Blind spots: museology on museum research

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Ólőf Gerður Sigfús dóttir

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ABSTRACT
Research is considered to be one of four fundamental museum practices, equal to collecting, preserving and display. As such, it is understood to provide the basis for many other activities carried out in museums. Yet research remains an ambiguous component of museum practice, sometimes entirely invisible to the public eye. Moreover, it remains a neglected topic in museology, with only a few publications on the subject since its disciplinary reinvention at the turn of the ’90s. In this article, I explore museological strands towards research in museums and identify gaps in the literature. By carving out a space for a critical analysis of museum research within contemporary museology, my aim is to explore the place of museum research within the wider hierarchy of science. By doing so, I take an epistemological approach to museums as public institutions in the borderland between science and culture.

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Overlooking museum research
Museology is the discipline that studies museums as public institutions and develops a theory of their role and function in society. With the disciplinary reinvention from ‘old’ to ‘new’ museology (Vergo 1989), the former interest in the know-how and practicalities of running a museum was replaced by a critical analysis of the socio-political and ethical relevance of museums, as well as directing a critical view towards the administrative and organisational structures museums are founded on. Launched by Vergo’s The New Museology in 1989, contemporary museology makes the socio-cultural foundations and philosophical basis of museums its main subject of study, with an aim to enhance museums’ relevance for the communities they are embedded in. From this turning point onwards, museology has been influenced by post-colonial theory, post-structuralism, feminism, and institutional critique, studying museums through the conceptual lens of agency, authenticity, governmentality, inclusivity, gender, and ethics.¹ More recently, the turn to visual theory and material culture studies in the humanities and social sciences has further reinforced the discipline as a critical field of study.² This theoretical renewal has generated ‘a new set of expectations for the museum, including greater accountability, sensitivity, and openness’ (Marstine 2006, 21). However, the study of museums as research institutions has only had limited attention in the renewed museological agenda. While core components of museum practice, such as collecting,
documenting, preserving and display have enjoyed the spotlight, research has gained less academic interest. Consequently, museum research remains a marginal topic within contemporary museology, and organised discourse among museum professionals on this core museum practice proves to be relatively rare.  

Apart from some user-friendly manuals on the management and administration of research and a few position papers on the status of research in museums, museological focus on museums as sites for knowledge production is scarce throughout the history of museology. Similarly, fundamental anthologies and textbooks, whose role is to reset the stage for critical museology, only marginally address the subject of museum research. Sporadic case studies provide informative accounts on singular research projects, however rarely articulated in a wider context of museological discourse. Lastly, the two edited compilations that systematically address research in museums, while nonetheless informative and illuminating, are already a decade old. This scholarly neglect creates an opportunity for an enhanced focus on museums as research-based institutions, or as epistemic institutions, as I prefer to call them. To underpin the idea of museums as epistemic platforms, I will outline emerging trends in the literature during the last three decades or so. Furthermore, I will discuss museum research in relation to scientific fields. I limit my discussion to collections-based research whose output is disseminated through exhibitions or other three-dimensional display techniques within the museum space. By singling out museum research I do not mean to prioritise it over other fundamental activities, nor can it be separated from them.

**Museological trends**

When exploring the literature on the topic of museum research, two main lines of inquiry emerge. The first line focuses on the general relationship between museums and knowledge production without directly discussing research as such, and the second focuses on the state and status of research in museums, with more emphasis on descriptive accounts of particular research projects than theoretical articulation or contextualisation with other fields of research.

**Museums and knowledge**

Museologists have established the fundamental impact museums have had not only the shaping of knowledge in the Western world, but also on what form that knowledge takes (Bennett 2018; Haxthausen 2003; Hooper-Greenhill 1992; Macdonald 2007; Pearce 1995; Whitehead 2009). Tucker (1992) describes museums as metanarratives through which society is constituted. Seminal studies within the discipline address the early development of museums and their relationships with other epistemological formations, such as the construction of academic disciplines, science and universities (Conn 1998; Haxthausen 2003; Hooper-Greenhill 1992; Whitehead 2009). These studies can be seen to form a sub-theme within museology based on an epistemological approach to museums, where the nature of knowledge production in museums is critically examined and analysed, along with its rationalisation and legitimisation within the museum space. What these studies have in common is highlighting a vast array of knowledge practices – from the acquisition of objects and documenting, classifying and archiving them, to
labelling, installing and exhibiting them – without contextualising these practices into contemporary discourse of research politics (on which I will expand below). Similarly, an abundant area of study is the relationship between collections and science, but with limited reflection on the impact of current museum practice on the hierarchy of science and research. Scholars have however shown what fundamental role collection objects have had on the formation of disciplines from the Renaissance onwards, such as natural history and empirical sciences (Daston and Park 2001; Findlen 1994; Freedberg 2002; Pratt 1992), art history and archaeology (Hooper-Greenhill 1992; Preziosi 2003; Whitehead 2009), and anthropology and ethnology (Clifford 1988; Bouquet 2001; Karp and Lavine 1991; Stocking 1985). Of these, Hooper-Greenhill’s is the most influential, studying the interrelations between museums and knowledge. In her seminal work, she describes how ways of knowing and understanding were expressed through particular forms of collecting and display, mapped onto Foucauldian epistemic periods: the Renaissance, the classical period and the modern period.9 In a similar manner, Whitehead (2009) explores the parallel histories of museums and the formation of art history and archaeology as academic disciplines. Like Hooper-Greenhill, he emphasises the epistemic role of museums by explaining ‘how cultural actions such as collecting, classification, conservation and display are in fact ways of theorising the world’ (Whitehead 2009, 20). Other museologists have discussed the relationship between museums and knowledge from the perspective of power and politics (Bennett 1995, 2018; Hetherington 2015; Macdonald 2007).

**Counterproductive division lines**

The juxtaposition of research and public programming as competing museum activities runs as a leitmotif throughout museological discourse. Museologists have been explicit in their criticism on how neoliberal funding models have pressured museums to shape themselves as service institutions with focus on budgetary accountability and managerial efficiency (Appleton 2007; Hafsteinsson 2014; Mason, Robinson, and Coffield 2018; Weil 1999). As Krauss (1990) pointed out in her influential essay on *The Cultural Logic of the Late Capitalist Museum*, the introduction of neoliberal ideology into the field of cultural production created a profound shift in the identity and programming of public cultural institutions. Museums have not only become entangled in the corporate nature of the contexts they operate in, but also is this development closely linked to the emergence of globalisation and supported by the flow of capital, human mobility and new communication technologies (Mathur 2005; Hafsteinsson 2014). Consequently, time-consuming and resource-demanding research projects are inevitably less urgent than blockbuster exhibitions, entertainment and attractive public events. Bounia (2014, 2) describes this as ‘the prioritization of people rather than objects’, a development that has sparked debates on the role and function of research in museums (Anderson 2005; Cavalli-Björkman and Lindqvist 2008; Graham 2005; Lehmann-Brauns, Sichau, and Trischler 2010a). In this political climate museologists criticise how curators have been pushed to the margins while their work is left to service managers and helpdesks (Anderson 2005; Appleton 2007; Roth 2008; Schubert 2009; Viau-Courville 2016). This perpetuation of division lines between the two activities is not only a consequence of the neoliberal funding model.
The rather recent establishment of separate museum departments has also contributed to this development, where education staff does the work of public programming while curators perform their work on the collection behind the scenes (Roberts 1997; Lord, Lord, and Martin 2012). Not only does this create internal divisions among staff, but also a disconnection between research and its dissemination. This way, in Spalding’s view, museums risk developing into two separate institutions: a research institution behind the scenes and a popular theme park out front (Spalding 2002). On a similar note, Fink (2006) shows how popular entertainment in museums has led to reduced use of archives and primary research material hosted by museums, and Bounia (2014, 2) discusses how this development risks leaving traditional curatorial research to be considered ‘elitist’ and of ‘secondary importance’ to museum leaders and funding bodies. O’Neill (2006) offers an interesting compromise between the two roles. He describes this as a tension between ‘the essential museum’ on the one hand, and ‘the adaptive museum’ on the other, both being dangerous naturalisations of what a museum is. The former sees museums as permanent and essentialist institutions whose priority is to conduct specialist research on their collection, regardless of surrounding socio-political changes (O’Neill 2006, 96), while the latter sees museums’ primary obligation as service to their visitors (O’Neill 2006, 97). Appleton (2007) goes as far as understanding the current focus on social inclusion as a distraction from the collection, which she sees as the museum’s central responsibility. Before discussing ways to overcome this approach to research and public programming and antagonistic opposites, I will first explore museums as epistemic institutions.

Museums as epistemic institutions

The research museum is considered to originate in Enlightenment Europe, coinciding with the inception of public museums (Anderson 2005; Hooper-Greenhill 1992). Anderson (2005, 298) states that ‘all early museums, some being described as cabinets of curiosities, were concerned with investigation, even though the research might not today be considered systematic’. Up until the emergence of new museology, museums were largely operated as places for advanced object-based research and specialised disciplinary exhibitions, curated by ‘scholar-curators’ as extensions of academic work (Boylan 2011; Viau-Courville 2016). This understanding of museums as research institutions was upheld until the beginning of the twentieth century, only to be replaced by universities as the legitimate knowledge producers (Boylan 1999). Today, the role and relevance of research for museums is disputed amongst museum scholars and professionals, although not much of it has been documented in printed publications. Already at the turning point of museology into new museology, Macdonald understood museums and exhibitions as ‘embodiments of theory’ (Macdonald 1996, 14). Only recently has this notion been re-examined, with scholars paying closer attention to the agency of museums as sites for knowledge production. Describing museums as sites for proactive production of knowledge, ‘where theory is generated within the museum’, Message and Witcomb (2015, xxxvi; original emphasis) offer an alternative to the understanding of museums as passive sites for the presentation of knowledge produced elsewhere, like in universities. A useful term to understand such an epistemic reading of museums is what Conn (1998, 22) describes as the ‘object-based epistemology’ around which museums are usually organised: the objects themselves on the one hand, and the systematics into which they are placed on
the other. It is in this sense that I understand museums as ‘epistemic institutions’, where the content of collections and their arrangement into abstract or physical orders, create a system of knowledge that is contained and sustained by the museum itself.

Museums have disciplinary affinities to diverse research fields like natural history, art history, design history, anthropology, archaeology, cultural history, and science and technology studies. These research fields have numerous subfields and are typically grouped into larger scientific domains, namely, the natural sciences, the social sciences, the humanities, and the arts – in that hierarchical order. Each discipline is rooted in its own genealogy, which, in turn, generates disciplinary methodologies and intellectual attitudes (Messer-Davidow, Shumway, and Sylvan 1993). Research in museums, like in any other research field, has its subjects, methodologies, means of dissemination and systems for the management and storage of research data. Museum research addresses as diverse subjects as pedagogy and education, visitor experience, health, conservation, marketing and consumer behaviour, and media and communication, just to name a few. Similarly, methodological frameworks range from visual and formal analysis to textual analysis, as well as material analysis, chemical analysis, and historical and theoretical analysis, depending on the specialisation of the museum (Cameron 2012). The management of museum research data requires complicated systems that have their own logic and infrastructure, such as inventories and archives, card catalogues, filing cabinets, electronic database registries, and many others. Furthermore, museums have multiple means of disseminating their research to the public: architectural spaces like exhibition halls and galleries, the open environment, material objects and installations, printed publications, websites, apps, podcasts, other interactive digital technologies, and so on. When assembling these elements – research subjects, methods, dissemination and frameworks for research administration – the museum takes on an epistemic form.

My view on museums as epistemic institutions is close to Thomas’s approach to ‘the museum as method’ (Thomas 2010, 2016). Thomas uses the idea of the museum as method to challenge the generally accepted understanding that theory is primarily aligned with academic disciplines and limited to academic discourse. In his view, the museum as method is a space for ‘a happening upon’, emphasising the importance of curiosity and contingency when conducting museum research (Thomas 2010, 7). The ‘methodological potency’ this kind of research activity entails is found in the researcher’s preparedness to be open to the unexpected, to be taken by surprise by material objects and the collection, even if at odds with canonical academic knowledge already out there. In this sense, museums are unique platforms for alternative research practices that are able to reach a wider audience than conventional academic research, with a greater promise for impact. This approach is inspired by Phillips’s (2005) view that museums operate ‘as an object archive or repository, making available unique collections that can lead to the development of data not retrievable from other sources. Such research requires specialized skills of description, technical and stylistic analysis, documentation, and attribution’ (Phillips 2005, 88). This broad scope of research subjects and methodologies gives rise to Anderson’s (2008, 11) point on ‘the remarkably disparate nature of research in museums’. Consequently, museum research manages to resist any formal definitions. Instead, it takes on an abstract form as defined by Desvallées and Mairesse in their handbook, Key Concepts in Museology (2010): ‘In the museum, research consists of the intellectual activities and work aimed at discovery, invention, and the advancement
of new knowledge connected with the museum collections, or the activities it carries out’ (Desvallées and Mairesse 2010, 73). This understanding of museum research aligns with what is typically understood by the concept of research in academia: ‘creative and systematic work undertaken in order to increase the stock of knowledge – including knowledge of humankind, culture and society – and to devise new applications of available knowledge’ (OECD 2015, 44).

Museum research in the hierarchy of science

Silverman and O’Neill (2004, 41) understand the role of museums as being ‘about something and for somebody at the same time’. This notion of the twofold nature of museums could also serve as a useful ground for an understanding of museum research in the context of other research fields. I draw this assumption from Borgdorff’s (2012) discussion on artistic research, where he explains the twofold epistemological contribution such research output holds. In epistemology, he explains, a distinction is made between kinds of knowledges: on the one hand, knowing that something is the case (theoretical knowledge, propositional knowledge, explicit knowledge, focal knowledge), and on the other, knowing how to do something, to make something (practical knowledge, embodied knowledge, implicit knowledge, tacit knowledge) (Borgdorff 2012, 122). In a similar way, museum research operates equally in the two spheres, oscillating between academic discourse (publications) and cultural space (museums, galleries), or between the discursive and the immersive. Here, Thomas’s (2016, 100) notion of the double role of curators ‘as specialists in a particular field (art historian, archaeologist, entomologist), and as museum curators’ is particularly relevant. It is precisely this unique ability museums have, not only to cross borders between disciplines but also to operate equally in domains of science and culture, that underpins their agency as research institutions. In this way, museums are in a unique position to undertake research practices in the borderland between science and culture, whose relevance and validity are judged within both worlds. If museums took a stronger position as such border-crossing institutions, then perhaps current advocacy for museum activism would gain momentum, as Janes and Sandell (2019) call for (see also Janes 2009). On a similar note, Bishop (2013, 27) criticises what she calls ‘post-2000 thematic collections’ in relation to museum marketing and neoliberal culture politics. She sees such a museum practice to be bound to ‘please every demographic, without having to align the institution with any particular narrative or position’ (Bishop 2013, 27).

Museums are the largest self-organised franchise in the world, consisting of 55,000 museums worldwide that have developed common codes of practice and promoted a critical self-understanding (ICOM 2017). Janes and Sandell (2019) stress the role of museums in bringing together information, scientific knowledge and options for action, advocating that museums not fall prey to neutrality. In this sense, museums have an advantage over universities and other institutions of higher education, whose role is usually understood to be neutral rather than proactively positioned on an issue or within a debate, e.g., climate change or right-wing nationalist populism. Museums, on the other hand, have the possibility to responsibly position themselves openly and actively for or against an issue, preferably in collaboration with the communities in which they are embedded. Perhaps recent emphasis within museology on open-ended, experimental and
creative research practices (Arnold 2016; Grewcock 2014; Macdonald and Basu 2007; Message and Witcomb 2015) will enhance this possibility.11 The rupture in the current science establishment could potentially open up a space for an enhanced interest in museums as epistemic platforms, not only within museology but also amongst other fields of research that are interested in border-crossing activity. Division lines constructed between the disciplines during Modernism are now increasingly blurring, and today it is commonly accepted among scholars for theories and concepts to migrate between disciplines (Pétursdóttir and Olsen 2018). Moreover, conventional distinctions between basic research and applied research are disintegrating, and boundaries between science and culture are dissolving, creating a porous relationship between the two domains (Borgdorff 2012). This development prompts a closer look at the relationship between academia and museums. Cannizzo (2001) and Phillips (2005) discuss the tension between academic approaches to exhibitions versus museum approaches, noting how museum researchers tend to stick close to the former instead when it comes to disseminating results. They stress limitations of the academic model, illustrating that academic research culture is individualistic and competitive, apart from the obvious fact that academic culture is primarily a written one. Put into context with Bal’s (2018) critique on the peer-review system in academic publications, which she sees primarily as a consequence of the neoliberalisation of universities, the formal limitations of academic research become clear, whether in terms of methods or forms of dissemination. Trends in the literature, such as the work of Bouquet (1992, 2001), Cannizzo (2001), and Phillips (2005), indicate that museum researchers are being encouraged to release themselves from the limitations of the academic research model and use the potentiality of museum research and exhibitionary techniques of dissemination to their fullest. In this sense, a number of museologists see continuous reflection as the basis for a renewal in museological approaches to museum research (Grewcock 2014; Message and Witcomb 2015; Moser 2010; Lehmann-Brauns, Sichau, and Trischler 2010b; Karp and Kratz 2015).

Grewcock (2014) suggests museum staff practice what he calls ‘relational museology’. To research relationally, in his view, ‘is to keep asking questions of the ways in which we come to know the world, how that knowing is made and re-made, of attending to the hidden and not-so-hidden’ (Grewcock 2014, 6). Similarly, Message and Witcomb (2015, li) see museums ‘as agents for promoting reflexive understanding’, and Lehmann-Brauns, Sichau, and Trischler (2010b, 5) state ‘the need to reflect on the intimate and at the same time delicate relationship between research activities and the making of an exhibition’. Furthermore, Moser (2010) criticises the lack of reflection on the importance of exhibitions in contributing to the development of society. On a similar note, Herle (2013) illustrates how museums have increasingly become passive repositories for research conducted elsewhere. In her proposition to this problem, Herle stresses the curatorial process as a legitimate tool in the production of knowledge: ‘Exhibitions as research provide an opportunity to systematically investigate, develop, and demonstrate the fecundity of particular theoretical approaches’ (Herle 2013, 114). In a similar fashion, Macdonald and Basu (2007, 2) insist that ‘contemporary exhibition practices cannot be conceived merely as means for the display and dissemination of already existing, preformulated knowledges’. Rather, they argue that exhibitions are sites for the generation rather than reproduction of knowledge. On a similar note, O’Neill provides a critical analysis of what he calls ‘the flawed structure of museum epistemology’ (Macdonald and Basu
a paradigm that supports positivist and Victorian approaches to permanent exhibitions, where knowledge is presented as enduring, complete and permanent. Instead, he proposes that museums create room for exhibition practices that support displays capable of evolving over time, according to emerging knowledge at any given time. The entrance of new and emerging forms of research offers an interesting insight into the interrelationship between theory and practice in the production of knowledge. Increasing attention is drawn to nondiscursive manifestations of research output, where concepts like ‘tacit knowledge’, ‘material knowledge’ and ‘sensuous knowledge’ are being legitimised (Borgdorff 2012; ELIA 2016; Kjörup 2006; Wilson and van Ruiten 2013). Ruptures in the science hierarchy of this kind create an important opportunity for new and emerging forms of knowledge production, including museum research. However, this would only work if museum research allows more space for alternative forms of research, by embracing open-ended, experimental and creative museum research practice, as advocated by Bouquet (1992), Cannizzo (2001) and Macdonald and Basu (2007). In particular, museums (especially those who do not operate in the art sphere) could look towards the recent entrance of curatorial practice as a form of research (O’Neill and Wilson 2010, 2015; Martinon 2013; Sheikh 2015). This newcomer to the field of research has been described as ‘the expanded field of curating’, where curatorial output extends beyond both the museum and the academy (Rogoff 2013; Sheikh 2015). It has developed an articulation of the curatorial as ‘research action in itself’ (O’Neill and Wilson 2015, 12), where knowledge production is problematised and destabilised. This paradigm is, of course, no news to museum researchers, but the discourse that surrounds it does not yet seem to have entered the museological domain.

**Conclusion**

Although O’Neill’s (2006, 99) vision for an epistemology of museums that would ‘integrate all the forms of knowledge which museums acquire, produce, deploy and disseminate’ is perhaps too broad, his approach has nevertheless served as a point of departure for my approach to museums as epistemic institutions. In this article I have explored recurrent trends and attitudes towards museum research within museological literature during the last three decades or so. I have also discussed how the double agency of museum research, with simultaneous impact in the fields of science and culture, is one of the fundamental qualities of museum research output, making it unique among conventional research practices. I have identified gaps and pointed out blind spots when it comes to developing a theory of museum research, and I have pointed to the recurring theme of juxtaposing research against other core components of professional museum work. This dichotomous approach is only counterproductive and contributes to a segmented and compartmentalised view of museum practice, a view that favours a neo-liberal approach to culture. As new museology advocated for socially embedded museums and democratically driven cultural activity, museums enhanced their visitor services and public relations, leaving less capacity for research-based museum work.

As I have established above, I believe that only by articulating the distinct epistemic qualities of the museum research process, including its methods and means of dissemination, are we able to carve out a space for research, not only within museology but also as practice in museums. And by doing so, its relations to other core components of museum
practice emerge. By identifying the role of the material, the temporal, the spatial and the sensuous in museum research practice, we are able to construct an epistemology of museum research and to contextualise it within other scientific fields. And only by understanding these qualities are we better equipped with tools to debate the very content of that knowledge.

Notes

1. The reformation of museology into new museology has generated a number of core anthologies and monographs. Among the most influential are Anderson 2012; Bennett 1995, 2018; Duncan 1995; Hooper-Greenhill 2000; Levin 2010; Macdonald 2007, 2011; Macdonald and Fyfe 1996; Marstine 2006, 2011; Vergo 1989; Watson 2001; Witcomb 2003. These core texts unveil the socio-political and ethical complexities and challenges of museum activity, but with very limited attention to research as one of the fundamental components of museum practice.


3. International conferences with museum research as the main theme are sporadic. A search over the last 15 years brings up only a few conference events with documentation and proceedings available post-event: The Museum Research Summit in Ottawa, 2005 (organised by the Canadian Museums Association), The International Symposium on Research and Museums in Stockholm, 2007 (organised by the Nationalmuseum, the Nobel Museum, and the Royal Swedish Academy of Science), and The Global Summit of Research Museums – The Transformative Potential of Research in Berlin, 2018 (organised by the Natural History Museum Berlin and Leibniz Research Museums). Local conferences with a focus on museum research are likely to have taken place at the national level where proceedings are not accessible to international audiences. Anderson (2005) points out that research has been a topic of concern among curatorial staff in museums, though little has been published on the subject.

4. See e.g. Ambrose and Paine 2018; Mason, Robinson, and Coffield 2018; Lord, Lord, and Martin 2012.

5. See e.g. Anderson 2005; Arrhenius, Cavalli-Björkman, and Lindqvist 2008; Fuller 2005; Graham 2005; Lehmann-Brauns, Sichau, and Trischler 2010b; Reid and Naylor 2005.

6. See e.g. Anderson 2012; Carbonell 2012; Macdonald and Fyfe 1996; Macdonald 2011; Marstine 2006.

7. For case studies on collections-based research projects, see e.g. Cavalli-Björkman and Lindqvist 2008; Fleming 2010; Herle 2013; Lehmann-Brauns, Sichau, and Trischler 2010a; Meineke et al. 2018; Moser 2010; Tybjerg 2017.


9. Foucault conceived of the episteme as a tool to describe a particular world-view or a certain structure of thought that characterised a total set of relations, bound to particular periods in history. For further reading on this subject, see The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences (Foucault 1970) and The Archaeology of Knowledge (Foucault 1974).
10. To name a few examples of research-intensive museums, see the Natural History Museum London, the British Museum, Tate Modern, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the German Historical Museum, the National Museum of Denmark, and the Gothenburg Botanical Garden. Research profiles are also common in museums affiliated with universities, serving as teaching and research platforms, e.g., Pitt Rivers Museum at the University of Oxford, the Museum of Arcaheology and Anthropology at the University of Cambridge, the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia, the Design Museum at Zürich University of the Arts, the Museum of Cultural History at the University of Oslo, Glyptoteket in Copenhagen, and the National Museum of Iceland as part of the University of Iceland.

11. This trend is in line with other new and emerging forms of research as seen for instance in feminist and posthuman research; see e.g. Barad 2007; Feyerabend 1978; Haraway 1988; hooks 1990; Harding 1992; Smith 1999. A fertile field of creative research forms is also found in visual anthropology and sensory ethnography, e.g., Pink 2009; Schneider 2013; Schneider and Wright 2005, 2010. Also, the emerging field of artistic research offers an interesting debate within the field itself on the development of art practice into art research, e.g., Borgdorff and Schwab 2014; Borgdorff 2012; Dombois et al. 2012; Kaila, Seppä, and Slager 2017; Michelkevičius 2018; Rogo ff 2017.

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Notes on contributor

Ólöf Gerður Sigfúsdóttir is a PhD candidate at the University of Iceland.

ORCID

Ólöf Gerður Sigfúsdóttir http://orcid.org/0000-0003-1647-9784

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