revolve around issues of diversity. [which]…challenges hegemonic notions of colorblindness and meritocracy" (Herring and Henderson 2011, 632). For true diversity to exist in the museum space, it is not enough to simply seek to recruit more staff from underprivileged/underrepresented groups–what is needed is

radical change in qualification requirements, and routes to success (Kinsley 2016, 482-483). It is this kind of diversity perspective that the editors of this book hold dear, and would like to see represented in practice.

Of course, diversity cannot be engaged in without conversation–the *dialogue* of this volume's title. Dialogue is also a prerequisite for *collaboration*, the fourth of our terms; it is, then, essential that we define precisely what we mean by it here. It comes from the Greek, *dialogos,* meaning "conversation", and it does not mean a conversation between two people only–the *dia* in *dialogos* means not "two", but "across" (etymonline). The -*logue* element comes from -*legein,* "speak", from the ProtoIndoEuropean root *leg*– "to collect, to gather". This idea of speaking across, of gathering, is perhaps reminiscent of the type of dialogues written of in this book; acts of coming together, of gathering, of moving *across* borders. Even museums are dialogue artefacts; collections, material communication, gathering together across time, and across space. They are, then, a natural place for the performance of conversation across cultural, social, and economic barriers, and key locations at which we need, for a more equitable society, to dismantle these barriers, through communication: through *dialogue.* Conceiving of cultural heritage as a "social construction" and meaning as negotiated, this is precisely the type of action that the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the University of Turin took in their project "Tounge to Tounge"–referred to later in this text by the project coordinator, Anna Maria Pecci–which was part of the MAP for ID initiative ("Museums as Places for Intercultural Dialogue") (Pecci 2012, 334).

> According to the results of the evaluative process, the project succeeded in exploring the connecting function of the Museum and in promoting it as an arena of meanings that generate knowledge, rather than reproducing it. Taking part in the project meant a great innovation for the institution, since it allowed for a renewed interdisciplinary approach towards scientific heritage, in order to see objects not as mere instruments of knowledge but as means for increasing intercultural understanding, thus contributing to social inclusion and cohesion (Pecci 2012, 334-335).

This, then, is the key to dialogue; that it is *not* monologic, that it does not, in its ideal form, telegraph information and meaning–it *makes* it. This is the key to understanding museums as dialogic spaces–spaces which are about the creation, not the imparting, of knowledge. Spaces of the "contact zone"–perhaps.

Golding (2016; 2017) employs a dialogical model of learning, engagement and understanding in museums. She draws on Hans-Georg Gadamer to observe the importance of opening oneself to another in the to and fro of conversation, which is never completed but only adjourned, to be picked up again and again throughout our lives. Openness here requires closely looking at the histories and traditions from whence we emerge and the root of our presumptions or prejudices in these. Golding points to an optimistic thesis grounded in decades of practice at the Horniman Museum and the University of Leicester's School of Museum Studies, as well as in ICME. Most importantly she foregrounds Gadamer's rather abstract philosophical understanding of dialogue in the Black feminist thought of politically aware creative writers such as Joan Anim-Addo, Toni Morrison and Audre Lorde. In this way she views the possibility of future understanding in the fusion of horizons or viewpoints that can occur when traditions meet in conversation, while locating this at a political region defined as the museum frontiers.

The dialogic museum requires *collaboration*, our final term. Collaboration is, indeed, a nominal cornerstone of the post-colonial and new museologies: we might find examples of it in the work of Laura Peers and Alison Brown at the Pitt Rivers (2003), or with Marie-Pierre Gadoua at the McCord Museum, working with Inuit elders (2014). But the question remains as to where power lies in any of these activities. In 2011, Robin Boast wrote of the need to question the "contact zone" concept,

> This paper, while being openly supportive of such collaborations in museums, is nevertheless critical of the use of the contact zone concept. Returning to Clifford's essays, as well as those of Pratt and others, this paper questions why museum scholars perpetuate only a partial portrait of the contact zone, despite clear warnings about its inherent asymmetry (Boast 2011, 56).

It is not that the ethical work which has been done has been *wrong*, per se–what Boast wants to destablise is the idea that sits at the heart of much of it: the museum as contact zone. Returning to the earliest papers on the term, Boast points to the imbalances of power which exist within it. Boast quotes the following extract from Mary Louise Pratt,

> I use this term to refer to social spaces where cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today (Pratt 1991, 34).

The contact zone is not a space of equitable exchange, but a space in which asymmetry exists, and can be perpetuated. Perhaps it is here that we need to return to the conversation on affirmative and transformative justice, whilst recognising that transformative justice can be traumatic for those whom have been the dominant parties,

> …whites–who are so accustomed to accessing privilege–also feel discriminated against when they can no longer access that privilege. This feels like discrimination to them, if only because they feel entitled…So being denied privilege feels as real as being denied opportunity feels for those people of color who are discriminated against (Herring and Henderson 2011, 637).

Enacting truly transformative justice is hard; it is easier to take part in what Kinsley calls "affirmative" practice and enact temporary or apparent changes whilst failing to truly engage in structural revolution. Perhaps we need to understand the idea of the contact zone as an affirmative panacea, which to some people appears to produce "appropriate" and egalitarian contact; but which, in point of fact, is a sticking plaster over the wall which prevents the non-dominant from accessing the privilege of the dominant, and avoiding putting the dominant in that position of feeling denied. Boast writes, indeed, that,

> …contact zones are not really sites of reciprocity. They are, despite the best efforts of people like Jim Mason, asymmetric spaces of appropriation. No matter how much we try to make the spaces accommodating, they remain sites where the Others come to perform for us, not with us (Boast 2011, 63).

Collaboration, then, is something that museums need to reconsider, when they are–perhaps unwittingly–perpetuating neocolonial structures in their simple use of complex ideas, such as the contact zone. Perhaps we should be thinking more analytically, and perhaps less negatively, about the idea of the museum as "conflict zone" (Clifford 1997, 207). The tendency of museums to see conflict as a bad thing–and at times to actively avoid it–precludes a more critical understanding of this experience as productive. Perhaps it is time to think about allowing those oppressed by the activities of museums and their institutional partners to have their voice; and that what they say might not be what museums want to hear. Transformation does not arise without some form of agitation and disruption: acknowledging the conflict zone might be a way to effect real and lasting change.

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We've begun to define, or at least explore, the terms with which we are grappling in this volume. What are we left with? Communities which are both inclusive and exclusionary; diversity which requires a critical reconsideration and transformative trauma; dialogue which is not speech, which is not declamatory, but shared; collaboration which is not as good as perhaps we hope it is. We are left within the anxious space of uncertainty, of the ambiguous, a space which forces practitioners and academics to question even those things we think are good.

Welcome to the frontier zone.

Writing at the Borderlands

This book is divided into five sections: (1) Revisiting the Contact Zone and Travelling Theory; (2) Identities, Ethnicities, Objects and Difficult Histories; (3) Borderlands and Bridges: Engaging Audiences Beyond Nations; (4) The Politics of Belonging: Art, Refuge and Citizenship; and (5) Coming to Our Senses in the Digital Age. Each paper is selected from one of two conferences–Vietnam 2015, *Museums and Communities: Diversity, Dialogue, Collaboration* and Milan 2016, *Museums and Cultural Landscapes: Curating Peoples, Places and Entanglements in an age of Migrations,* and all engage with a variety of questions which ICME has encountered over a number of years.

How is it possible to reinterpret or imagine historical collections? Can we engage new audiences and source communities; and how? Can we collaborate–what does this mean? Can some of this be done using technology, or is technology a distraction, even a danger? Can museums inculcate actual intercultural communication; not simply affirmation, but transformation? Can they deal with difficult pasts–those they show, and those to which they belong–in order to produce such transformation?

Revisiting the Contact Zone and Travelling Theory

The three chapters of this first section focus on "place", how it is laden with conflict and how it is changing in the contemporary world. Museums are understood here as types of place in which conflict, change, and, at best, transformation can occur, and how they can themselves act as symbols for wider conflicts, in wider places.

The first chapter, “Museums and a Progressive Sense of Place”, by Christopher Whitehead and Francesca Lanz, offers a potentially transformative reconceptualisation of the idea of the museum place. Here, belonging is centred, and place is understood in Masseain terms as “progressive”; as locations where ideas, beliefs, senses of identity and social relations can converge, and reconnect, and *conflict*, in this increasingly heterogeneous world. The authors use the work of Doreen Massey to explore how museums might contribute to the development of progressive senses of place, particularly in the contemporary context of migration and increased xenophobia. A “progressive sense of place”, they argue, does not mean ignoring historical or contemporary trauma, or pretending that everything is alright. “A progressive sense of place,” they write, “involves a necessary questioning of the assumptions behind, and the roots of, situated antagonisms.” The second chapter, “How Lombroso Museum Became a Permanent Conflict Zone”, by Maria Teresa Milicia, is based on a very situated antagonism–that between the Neo-Bourbon movement and the Piedmontese–which crystalised in the form of protest against the opening of the Museum of Criminal Anthropology, “Cesare Lombroso”. The conflict between the Northern and Southern halves of what is now Italy, which has existed for as long as the country itself, and probably longer, is articulated through the parties claims of identity, inextricably linked to place, genocide, and repatriation; in particular, the repatriation of a skull, whose original owner, Giuseppe Villella, was, depending on perspective, either a brigand and criminal, or a patriot and hero of the defeated Two Sicilies Kingdom. In the final chapter of Section One, Ulf Johansson Dahre takes the idea of conflict and change *inside* the ethnographic museum, exploring how these institutions have been transformed through politics, governance, and the changing display modes and purposes of museums. He looks not only at the changes themselves, but also at the discussion which surrounds them, highlighting the importance of exploring both perception and actuality. He emphasises that it is impossible–and imprudent–to speak too generally of changes, and that museums–even ethnographic museums–have never, actually, stood still.

Identities, Ethnicities, Objects and Difficult Histories

The second section of the book has four chapters looking at the ways in which difficult, contested and hidden histories can be explored and recognised through museums and their objects. Chapter Four, “When Objects of Significance Mediate Power” by Carsten Nielsen, can be related to our previous discussion of the dialogic nature of objects. In this

paper, Nielsen looks at a particular time when Lakota came to the National Museum of Denmark to engage with a sacred bundle, in order to desacralise it; to change its nature so that it could be a part of the museum without causing harm or offense. Nielsen argues that the "adaptation" of such objects, and their transfer from a religious to a secular state, has resulted in a "paradigm shift" in which museums are able to act as liminal places wherein processes of identification and reidentification can occur in an ongoing fashion, and in which authority and agency are not limited to people, but are also given to objects. Chapter Five, "How Museums Identify and Face Challenges with Diverse Communities" by Chi Thien Pham, also uses a case study, *The Cabinet* exhibition which took place in Hanoi in 2015, which engaged in conversation with a community still not fully understood or accepted in Vietnam–the LGBTQIA+ community. Pham's exploration of the relationship between museums and their communities, and who is serving who, provokes some interesting questions about who, and what, communities are, and who has power when they are engaged with museums. Here, too, objects are understood as powerful communicative agents, with even relatively innocuous objects, as well as more troubling items, able to express the lives and tragedies of the LGBTQIA+ community in Vietnam. Chapter Six, "The Vanishing Category of 'The Others'? Refugees, Life Stories, and Museums" by Anette Rein, discusses the ways in which difficult histories might be used to allow different cultures to develop an empathic connection with each other, through a shared traumatic past, and how this sharing might be used to help to heal contemporary resentments and socio-cultural wounds. Focusing on Germany, and the practice of *Willkommenskultur* ("welcome culture"), the paper suggests that the traumatic past of the German people might provide a route to sympathy with migrants and refugees by using museums as a "social resonance platform" to express and explore common experiences of war and trauma. Finally in this section, Chapter Seven, "Divergent Memories for Malaysian Nation-Building" by Pi-Chun Chang tackles the ways in which the difficult community history of Malaysia, both before and after decolonisation, has been presented, and how an analysis of these modes of presentation might offer some insight into the ways in which identities and cultural relationships are conceived of today. Exploring the Malaysian National Museum and the book *Moving Mountains*, the chapter argues that whilst museums in Malaysia are national spaces explicating national narratives and the desires of the state, books such as *Moving Mountains* are able to provide a counter-narrative, and "a voice that is non-dominant and non-mainstream".

Borderlands and Bridges: Engaging Audiences beyond Nations

The three chapters of Section Three all explore audiences, and how they can be exposed not only to different cultures, but difficult and different histories within their own geographical context. In Chapter Eight, "The Remote Local: Travelling Exhibitions and New Practices in China", Heng Wu muses on types of audience, and types of community, particularly in relation to travelling exhibitions; those which travel often very long distances from one country to another, and the connections that such exhibitions draw across time, and across cultures. Beginning with a question of what a museums' community actually *is*, Wu examines the consequences and purposes of exhibitions which have travelled out from China to the wider world–how they have been presented, represented, and how they have been able to engage with the audiences in their non-Chinese locations: what Wu calls "the remote local" audience. Pauline van der Zee's Chapter Nine, "Diverse Audiences or a Single Target Public" discusses the idea that genuine intercultural understanding comes not from erasing difficult pasts, but acknowledging them: that is, it argues that to cross the frontier zone to make genuine contact, museums and their publics need to be prepared for difficult, painful, and transformative conversations. Using the Ethnographic Collections of the University of Ghent in Belgium, she outlines the changing identities of this collection over history–from academic "non-Western" ethnic art to "World Art"–and how these items, collected originally in what she calls a "Wunderkammer style" for academic connoisseurs, might be used to engage with increasingly diverse audiences, and to begin to produce a "shared heritage". Chapter Ten, "The Vietnamese Women's Museum" by Lê Thị Thuý Hoàn, showcases a museum prepared to have difficult conversations in order to engage diverse audiences with the diverse and sometimes very different people represented in their collections: about women subject to trafficking, who have drug problems, who are dealing with abuse, or who live with HIV/AIDS. The Vietnamese Women's Museum, established in 1987, is a highly non-traditional institution, which breaks the museum mold by engaging in ongoing, not temporary, contact with its community, and consistently campaigning for human rights and gender equality, and Hoàn's paper is a glimpse into the way this unique museum goes about its work.

The Politics of Belonging: Art, Refuge and Citizenship

Section Four contains three papers which explore the ways in which museums interact with political and cultural change and diversity. Anna Maria Pecci's paper, "Sharing Authority: 'The Art of Making a Difference'" is our eleventh chapter. In it, Pecci explores a project aiming for increased inclusivity at the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography at the University of Turin–the titular "Art of Making a Difference". Prefigured by the project "Tongue to Tongue", the "Art of Making a Difference" was informed by both art and anthropology, and aimed to foster "participants' cultural empowerment and the institution's social agency". In the chapter, Pecci writes about how "Tounge to Tounge" provided proof that museums could produce, rather than simply reproduce knowledge, and how this spurred even greater efforts towards diversity and inclusion, when the AMD project allowed emerging and outsider artists and educators to act in a form of peer education as "both trainers and trainees". Chapter Twelve, "Refugees are in front of our doors," by Mojca Račič and Ralf Čeplak Mencin, details the endeavors of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum to break down the stereotypes and prejudice that appeared when the refugee crisis of 2015 hit Slovenia–though their work with migrants dates back at least 20 years. Račič and Mencin detail how their museum has worked with other institutions, NGOs and refugees and migrants themselves to stand as a "space of dialogue" during a cultural moment in which historical fears and contemporary xenophobia threatened to emerge: to make a stand for "universal humanity and cultural diversity, and about what unites us more than divides us." Finally, in this section, Maria Camilla De Palma's "Selfies, Yoga and Hip Hop: Expanding the Role of Museums" provides a meditation on some of the consequences of diverse users in museums spaces, and the changing role that the museum faces as a consequence. Through changing uses of the museum–some provoked by technologies, others by changing needs and audiences–she examines questions about museum purpose: "Should museums," she writes, "be places for representation rather than exhibition, and act as interactive theatres where performances are staged for increasingly diverse audiences?" She asks, too, whether these questions play into capitalist economics, or whether they are a consequence of a "post-disciplinary" museum.