Networks, Relationships, and Social Change: Reimagining the museum as a key actor in a system of social progress and responsibility. A case study of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

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Abstract

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Both the museum field and society more broadly are growing increasingly aware of the power museums have to engage with contemporary issues and to affect social change. Museums, through the histories, objects, perspectives, and representations they offer, are becoming active contributors to broader negotiations of social rights and identities. As awareness grows, however, and the engagement that accompanies it develops, how does this potentially change what a museum can be, its responsibilities, and the relationships it forms with the individuals and groups in the network around it?

Using the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC as a case study, this thesis will examine one museum's participation in socially engaged practice in order to build a greater understanding of the resulting connections and relationships. The thesis will focus on the museum's leadership programmes in the Levine Institute for Holocaust Education in order to understand how the museum contributes to and builds a broader network of organisations working towards positive social change. The analysis will draw on the concept of 'activist practice' (Sandell & Dodd, 2010), organisational studies, and social capital theory to explore the museum's role in creating, developing, and evolving the network in which it operates, how the museum's position in that network changes, and finally, how the museum's ability to build connections between like and unalike actors makes it a unique and crucial contributor to social change initiatives. Ultimately this thesis reimagines the museum as a key actor in a wider network of social progress, facilitating the relationships that allow for positive social change. In doing so, the thesis contributes to an understanding of socially engaged practice in the broader museum field.

Acknowledgements

This thesis, while it has my name on it, is the culmination of the efforts of many people who have helped me through the process. I have tried to thank them regularly throughout, but I am glad to have this chance to put my appreciation in writing. I hope readers will bear with me.

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I would like to thank those at the University of Leicester School of Museum Studies who have encouraged, challenged, and guided me through this process. First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor Richard Sandell who, in addition to providing crucial guidance and support as I explored my subject and constructed my arguments, had the unique ability to make me feel that, by the end of a supervision, I could take on the world.

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Last but most certainly not least, thank you to my wonderful husband. His never-ending belief that I am 'clever', his support, and his crucial ability to know when I needed to be taken outside for some fresh air, exercise, and a cold beer meant we both came out of this (relatively) unscathed. He has been my balance on the teeter-totter that is a PhD, and without him I would have fallen off long ago.

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List of Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Explanation
ADL	Anti-Defamation League
BTLH	Bringing the Lessons Home
CBP	United States Customs and Border Patrol
CDI	Civic and Defense Initiatives
CHGS	Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies at the US Military Academy at West Point
CPG	Center for the Prevention of Genocide
FBI	United States Federal Bureau of Investigation
ICE	United States Immigration and Customs Enforcement
LEAS	Law Enforcement and Society
LJH	Law, Justice and the Holocaust
MAEW	Mass Atrocity Education Workshop
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
PSD 10	Presidential Study Directive 10
USHMM	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II

Chapter 1 – Introduction

When studying for my Master's degree, I took a number of courses in Public Administration, specifically around organisational capacity building, sustainability, and complexity. The aim of these courses was to explore the difficulty of the pressing social issues that burden our modern world and how to work towards holistic solutions. Social challenges such as addressing poverty, broadening access to education, providing healthcare, or combating other forms of exclusion are increasingly recognized by those who work to address them as a complex interrelated set of problems and, importantly, as processes instead of fixed states (Newman & McClean, 2007, p. 171). Economics, education, health, and safety are interconnected, not isolated islands in a sea of social issues. These courses stressed that the impacts of these challenges ranged far beyond those who were immediately affected and that, with increasing globalisation and diversification of perspectives and voices, solutions must also come from a diverse range of individuals and organisations.

In these courses, we would discuss how to engage multiple sectors in society, including non-profit, government, and private sector companies, around addressing and solving these issues. There was an emphasis that the concept of a 'good society' and the rights and responsibilities inherent in being a member of a community and citizenry are changing. Globalization and diversification have connected broad communities and created larger discussions around social expectations and responsibilities, both of citizens and governments (Anderson, 2012, p. 226). They have also changed the ways individuals and groups interact. Calls for expanded rights and equality come from and include social and political voices of different genders, races, religious creeds, sexual orientations and disabilities (Nightingale & Sandell, 2012, p. 2). As a result, these courses stressed that we, as future aid workers, NGO staff members, government advisors, or any of the myriad of other socially engaged professions my cohort aimed for, were responsible for addressing these issues from all sides, recognizing their intricacy, and creating solutions that would fight complexity with complexity.

But – and here is where the seed of this thesis began – cultural organisations, whether in the forms of museums, galleries, libraries or community groups, were absent from these conversations, and the thought that they could be valuable contributors to efforts was surprising to most. While culture was discussed in terms of

how to work in an unknown environment or fit in as an outsider, the inputs of historians, artists, writers, and musicians to contemporary social debates, if mentioned at all, were treated as anomalies. I found myself arguing for the value of cultural institutions, in particular museums and galleries, as places where perspectives come together and diverse narratives can be explored. It seemed to me that the absence of cultural understanding and authority was a notable gap in discussions about addressing social ills from their roots and in their totality.

My argument usually went as follows; how can we address sectarian violence, mass atrocities, unequal resource distribution, or religious extremism when we do not understand the fundamental basics of the beliefs, history, and social norms upon which they rest? Clean water, safe schools, and food to eat are undeniably crucial to stability and easing tensions, but how do we get at the real heart of conflicts that are built upon perpetuating long-held beliefs that some people are just fundamentally different, bad, or less worthy of the education, land, or resources they need to prosper? Tensions ease when there is enough food to go around and resources are plentiful but this does not mean that the underlying sources of conflict are gone. How do we gain an understanding of history and cultural context so that we can create a system that is stable enough to withstand resource shortages, economic challenges, and abrupt social change without falling into sectarianism? The World Commission on Culture and Development echoed these sentiments in its *Our Creative Diversity* report (1995) in which it said, "development divorced from its human or cultural context is growth without a soul".

The pushback I often received to my 'culture matters' tirades was Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (Figure 1.1). How could organisations divert resources to cultural matters when so many of the populations at the heart of these issues were missing basic access to food, water, sanitation, safe living environments, or elementary education? To this I respond, and here we arrive at a starting point for this thesis, that it is not one or the other. Cultural organisations, whether in the form of museums, historic sites, art galleries or libraries, are part of a system that engages with the complexity of the social issues we face, contributes to understanding the world on a broader scale, works towards positive social change and expanding human rights, and helps create a more stable world. Perhaps these are lofty goals, and there are arguments against museum involvement from within museums themselves, as well as we shall discuss in Chapter Three, but museums, and cultural organisations in general, are part of a network of

social change organisations. If they are involved in addressing social ills, the number of services working to remedy the situations grows, which only increases the possibility of positive change (West & Smith, 2005, p. 278).
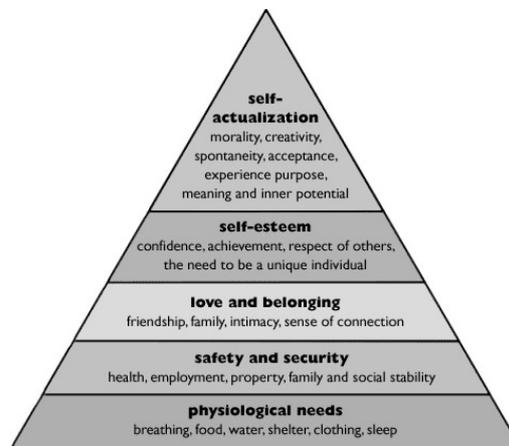
Figure 1.1: Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs based on Maslow 1943 (Anon., 2012)

This is not to say that the process of museum involvement in social change is easy. Defining issues and audiences can be difficult as definitions of "social change" and "social inclusion" are often fluid between organisations and issues. Additionally, providing access for the groups that social initiatives seek to include is not the same as inclusion itself (West & Smith, 2005, p. 277). This type of work can also often operate on conflicting timelines. Change can be a slow and delicate process, while government agencies and other funding bodies might operate on fiscal years or election cycles. Finally, there is push back from the cultural sector as well, with some in museums arguing that the primary role of museums is collection and preservation, tasks that are put into peril by a focus on contemporary or political concerns (Appleton, 2001, Cuno, 1997). These arguments will be explored in more detail in Chapter Three, but regardless of difficulty and the arguments for museum autonomy, museums have impact on the social, political, and cultural sectors in which they operate and to ignore that does a disservice to their potential as institutions.

A contemporary example for the argument that culture matters is so-called Islamic State's destruction in Palmyra, an ancient Semitic city in modern-day Syria and a UNESCO World Heritage Site. In 2015, Isis released images that it had destroyed a number of sites in Palmyra, including statues and the two main temples, the 2000-year-old temples of Bel, dedicated to a Mesopotamian god, and Baal Shamin, dedicated to a Phoenician god. Palmyra is one of the many cultural sites that have fallen victim to Isis and is now on UNESCO's List of World Heritage in Danger.

Of course the destruction of ancient monuments pales in comparison to the loss of life and conflict in Syria, but the destruction is part of a bigger picture. On a purely economic scale, experts worry that this destruction will support Isis because of the ability to sell pieces of Palmyra on the black market (Jeffries, 2015). There is also a worry that such destruction might bolster the drive of Isis to destroy other historic sites for ideological reasons. Iconoclasm has a long history of working as an effective motivator in eschewing the 'wrong' way to worship or association with the 'wrong' groups by serving as a physical symbol of the dangers awaiting those who stray (ibid). Clearly the destruction can't be ignored for the practical reasons involved in fighting against extremism.

Beyond the practical, however, the symbolic nature of this destruction has great implication for both the Syrian's living through the war, and for the world more broadly. As the novelist Robin Yassin-Kassab wrote after the destruction, "such monuments were references held in common, regardless of sect or politics" (Yassin-Kassab, 2015). For a country divided between Kurds, the Free Army, Islamic-nationalist groups, the "bearded fascism" of Isis and the "necktie" fascism of Assad, these common links to a shared past and a hoped-for future were few and far between (ibid). The destruction is a symbol that, "the land under Syria's feet is dissolving" (ibid).

On an even larger scale, the destruction of Palmyra erases a site that might be the seed for bridging the divides that have led to the civil war in Syria and, perhaps, the conflict even more broadly within the Middle East and between East and West. Palmyra was important because it was a, "creative meeting of west and east, and so serves inspiration to us in…a time when some seek to make cross-cultural dialogues impossible" (Jeffries, 2015). It goes without saying that the loss of life, the destruction of homes and businesses, the atrocities committed against Syrian people, and the children who will have grown up in the midst of war are at the forefront of this crisis, but sites like Palmyra are part of a holistic approach to understanding, healing, and building bridges. Culture, and the institutions that house it, cannot be left out of the discussion.

1.1 Research context

Despite the lack of recognition of cultural organisations as a player in larger social change initiatives in my Master's courses, museums have been examining their own practice and capacities as influential and important contributors to contemporary social issues. I will explore the museological context for this thesis in more detail in Chapter Three, but socially engaged practice, the public value of museums, the role of museums in civic life, and the potential for museums to address contentious debates, have all been addressed by a number of practitioners and academics (Fleming 2012, Gurian 2010, Hooper-Greenhill 2000, Janes 2009, 2010, Sandell 2017, Sandell and Dodd, 2010, Sandell and Nightingale 2012).

This thesis is also situated within a broader effort to understand the socially engaged practice of museums through research. The aim is to encourage, deepen, and inspire thinking around how museums take part in broader discussions and contemporary issues by capturing evidence of impact, not just assuming that museums make a difference (Dodd & Sandell, 2017). Connecting theory and research in addressing these questions can foster innovation in socially engaged practice. It provides insight into how museums can operate to their full potential as social and civic organisations, as well as giving us the tools to understand context and make informed decisions around practice. This thesis will attempt to look at theory in relation to practice and to connect the museum to broader discourses around social engagement and positive social change through observation and cross-disciplinary theory.

Beyond the museological framework, the two main theoretical lenses through which we will explore the role of museums in wider efforts for social change are networks and social capital. Here networks are defined as long-lasting relationships between actors and are comprised of 'nodes', defined as the different members, and 'links', or the interactions between those members (Thorelli, 1986, p. 38). Each node contributes 'commonalities and complementarities' in the form of the resources, knowledge and skills held by network members which then overlap and supplement those of other actors (Porter, 1998, p. 4). These flow between members along the ties that link them and allow network members to accomplish goals and address issues beyond their own immediate capacities.

Network theory provides an opportunity to examine the components of a network, the connections between them and, importantly, the pattern of interactions and connections (Newman, 2010, p. 2). By simplifying the representation of exchanges

between connected actors down to a network framework, it is possible to assign strengths, weaknesses, resources, and relationships to both actors and links. It is important to remember that networks are a simplification and there can be disadvantages to reducing complex patterns down to a network perspective, such as eliminating other influences from the discussion by focusing solely on one network and therefore losing some nuance. Ultimately, however, the representation of a network allows us to understand process and flow and begin to get a sense of broader behaviours and processes in a system (Newman, 2010, p. 3). This is important for understanding complex systems such as those around social change.

Looking at the networks in which museums sit is an opportunity to examine how museums develop partnerships and collaborations by providing a framework for interaction. Museums are increasingly reaching out to other organisations and groups to create a, "community of practice" (Bienkowski, 2013). These communities of practice take different forms and require different inputs and connections between participants, but they are becoming ways for museums to address a diversity of issues and reach new audiences. Networks can also illuminate the flows of resources and information to help understand the ways in which those partnerships expand the understandings of the subjects they touch, not just within the museum, but in society more broadly.

The second theoretical framework in this thesis is social capital. There are a variety of takes on social capital, but this thesis will largely make use of Putnam's (2000) concept of social capital which recognizes relationships as valuable resources in affecting social change, solidarity, and community. This will be supported by other theorists, including Coleman's (1990) take on social capital which allows individuals to work together beyond self-interest to achieve broader and longer lasting social benefits, Bourdieu (1986), who looks at the maintenance and creation of social norms and status, and Lin (2001) who will help us connect social capital to other forms of capital. Similar to the concept of the value in resources exchanged through network connections, the relationships at the heart of these concepts of social capital theory can be treated as resources and leveraged by individual entities to accomplish goals beyond their immediate capacities, to be more efficient, or to be more productive (Lin, 2001, p. 24).

While social capital has been applied to a wide range of topics, including political action, social class, and education, here we will focus on social capital as a

means through which social ties can be strengthened and unalike groups can be brought together. Putnam's concept of "bridging capital", outward looking relationships between seemingly unalike actors who are tied together, whether through mutual values or shared goals, is crucial to broadening identities, understanding, reciprocity, and creating solutions to our, "biggest collective problems" (Putnam, 2000, pp. 22-23, 363). Bridging capital is important for this thesis as it provides a way to understand not only how, but why actors who might be divided by political, social, or cultural identities can ultimately work together towards larger goals. This, combined with network theory, will allow us to situate the museum in larger efforts and values of social change and to understand both how and why their participation and contributions are valuable.

1.2 Research questions

To approach this research, I conducted a case study at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC, specifically focusing on the Levine Institute for Holocaust Education Leadership Programs Division. These programmes use the history housed in the museum to address contemporary social discussions, specifically the roles and responsibilities of citizens in a democratic society, the appropriate uses of power and authority by organisations such as the police, judiciary, and military, and the tensions between individual rights and public safety. The research questions guiding this thesis are as follows:

- Using the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) as a case study, how do museums contribute to the building of stronger, more just societies, through their involvement in larger social change initiatives?
    - How do museums fit within a larger network of social change actors?
    - As the museum becomes more engaged in 'activist practice' (Sandell and Dodd, 2010), how does its position within the network change?
    - How can the museum's involvement benefit society more broadly, beyond the immediate visitors and programme participants?

1.3 Case study

The United State Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) originated in 1978 with President Jimmy Carter's President's Commission on the Holocaust. The Commission was chaired by Elie Wiesel, the Holocaust survivor and author, and consisted of 34 members including Holocaust survivors, leaders in the lay and religious

communities, historians, scholars, and members of Congress (United States Holocaust Memorial , n.d.a). The Commission was charged, "with the responsibility to submit a report 'with respect to the establishment and maintenance of an appropriate memorial to those who perished in the Holocaust'" (ibid).[1] The museum as it is known today came out of that report and was chartered by a unanimous Act of Congress in 1980. President Ronald Reagan marked the ground-breaking and laying of the cornerstone in 1988, and President Bill Clinton officially dedicated and opened the museum on April 22, 1993. Today, USHMM is governed by a council made of up of 55 Presidential appointees who serve five year terms, in addition to 10 Congressional representatives, and three ex-officio members from the Departments of State, Interior and Education.

UHSMM has received 41 million visitors since opening its doors. During the 2017 fiscal year (the year ending September 30, 2017), the museum visitation was 1.7 million visitors (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2017, p. 8). The museum is a public-private partnership which receives an both an annual Federal appropriation from Congress and private donations (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2017, p. 5).[2] In the 2017 fiscal year, the museum had a base operating budget of $101.1 million, about 55% of which was Federal revised appropriations and the remaining 45% unrestricted private donations and investment income (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, n.d.h.). The Federal funding primarily is used for the general operations of the museum facilities, while the private, or non-appropriated funding, "supports the educational programming, scholarly activities, and outreach" (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2017, p. 5)

The museum is located just off the National Mall in Washington DC, on the corner of 14th Street and Independence Avenue, close to the Smithsonian Museums and just down the street from the Washington Monument. Its placement puts it within the national dialogue around history, memory, science, art and culture that makes up part of the American national identity. Given its mandate and placement, the museum takes a uniquely American approach to the Holocaust and the lessons to be derived from it.

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[1] That final report, *Report to the President: President's Commission on the Holocaust* was submitted on September 27, 1979 and can be found on the museum's website at:
https://www.ushmm.org/information/about-the-museum/presidents-commission
[2] Federal appropriations are funds set aside by the US Congress for specific purposes, usually in regards to federal agencies, departments or programmes. These funds are provided through appropriations bills as part of the government budget and spending process as per the Constitution. These funds are usually reviewed annually and are given for specific purposes (United States Government Accountability Office, 2005).

The permanent exhibition begins with American soldiers liberating a Nazi camp and then goes back in time to start with the rise of the Nazi party. From there it takes a broadly chronological approach to events, but the exhibition is also divided into thematic areas that deal with subjects such as the groups that were targeted by Nazis, the breakdown of a democratic society, community, and stories of resistance. USHMM aims to present the story of the Holocaust and the lessons to be derived from it in such a way that both honours the history and survivors and is most relevant to the values and challenges of contemporary American society.

The museum describes itself as, "a *living* memorial to the Holocaust" (emphasis author's own) and, "inspires citizens and leaders worldwide to confront hatred, prevent genocide, and promote human dignity" (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, n.d.b). Its goal is to provide, "a powerful lesson in the fragility of freedom, the myth of progress, and the need for vigilance in preserving democratic values" (ibid). The museum's primary mission is three pronged and is, "to advance and disseminate knowledge about this unprecedented tragedy; to preserve the memory of those who suffered; and to encourage its visitors to reflect upon the moral and spiritual questions raised by the events of the Holocaust as well as their own responsibilities as citizens of a democracy" (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, n.d.c). The mission gives the museum an active role in sharing the history of the Holocaust and exploring the lessons and themes in that history that are relevant for today, a role that is reflected in the programmes at the heart of this study and described below.

The museum has a wide array of research, educational, and public programmes for a range of ages, interests, and needs, all stemming from "the belief that a healthy society depends upon engaged citizens" (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, n.d.e). This thesis focuses on the museum's Education Initiatives and Leadership Programs Division of the Levine Institute for Holocaust Education. These departments sit within the larger public programming division and can be seen highlighted in yellow in the museum organisational chart below (Figure 1.2). Programme services account for 70.6% of the museum's total expenditures and, of those programme costs, the Levine Institute accounts for 16% (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2017, p. 8).

Museum Organization Chart

United States Holocaust Memorial Council

Director
Sara J. Bloomfield

Internal Auditor
Mel Schwartz
(reports to the Audit Committee)

Deputy Chief Program Officer
Kris Doniy

Director, Constituency Engagement
Diane Saltzman

- Survivor Affairs
- Council Relations — Jessie Viggiano
- Government and External Relations — Stacy Burdett

Senior Marketing Advisor
Michelle Stein (Contractor)

- Special Events — Lori Roop
- Communications — Andy Hollinger
- Creative Services (Vacant)
- Design and Multimedia — Amy Donovan
- Editorial and Interactive — Anne Merrill
- New Audience Engagement/Membership — Dana Weinstein
- Public Programs — Aimee Segal

Chief Development Officer
Jordan Tannenbaum

- Deputy Chief — Eran Gasko
- Mid-Atlantic — Andrea Abril
- Midwest — Jill Weinberg
- Northeast — Andrea Barchas
- Southeast (Vacant)
- Western — Steven Klapholtz
- Corporate and Foundations Relations — Cara Socos
- Campaign and Restricted Giving — Allison Lurey
- Operations and Prospect Development — Lisa Evans
- Planned Giving and Endowments — George Hellman
- Donor Relations — Maureen Mefiuzzi
- Donor Travel Programs And VIP Speakers — Nadia Ficara

Chief Program Officer
Sarah Ogilvie

Director, Simon-Skjodt Center for the Prevention of Genocide
Cameron Hudson

- Deputy Director — Naomi Kikoler
- Research — Lawrence Woocher

Director, Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies
Wendy Lower (Acting)

- Applied Research — Juergen Matthaeus
- International Archival Programs — Radu Ioanid
- Reference Historian — Patricia Herber-Rice
- Special Research and Outreach (Vacant)
- University Programs — Robert Ehrenreich
- International Academic Programs — Suzanne Brown-Fleming

Director, National Institute for Holocaust Documentation
Michael Grunberger

- Collections Services — Travis Roxlau
- Curatorial Affairs — Scott Miller
- Digital Assets Management and Preservation — Michael Levy
- Holocaust Survivors and Victims Resource Center — Neal Guthrie
- Library — Lenore Bell

Director, International Affairs
Paul Shapiro

- Deputy Director — Robert Williams

Director, Levine Institute for Holocaust Education
Kris Doniy (Acting)

- Deputy Director — Tim Kaiser
- Museum Experience and Digital Media — Sarah Lumbard
- Future Projects — Michael Hailey-Goldman
- Exhibitions — Edward Phillips
- Initiative on Holocaust Denial and Antisemitism — Tad Stahnke
- Education Initiatives — Gretchen Skidmore
- Leadership Programs — Lynn Williams

Director, Planning
Dara Goldberg

Chief Financial Officer
Polly Heath

Chief Information Officer
Joe Kraus

- Application Development — Robert Twitty
- CRM Shared Services (Vacant)
- Network Systems — Angelito Pangilinan
- Technical Services — Clyde Finley

- Financial Management — Meghan Biggs
- Budget — Robert Schelin
- Business Mgmt. / Shop — Jerry Rehm
- Procurement — Christopher Guy

Chief Museum Operations Officer
Tanell Coleman

General Counsel
Ronald Cuffe

- Human Resources — Ann Shipman
- Equal Employment — Renee Wilson-Butler
- Museum Services — Dana Carroll
- Operations — Kristy Brosius
- Protection Services — Joseph Rosboschil

10/31/17

Figure 1.2 USHMM organisational chart.
This is a museum organisational chart as per the 2017 Performance and
Accountability Report. (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2017, p. 36).

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The main programmes at the heart of this study are those for professional and student leaders, specifically the programmes for military, judiciary, law enforcement, and student leaders. These programmes emerged out of the mission as well as the museum's focus on the lessons within Holocaust history for American democratic society. The museum identified these groups as, "key segments of society who will affect the future of our nation. By studying the choices made by individuals and institutions during the Holocaust, professionals from the fields of law enforcement, the judiciary, and the military, as well as diplomacy, medicine, education, and religion, gain fresh insight into their own responsibilities today" (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, n.d.b). I will touch briefly upon the diplomatic, medical and educational components at points within the thesis, but law, judiciary, and the military programmes form the majority of this case study, along with support from the student leadership programme. The structure of these programmes is shown in more detail in Figure 1.3. I will now provide brief descriptions of the programmes.
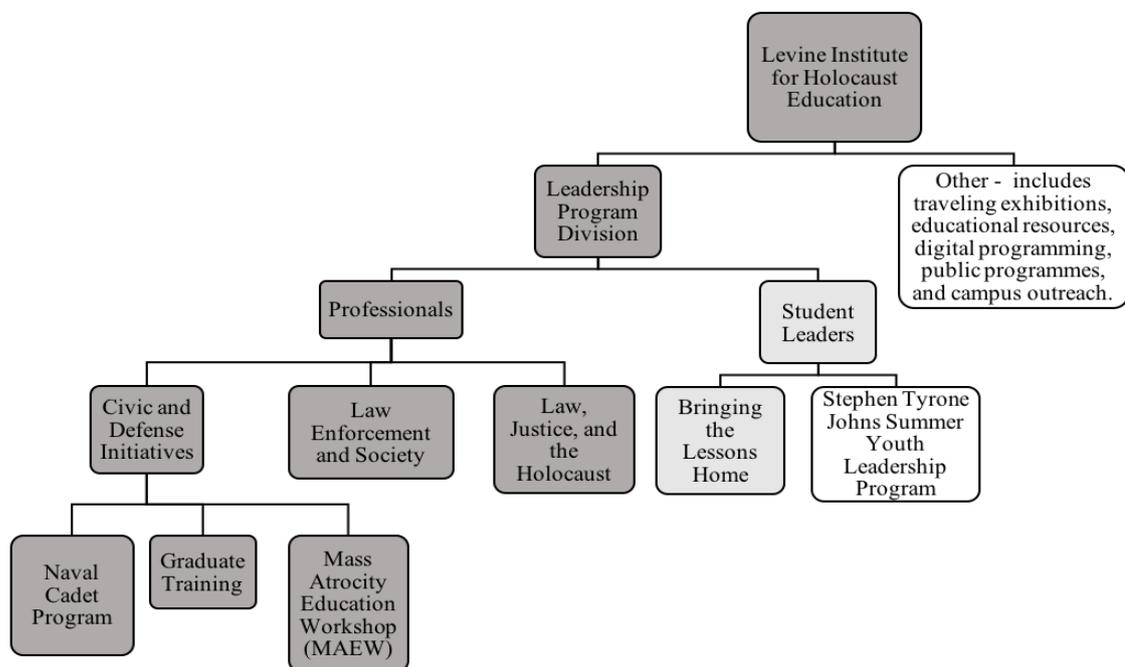

Figure 1.3: Levine Institute for Holocaust Education programme structure
Dark grey squares indicate the primary focus of this study. Light grey squares indicate supporting programmes.
White squares represent Levine Institute programmes or initiatives not touched upon in this thesis.

1.3.1 Law Enforcement and Society

Law Enforcement and Society (LEAS) is a programme for law enforcement officers from a variety of branches and is run in conjunction with the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), a national civil rights organisation. LEAS was started in 1999 in partnership with the Washington Metropolitan Police Department and has since expanded to include Secret Service, FBI agents, National Security Administration Police, Immigration and Customs Enforcement, and Customs and Border Control officers. Since its conception, 110,000 law enforcement have gone through the training (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, n.d.h.). Each training session is five hours in duration and includes a guided tour of the museum's permanent exhibition, a discussion around the role of police in Nazi state Germany by a museum educator using primary documents and case studies, and finally an examination of the role of police in contemporary American society led by an ADL officer (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, n.d.d).

The programme begins with an introduction by the museum staff member facilitating the session. The facilitator gives a brief history of the programme and links it closely with the museum's mission, stressing that the programme and goals come directly from the history held in the museum. He or she also gives the goal for the day's programme: to understand the role of police (or other law enforcement branches) in any society, especially a democratic one. The participants are then shown the first portion of the video, *Path to Nazi Genocide*, which explores the factors that led to the rise of the Nazi party including; the experiment with democracy under the Weimar Republic; the changing social norms and values which caused tension in society, such as women in the workforce, rising crime rates, and the loosening of sexual norms; and the Nazi exploitation of fears and their appeal to restoring Germany to a position as a world power after what many considered to be the embarrassment of WWI. This video provides the historical context up until the point that the permanent exhibition begins and is shown to ensure that the whole room is operating from the same basic understanding before they go on the tour.[3] The video also introduces the larger question which frames much of the programme discussion, namely that the police in

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[3] This video was put together by a team at the museum and can be found on the USHMM website at: https://www.ushmm.org/learn/introduction-to-the-holocaust/path-to-nazi-genocide/the-path-to-nazi-genocide/full-film

Nazi Germany were ordinary people with choice and free will, so how did they move from neutral professionals to collaborators? This question is posed as one for the officers to think about while they go through the exhibition and then throughout the session. Finally, the museum staff member introduces the ADL officer who will be leading the final component of the training which will broaden the discussion back into the contemporary period and address the big picture of the role of law enforcement in society.

LEAS is the only programme in the Leadership Programs Division that goes on a guided tour. The other programmes include self-guided visits. The exhibition is split into three floors, beginning at the top of the museum and working down towards ground level. Visitors take an elevator up to the top floor in which a video plays about American troops moving into occupied territory. The doors then open to a large image taking up the entire wall of American troops liberating a concentration camp. A number of images show what they found, including the dead, the survivors, and the terrible living conditions. After this startling beginning, the exhibit then moves back in time to the Nazi's rise to power. The rest of the top floor addresses the lead up to the Holocaust, including warning signs of the rising anti-Semitism and social segregation, international responses to rising tensions, and the origin of laws, sanctions, and social programmes in Nazi Germany that paved the way for the Holocaust. The middle floor addresses the Holocaust itself, looking at the ghettos, executions, and camps. The bottom floor explores attempts at resistance, rescue efforts, and includes videos of survivors telling their stories, remembering their families, and telling of liberation or escape. The permanent exhibition then exists into the Hall of Remembrance, a space for reflection with an eternal flame and where visitors may light their own candles in remembrance or as symbols of life.

The LEAS tour spends the majority of its time on the top floor, emphasizing the role of complicity and bystanders. The slow integration and normalisation of the social elements that led to the Holocaust are crucial to the programme, particularly the integration of law enforcement into the enforcing of the laws and social norms that made such an atrocity possible. These included public humiliation of Jews, search and seizures of Jewish neighbourhoods, a shift in the emphasis in law enforcement from individual rights to public safety brought on by the State of Emergency declared after the burning of a government building, and the partnerships between local police forces and Nazi SS officers. These are highlighted in the tour because they reappear in the

programme later on and are important for understanding the broader social shifts in which law enforcement took part.

After the tour, participants are given an opportunity to debrief. The tour and exhibition experience can be emotional and the debrief session allows the officers to talk about what stood out for them, what the impactful moments were, and their reactions to what they saw and heard. It is also a chance to draw parallels between objects and stories in the exhibition and the themes that will appear in the programme, including similarities between the societies of pre-Nazi era Germany and the contemporary United States, the participation of ordinary people in the atrocities, and how subtle and seeming innocuous social changes can lead to major upheavals.

The main portion of the programme is then facilitated by a museum staff member. The facilitator asks the officers to think about a series of images of events or police actions in Nazi Germany from two perspectives; from context of the time in which the photographs were taken and from the professional vantage point of a police officer. The images follow a largely chronological path and range from Hindenburg's appointment of Hitler as Chancellor in 1933 to a photograph of a police officer attending the deportation of Jews from Wurzburg Germany in 1942 (Fig. 1.3). Throughout the photographs, the role of the police in the atrocities becomes more and more explicit. In early images, they are walking the streets with SS officers, or accompanying a 'criminal biologist' to interview a Romani woman. These are ominous photographs, but not necessarily damning when viewed from the perspective of the time in which they were taken. The photos, however, becoming increasingly incriminating, portraying police standing by a couple being publicly humiliated for violating race taboos or searching historically Jewish neighbourhoods. By the time the photo of the police officer at the deportation is shown, it is clear that the police were complicit in the Holocaust, but the progression is a gradual one.

Figure 1.4 Deportation from Würzburg
Image reprinted with permission of United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and courtesy of NARA

The museums staff member ends by emphasizing that the law enforcement officers did have choices when it came to carrying out these tasks. They could have changed jobs, quit, or refused to take part. But the slow progression from walking with an SS officer to standing by a deportation made it easier to go along with the trend. The themes highlighted in this portion of the section include; the authority attached to police and the legitimization of events that comes with their presence; how ordinary motivations, such as keeping a job, can result in terrible outcomes; and the slippery slope to complicity, when 'just doing your job' can have dire consequences.

The ADL portion of the programme brings these themes back to contemporary American society and the role of police. The ADL facilitator introduces the ADL as a civil rights organisation and emphasises that the ADL is unique amongst civil rights organisations in that it has a long and close relationship with law enforcement, providing resources and training to help link the police and the communities in which they work. He or she then asks the officers present why they have joined law enforcement as a career and uses these to begin a conversation that will serve as a foundation for the main values that underpin the profession.

The second component of the ADL portion of the programme addresses stereotypes, both positive and negative, of the law enforcement profession. A discussion ensues around these stereotypes, but the end result of this portion is the realisation that officers know what the negative stereotypes are because people often tell them straight to their faces. The irony of this is that freedom of speech, a fundamental right in the democratic society that the police work hard to protect, is the very thing that makes their jobs harder and can even put them in greater danger. This tension in protecting the elements of a democratic society that may not always be in law enforcement's immediate interest is one of the great challenges of their job.

This leads to the final portion of the programme which explores the question of what kind of system is in place, in regards to values and expectations, that keeps police from abusing their power. The individual values that bring people to law enforcement as a profession are only part of the equation and some sort of framework must be in place to that connect the vast diversity of individual values into a unified organisation. Similarly, in order for professional and national values, training, mission, consequences, regulations, polices and the myriad of other factors that determine behaviour to impact individual decisions, there must be some existing overlap with individual codes. What it seems to come down to, then, is the constant evaluation, questioning, and examining of how personal, professional, and national values connect. Democracy and its institutions, such as law enforcement, are works in process which take conscious attention and action.

1.3.2 Civic and Defense Initiatives

The Civic and Defense Initiatives (CDI) is the branch of the Leadership Programs Division that works with military personnel around leadership, decision making, and mass atrocity and genocide prevention (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, n.d.f). Initially, the military component of USHMM's programming was built around Holocaust Days of Remembrance during which survivors would tell their stories to military staff and cadets. The programmes have subsequently grown to include programmes both at the museum and at military institutions and academies, and since 2004, 50,000 military officers and professionals have participated in CDI programmes (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, n.d.h.). CDI is now mainly a resource for military and government teaching and works closely with a number of military academies, including the US Naval Academy, US Military Academy at West

Point, the US Army Command and General Staff College, the Army War College, and the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute, a Department of Defense joint services school offering courses to civilians and military personnel in the Armed Forces around intercultural communication, equal opportunity, and racial, gender, religious and ethnic diversity. The museum offers courses in atrocities prevention and human rights to a number of these institutions as well as ethics and leadership support. The CDI's emerging role is one of facilitating inter-agency communication and assisting in thinking strategically instead of operationally. The research in this thesis focuses primarily on military cadet training, including the Naval Cadet Saturday Training programme and a graduate training, and the Mass Atrocity Education Workshop, described below.

1.3.3 Naval Cadet Saturday Morning Training

The Naval Cadet Saturday Morning Training originated with survivor talks at the US Naval Academy (USNA) during 'Plebe Summers', a summer training programme required for all incoming cadets. The programme has since grown into a museum visit for cadet companies during Saturday morning USNA elective periods. This training is part of USNA character development goals and is part of the Academy's training around, "the value of human life and the importance of ethical decision making" (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2009). As such, the museum aims to create a programme where cadets can draw connections between the, "role of individuals and the military in the Holocaust and in preventing future atrocities…and their own personal responsibility to intervene in unjust situations, both personally and in their career" (Lyon, 2012, p. 2). It serves as a complement to the technical training cadets receive around their roles and responsibilities in the larger military structure.

Each group that visits the museum is a company at the US Naval Academy. Cadets spend the first two and a half hours of the programme in the permanent exhibition on a self-guided tour. They then have some time to debrief amongst themselves on the experience and to share with the larger group about the elements that stood out or resonated with them. Throughout this discussion, certain ideas and concepts are highlighted, including; the Nazi propaganda machine, deception, complicity, dehumanization, the process of rationalising actions, and the links to today.

The programme then focuses on a case study built on the role of a specific lieutenant in the German Military during the Holocaust. The study begins by exploring the code of conduct for the German Military that existed before the Nazi era and looking at the motivations that might have led to the military joining forces with the Nazis and following Hitler. The cadets explore the decline in power of the military post-WWI as well as Hitler's promises to restore power to Germany and the nationalistic policies aimed at restoring territory and strength to a weakened military.

The main portion of the case study then focuses on Albert Battel, a career military man who survived through WWI and was drafted into the military again at the beginning of WWII. In the case study, he is serving in occupied Poland when he receives information that the SS and the police are going to deport the Jews living in his territory. The historical record indicates that Battel did not identify with the Nazi anti-Semitic ideology. The case then investigates his choices in responding to the information and the cadets explore his options to; a) step aside and allow the SS and police to carry out the deportation; b) communicate with others, such as the Jewish population, resistance, or Allied forces, to stop it; or c) use 'military necessity' to stall, i.e. claim that he needs the Jewish population for labour. After discussing the options, it is revealed that Battel used the third option and that he applied for work permits for a number of the Jewish population. Ultimately, the majority was still deported, but Battel did manage to save 250 members of the community.

The cadets and facilitator then explore the consequences for Battel given his options and decisions. The main source of surprise for the cadets seems to be not that Battel saved people, but that he was not punished for his actions. Himmler, head of the SS and a leading Nazi Party member did threaten to exclude him from the party, but ultimately Battel remained in the Party and was even given a commendation for his decision to keep workers (not for saving Jews of course).

The main theme from this case emphasized by the facilitator is that everyone has choice. Not everyone in Nazi Germany was brainwashed and then, as is true now, individuals make decisions based on context and their own ordinary motivations and interests. A discussion then ensues around codes of conduct versus following orders, especially wrongful orders, as well as the tensions between personal codes of ethics, career ambitions, and the relationship between the military and civilians.

1.3.4 Military Graduate Training

The Military Graduate Training programme is attended by career military officers and Naval officers in graduate school who will be working in the Naval Academy as educators. As such, this programme sits within the CDI initiative to 'train the trainers' (Museum Staff 9, 2015a). This programme is similar in structure to the Saturday Morning Cadet Training programme although it uses a different case study.

Before arrival for this programme, participants watch the movie *Conspiracy*, a film about the 1942 Wannsee Conference in which leading Nazi officials devised the 'Final Solution of the Jewish Question'. Upon arrival, the participants watch the first section of *Path to Nazi Genocide*, the film used in the LEAS programmes described above. They then spend two and half hours on a self-guided tour of the permanent exhibition before returning for reflections. The reflections for this programme follow much the same structure as those described above, giving participants a chance to discuss what they have seen in the exhibition and to tease out the motivations, themes, and the military involvement in the lead up to the Holocaust and the Holocaust itself.

The case study used in this programme has similar themes as the case described above in the cadet programme, particularly the role of the military in Nazi Germany, their complicity in the Holocaust, and the relationship between the military and civil society. This case study begins with an examination of German Military leadership and the shifts that occurred when Hitler came to power, in particular the German Military Code of Conduct in place before and during the Nazi occupation. It then provides background information on the invasion of the Soviet Union, specifically the racial ideology behind the invasion and the threat (perceived and real) of partisans in occupied territories. The case itself takes place in what is today Belarus and explores the reactions of three different commanders when they receive orders to kill the entire Jewish population in their occupied territories.[4] These three commanders each have a different reaction to the order. The first refuses outright, claiming that, "good German soldiers don't dirty their hands with such things". Whether this is a moral stand or whether the officer just believes this is not the job of his battalion is unclear from the historical record. The second commander carries out the order without hesitation. The

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[4] The full case study can be found here: https://www.ushmm.org/m/pdfs/German-military-context-sheets.pdf. A variation of this case is also found in the *Ordinary Soldiers: A Study in Ethics, Law, and Leadership* educational resource, also found online at https://www.ushmm.org/m/pdfs/20140830-ordinary-soldiers-case-study.pdf. *Ordinary Soldiers* will be discussed more in-depth in Chapter Five.

third requests written verification and, when pressed, has a subordinate carry out the order.

The case offers information on each officer, including their military career, Nazi affiliation (or lack thereof) and age. Participants then have an opportunity to explore motivations, the role of personal context, the relationship between orders and codes of conduct, ethics, and the challenges of responding to orders that appear to be illegal or immoral in an organisational culture that relies on a strict command and respond structure. The takeaways from the case are the institutionalization of a racial and dehumanizing ideology into the mainstream, the operationalization of that ideology, and the role of choice and motivation even when it seems there might not be such a choice. Finally, the facilitator returns to the relationship between morality and legality and the influence and power of authority. The case and discussions in this session tie back into the challenges these officers and their students may encounter throughout the course of their career, and aim to provide resources to assist in evaluating and addressing those challenges.

1.3.5 Mass Atrocity Education Workshop

The Mass Atrocity Education Workshop (MAEW) is a three-day annual training co-produced by CDI and the Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies (CHGS) at the US Military Academy at West Point. This workshop brings together specialists in a wide range of sectors, including NGO, government departments, academia, and culture, all of whom address mass atrocity and prevention from different angles. The goal is to create a cross-disciplinary, holistic approach to understanding the causes, impacts, and possible prevention tactics around mass atrocities. The participants in the workshop are professors at various military academies, including West Point, the US Naval Academy, the Air Force Academy, and the Coast Guard Academy. They teach a range of academic subjects including, philosophy, geography, math, history, and economics, and all aim to incorporate atrocity prevention, and the opportunities and challenges associated with it, into their courses.

The essential question framing the workshop is, "how do we create and implement multi-disciplinary tools and resources that can prepare our future military leaders for their roles in genocide and mass atrocity prevention" (United States Holocasut Memorial Museum & Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, 2015, p. 1). Participants look at how to prepare their students, the future leaders of the military,

to deal with the conflicts and challenges they will encounter in their careers, as well as how to situate the military in a broader effort in addressing and preventing mass atrocities. The workshop uses the Holocaust as a starting point to approach these questions and opens a cross-disciplinary dialogue. The participants then contribute to and build upon the foundational course content from the perspectives of their own disciplines.

Each year the workshop has a theme. The 2015 workshop was based around data and how data are used in understanding and addressing mass atrocities, how it can be incorporated into understanding phenomena in new ways, and the opportunities and challenges associated with using data. Along with the Holocaust, this theme also framed the approaches to understanding and addressing mass atrocities and helped to guide the sessions and discussions over the course of the weekend.

The workshop began with an introductory session explaining the programme origins, the thinking behind this year's workshop and theme, and a brief overview of the agenda. Participants then went on a self-guided tour of the exhibition. There was a debrief and response session following the tour, similar to those described in programmes above. The programme then moved on to presentations and discussions.

Throughout the workshop, participants heard from a number of presenters and invited speakers. Museum staff from a variety of departments or involved in projects directly related to the subject matter presented. These included Holocaust historians, educators, and members of staff from the Simon-Skjodt Center for the Prevention of Genocide, a museum branch dedicated to addressing contemporary issues of human rights and genocide, informing the national conscience, and providing guidance on policy. The museum initiatives presented included an early warning and risk assessment tool and the Encyclopaedia of Camps and Ghettos research project.

Beyond museum staff, several participants were invited to speak on innovative ways they have worked within their disciplines and classes to incorporate genocide prevention, including economic models, historical case studies, table-top exercises, and newly developed interdisciplinary courses. US Government officials from the State Department and USAID presented multi-agency approaches to genocide prevention and the opportunities and challenges in working in a collaborative or inter-agency manner. A Senior Crisis Advisor from Amnesty International presented several sessions around data collection, use, and the challenges of incorporating data into the broader Amnesty International approach to international humanitarian aid. Finally, the

last presenter of the weekend was a Holocaust survivor who shared her story, spoke of her motivations for working with the museum, and her belief in the importance of raising awareness and keeping the memory of historical events like the Holocaust alive. All in all, there were just under 20 presentations across the three days, creating a rich and in-depth look at the ways in which different approaches knit together to create a more nuanced understanding of genocide prevention and more innovative approaches to addressing atrocities. The workshop is part of a continuing connection between participants who continue to collaborate after the workshop on the creation of new tools to accompany the approaches explored over the course of the weekend.

1.3.6 Law, Justice and the Holocaust

The Law, Justice and the Holocaust programme (LJH) is produced for judges, prosecutors, and other legal professionals. The programme, "challenges legal professionals to critically examine the decisions German jurists made and the pressures they faced under the Nazi regime" (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, n.d.g). The aim is that the discussions and perspectives explored in this programme will provide participants with new ways to examine their own role in protecting the democratic society in which they live and the relationship between the law, individual rights, and the tensions between legal and moral obligations. This programme sits within the wider legal training framework for law and justice professionals and Continuing Legal Education credit is available for attending the course. Since 2009, 17,500 members of the judiciary have been trained through the programme (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, n.d.h.).

LJH is slightly different from the others described above in that many of these sessions take place outside of the museum. While the law enforcement programme can also be taken off-site, the majority occur at the museum. The judiciary programme is less reliant on the exhibition and, therefore, is often taken to the jurists instead of jurists coming to the museum. Two of the judiciary programmes I observed were videos of programmes held off-site. I also observed a programme held at the museum. In the programme held at the museum, participants took a self-guided tour through the museum. For the off-site programmes, participants were shown the portion of the film *Path to Nazi Genocide,* as described in the Law Enforcement programme above. From that point on, the off-site and on-site programmes were largely the same structure.

The facilitator for these programmes is a member of museum staff who is an expert on the German judiciary in Weimar and Nazi Germany. The programme begins with an introduction about the history of the museum and the origins of the programme. From there, the facilitator presents the context in which judges were operating during the Weimar Republic and during Nazi Germany, in particular the conflicts around the role of the law, how rigidly it should be implemented, whether there is room in the law for individual interpretation, and challenges around using longstanding laws in a quickly changing society. This lays the legal context for the programme.

The second component of the programme is a series of case studies around family, contract, and criminal law. The programmes varied in terms of how many cases participants explored and ranged from two to four case studies, the number of which seemed to be largely dictated by the amount of time allowed for the session. In each of the case studies, jurists in Nazi Germany use and adapt existing laws to the political and social context. Participants look at the decisions made around how to implement existing laws and the interpretation of open-ended concepts such as 'sound popular judgement'. The case studies provide instances of similar cases ending in different rulings based on jurist actions and decisions, different legal interpretations of similar law based on the identities of the defendants, and the redefinition of statues and legal terms based on political and social context. The museum provides participants with primary documents and first-hand accounts of events to provide a rounded picture of context. They are then able to debate the approaches and interpretation of the law in the cases.

Ultimately, the courts in Nazi Germany were directly involved in the road to the Holocaust which occurred largely through legal channels. This presents a stark challenge to participants and how they see their role in the larger social fabric. Themes that emerged through the judiciary programme are; the relationship between the state and society; the relationship between the judiciary and the state, specifically the form of government in power; the role of free will, motivation, and choice in carrying out a profession; tensions between the interest of the community and the rights of the individual; and the use and abuse of power. The museum facilitator emphasises that the museum runs programmes like this for all professions that have democratic responsibilities and that he is not singling out judges. There is a debrief session as well as a question/answer that allows participants to express concerns, draw parallels with today, and present any other thoughts inspired by the programme.

1.3.7 Bringing the Lessons Home

Bringing the Lessons Home (BTLH) is a programme for Washington DC area high school students. It is a 14-week training programme during which students learn about the Holocaust and train to become tour guides for the Permanent Exhibition. Students earn community service credit for participating and also become eligible to participate in the Stephen Tyrone Johns Summer Youth Leadership Program, an intensive summer internship for 50 high school students.

The programme is an active learning experience that aims to equip students with the tools they need to understand difference and build tolerance in their own communities, as well as understand current events that affect the wider world. The programme aims to address the space, "between history and politics, where things fall apart on the local level" (Museum Staff 6 & Museum Staff 7, 2015). BTLH is an effort within the museum to contribute to stronger communities by investing in emerging leaders who will contribute to social and political actions and decisions in the future, both on community and global levels.

I was not able to observe BTLH programmes during my field work, but I include this programme as a support for the observations of the programmes described above. BTLH is an influential and long-running programme in the museum and an important source of long-term stakeholders in the museum community. Students who participate in BTLH often remain involved with the museum, taking part in other programmes, volunteering, and returning for BTLH reunions. Currently the BTLH students and alumni make up one of the largest museum networks and, as such, can support an understanding of how the museum engages as a member of a socially engaged system. The BTLH staff were also instrumental in research around the museum's evolving goals, connections, and challenges.

1.4 Thesis structure

The remainder of this thesis will be concerned with the analysis of these programmes and what they can tell us about the role of the museum in building stronger societies, its evolving position within broader networks of social change organisations, and the implications of these capacities and shifts for the museum's own understanding of purpose and action. The thesis will be divided into six chapters which are briefly introduced here.

1.4.1 Chapter 2 – Methodology

Chapter Two will explore the methodological approach to answering the research questions guiding this study and the analysis of the findings. The complex influences and relationships in these programmes required a qualitative, open-ended, and flexible methodology that would allow for an emergent approach as understanding developed throughout the research. As such, this thesis mainly draws on an ethnographic method and this chapter will explore that tradition, including the benefits and challenges associated with such an approach and its place in both organisational and museological studies. The chapter will then describe the specific approach carried out in this study and the other methods used to triangulate findings, including qualitative interviews and document review.

1.4.2 Chapter 3 – A museological context: Museums as social organisations

Chapter Three provides the museological context for this thesis. There is a rich tradition in museum studies of academics and practitioners challenging the relationship between museums and society and the potential roles for museums in communities and social change initiatives. This chapter will explore shifts in education, social relevance, and museum purpose to situate the arguments in this thesis within a larger trend of examining and challenging the potential of museums as institutions.

Specifically, this chapter will examine the origins of the debate between the intrinsic value of objects or collections and the instrumental value of putting those collections to use in the service of education and social progress. It will also look at scholarship on the relationship between museums and their visitors as well as museums and society more broadly. From there, the discussion broadens from museums' capacities to contribute to positive social change to arguments around their responsibility to do so. We will look at literature concerning their impact on contemporary discussions, their accountability in building stronger more just societies, and their responsibility to reflect diverse perspectives, not just dominant viewpoints. Finally, this chapter lays the foundation for further arguments around museums as active agents of social change, shifting away from a perspective of museums as passive or reflective organisations, and laying the foundation for a discussion of museums as active agents within networks of other social change organisations.

1.4.3 Chapter 4 – Museum networks

Chapter Four will introduce the concept of networks as a means through which organisations, whether in business, government, or civil society, connect with others in order to exchange and build resources, knowledge, and influence. The type of networks at the heart of this study are built on the recognition that, "complex and interdependent economic, social and environmental problems call for complex solutions [and] organizations from different industries and sectors bring unique and essential assets to the work or social change" (Mirvis & Worley, 2013, p. 22).   While museums have the potential to be powerful and influential contributors to social and cultural initiatives, they also have limitations, as do all organisations. Through networks, organisations exchange knowledge and resources, spark innovation, create or find common goals, and develop new or hone existing capacities. In doing so, they are able to accomplish objectives outside their immediate abilities and make connections on a much broader scale than would be possible independently.

We will look at the concept of networks from the specific lens of USHMM programmes, identifying partners, how the relationships are structured, and the challenges and benefits of those network connections. The concept of networks and scholarship concerning how they are formed and operate will help to identify how the flow of information, power, and resources allow for museums such as USHMM to develop their capacities and participate in innovative approaches to complex issues.

1.4.4 Chapter 5 –Shifting positions: From periphery to centre

The museum's presence in a network is only the beginning of understanding how the museum operates within that network, and Chapter Five will begin to examine the museum's role more closely. Throughout the field research, it became clear that the museum's continued involvement in these programmes resulted in a change in the museum's position within the network. As the programmes developed and expanded, the museum moved from a peripheral position in the network to a more central one.

This chapter will explore that move and the resulting impact on the museum as a network member. Operational developments such as the theory of change, identifying leaders, and setting metrics of success demonstrate both the museum becoming embedded in the network and the network becoming central to the museum's operations. A comparison of two programmes which show an evolution in the museum's influence, goals, resources, and approach to contributing to larger initiatives.

1.4.5 Chapter 6 – Social capital

Finally, Chapter Six builds on the investigation of the developing museum roles and relationships in the previous chapter and introduces social capital to the discussion. In this chapter, we will look past capacities, resources, and power sharing to understand why museums are, ultimately, such valuable network members and why they are not only beneficial, but necessary to broader efforts at social change. This chapter will explore the value of the relationships present in USHMM's network and why they are worth building and fostering. We will explore the different types of connections, between both like and unalike actors, and the roles those relationships can have in both strengthening and damaging civic engagement, tolerance, trust, and other social norms that tie societies together. We will also briefly connect social capital and other forms of capital, such as human and economic, in an attempt to situate the museum in the marketplace as well as in the social fabric in which it sits. The goal of this chapter is to move the discussion past the tangible benefits of the museum involvement in the network to understand what is happening on a deeper, more nuanced level.

The analysis in this thesis will position USHMM in a network, examine its move to a central role, and establish relationships as crucial to its contribution and strengths. On a larger scale, the hope is that this thesis will begin to answer the question, not just for museums but for organisations in a variety of sectors, as to why museums are not only valuable but crucial members in networks of social change. This recognition, both in the museum field and in the organisations with which they connect, could fundamentally change how museums approach issues and how museums are approached by society more broadly.

Chapter 2 – Building an ethnographic methodology

"The world is filled with corners, clubs, teams, offices, and cliques. The world is filled with uniqueness and with regularities. By studying the former we discover the latter." (Fine, 2003, p. 57)

For this dissertation I have proposed to use the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) as a case study to explore how museums sit within networks of social organisations that contribute to understanding and addressing complex social issues such as healthcare, poverty, equality, and tolerance. However, the prospect of studying organisational roles, capacities, and relationships is far from straightforward. These interactions are complex and fluid, emerging and changing throughout the process of interaction and exchange, and highly specific to the context in which they are created. As a result, it is important to intimately understand that context and study the process, not just the end result of these interactions. It is also important to maintain a level of fluidity in my own approach, allowing for changes, unexpected situations, and challenging outcomes.

The research plan for this study was developed with the aim of allowing data to emerge from the complex set of interactions and programmes at the case study museum while maintaining a structure that would ensure that results were valid and reliable. The aim was to capture the uniqueness of the relationships between the museum and their partners, as well as the museum and the programme participants, while ensuring that the data was generalizable. It was also important that my role as a researcher, including my presence in the programmes and my own biases as a museum studies researcher, were taken into account. It would have been impossible to sterilize the research setting or to eliminate my voice from the research, and, as such the research plan was created to acknowledge my presence and permit me to reflect upon it.

In examining different types of research methods, the focus on the importance of context, the emergent nature of knowledge, and the impact of relationships, all pointed towards a qualitative methodology. Ethnographic research is the methodology in which the foundational ontological and epistemological beliefs, assumptions about the nature of reality and knowledge creation, are closest to those I feel are most appropriate for this study. As a result, I have implemented a methodology based on ethnography, using the participant observation method upon which ethnography is

grounded, and addressing the challenges or gaps which may be caused by a purely ethnographic strategy through supportive methods, including a case study framework, qualitative interviews and document review.

This chapter will give an overview of basic research carried out, the elements of ethnography that are most appropriate to my study, and background on previous studies that demonstrate the applicability of this type of methodology in museums and organisations. Finally, I will address how ethnographic research has been tailored to this study, including the challenges presented and the supporting methods used to help round out the research.

2.1 An ethnographic approach

Ethnographic research is a form of qualitative research that comes out of the anthropological tradition. While the precise definition of ethnography seems to be an ongoing discussion and various options have been presented, there is general agreement amongst academics and practitioners that it is a way of investigating the world through observing and recording social process, institutions, and relationships (Mason, 2002, p. 1). It is a, "qualitative design in which the researcher describes and interprets the shared and learned patterns of values, behaviours, beliefs and language of a culture-sharing group" (Creswell, 2007, p. 68).

The basic tenets of ethnographic study are based on overarching ontological and epistemological perspectives. Ethnography is appropriate for studies based on the ontological belief that interactions, actions, behaviours, and the interpretations of these phenomena can be used to determine social reality and are, therefore, central to the study (Mason, 2002, p. 85). Epistemologically, ethnographic studies function in settings where the researcher believes that knowledge is created through social processes and can be gained through observation, participation, and experiences (ibid). Ethnographic research, therefore, fits this study where interactions and events serve as the core data and behaviours are emergent and dependent on context and a range of variables.

Although ethnography is generally seen as a methodology instead of a prescribed method (Mason 2002, Watson 2011), there are procedural characteristics that are generally true of ethnographic studies and benefit this study. Primarily, ethnography is a process for exploring cultural practices and traditions (Denscombe, 2010, p. 5). As such, it is specific to place, time, and context and both examines and

produces situated knowledge (Creswell, 2007, pp. 18-19). It is largely based on immersive studies, attempting to minimize the distance or separateness between the researcher and subject, allowing the researcher to define the rhetoric and subject throughout the study instead of attempting to predetermine theory and expected results at the outset (ibid). The researcher, therefore, spends considerable time in the field and data often take the shape of notes and observations about relationships and interactions, as they did for this study. Data are often generated and emergent, instead of already present and waiting to be collected (Creswell, 2007, p. 43). This type of research is often called 'participant observation' (Mason, 2002, p. 84) as the researcher is seen as a key element in the study, reflecting on his or her own beliefs, assumptions, and experiences, and their impact on the study. Instead of trying to sterilize the environment or remove the presence of the researcher, ethnographic study allows space for the researcher to be part of the context.

The product of an ethnographic study is ideally a holistic construction of a situation. Because of the complexity and emergent nature of the subject and data in ethnography, it pushes the researcher away from a simple cause and effect relationship (Taylor, 2002, p. 2). Results instead, "can be summarized… in terms of competing ideas, as a collection of challenges and counter-challenges around the central concern of social research, to understand people and their lives" (ibid). The emphasis is not on a single linear process, but instead on the depth, nuance, complexity and roundness in the data (Mason, 2002, p. 65). These types of grounded and detailed investigations, such as I set out to produce for this thesis, can capture, "the richness and complexity" of accounts that might be difficult to capture in more linear or cause and effect based methodologies (Sandell, 2017, p. 13).

A final important characteristic for this research is that, while a theoretical lens is important in underpinning an ethnographic study, theory takes on a supporting role. Ethnography allows researchers to explore new concepts of the social world instead of working to prove existing theories, therefore theory supports the data instead of data proving a predetermined theory (Creswell, 2007, p. 39). Theory also helps create a justification or foundation for the study and allows for the future generalization of results. Despite the highly contextual nature of ethnography, researchers conduct studies with an eye towards the results having application in a broader context. The ultimate goal of ethnography is to understand a social context, but also to understand the social world in general.

2.2 Fitting ethnography into museum studies

Ethnographic research has broadened and evolved as it has moved out of anthropology and been adopted into various academic disciplines. Researchers beyond anthropology have become interested in ethnographic study and begun to embrace, "a social and cultural situation in which we increasingly recognize that differences and divergences are part of a shared world and so cannot be conveniently ostracized to particular places, peoples, or periods" (Schroder, et al., 2003, p. 61). This diversity of practitioners has created diversity in the field and, in that process, ethnography has adopted elements of those fields of study. This has made ethnography harder to define as a specific set of methods. It has, instead, created a guiding set of principles. Ethnography has expanded beyond a singular focus on structure to incorporating interaction and culture as building blocks of social understanding (Fine, 2003, pp. 43-44).

Fine (2003) credits sociology with bringing culture into focus in ethnography and making it, "an essential analytic concept in reminding us that structure and interaction are about something; they are not content free" (Fine, 2003, p. 44). This connection of culture and structure has opened up other possibilities within ethnography. For example, there have been rises in variations on ethnographic studies such as 'peopled ethnography' (Fine 2003) where the interaction between groups takes central focus, and 'critical ethnography' (Creswell 2007) with the goal of giving voice to marginalized groups and creating an advocacy perspective through research. These variations demonstrate an expansion of theoretical frameworks on which ethnographers can draw, including feminist, communitarianist, and journalistic traditions, each of which attempts to overcome crises of representation, giving voice to otherwise unheard or marginalized groups. As such, the definition of ethnography as a form of qualitative research has shifted from, "social construction, to interpretivist, and on to social justice" (Creswell, 2007, p. 37). The broadening of potential subjects for ethnographic research into the confluence of structure and culture, as well as the diversification of theoretical bases upon which researchers can build, have opened the door for ethnographic research in both museum studies and organisational research, fields with great impact on this research.

2.3 Ethnographic research in this study

The research plan for this dissertation was developed with the above characteristics and benefits of ethnographic research in mind. The research for this dissertation was carried out over the period of three months at the United States Holocaust Memorial in Washington DC where I studied within the Leadership Programs Division of Levine Institute for Holocaust Education. I specifically focused on the Law Enforcement and Society (LEAS), Law, Justice and the Holocaust (LJH), and the Civic and Defense Initiatives (CDI) departments, as described in the introduction. I also explored Bringing the Lessons Home (BTLH), although on a less intensive level than the other programmes. Throughout the field work I observed twelve programmes, conducted fifteen interviews with staff, had an additional eight meetings to discuss programmes, initiatives, and departmental structure, and reviewed a variety of documents concerning programme content, development, and evaluation.[1] Observations and interviews were all recorded anonymously at the request of USHMM.

This study benefits from the use of ethnographic methodology in several ways. First of all, this study relies on a base of theory, specifically the role museums can play in social initiatives and the ways in which knowledge and capacities can be created in organisations. It would not, however, be appropriate in a study such as this to enter in with a preconceived idea of what the outcome will look like. There is likely to be no 'right' answer and no set process for developing the sorts of initiatives and capacities museums are creating as they become modern institutions, responding to and changing with the social situations in which they find themselves. Ethnographic methodology allows for the type of exploratory, fluid, and flexible research this study requires. This type of qualitative research is useful when a problem or issues needs to be explored and a complex, detailed picture is required to solve a puzzle (Creswell, 2007, p. 40). Ethnographic research is a design, not a method (Creswell, 2007, p. 68) and the give and take between fieldwork, which rests on theoretical issues, and the detailed analysis coming out of that fieldwork, which develops and builds new theory, allow for the complexity within the process to inform the literature instead of fitting into a pre-existing definition (Fine, 2003, p. 45).

Secondly, ethnographic methodology has the ability to look at, "the place where structure, interaction, and culture come together" (Fine, 2003, p. 44). This has been

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[1] For a full schedule of programme observations and staff interviews, please see Appendix A

done successfully in museums and organisations before, as will be demonstrated by examples below. Organisational culture can be difficult to define and its impact hard to establish. Ethnography allows a researcher to observe elements of culture such as norms, dialogue, and interactions in ways that facilitates the development of a holistic picture of an organisation and its processes. The combination of programme observations, engagement in the organisational culture at USHMM, discussions with staff and supporting methods of interviews and document review, all provided the means to develop one such rounded picture of the departments at the heart of this study and their involvement in a larger network of social change actors.

Thirdly, Mason suggests, that when evaluating and deciding upon a qualitative research methodology, a researcher should examine both the requirements of the study and his or her own ontological and epistemological views (Mason, 2002, p. 14). Since the researcher takes on a specific role in all types of qualitative research, it is important to look at how the researcher's own background and beliefs will influence the study. If you are drawn to qualitative research, you are, "unlikely to regard fixed solutions to your puzzles to be existing 'out there' ready for your collection, and you will view your questions more as devices for guiding and focusing your enquiry, and in relations to which you will ultimately construct an argument" (Mason, 2002, p. 20). My understanding of museum networks is based on theories around collaboration and problem solving that emphasize context and connections in social settings. As a result, I entered into the research with a belief that the interactions and knowledge brought to the table by the various players in the types of collaborations I was looking at were instrumental and illustrative in the resulting products. It is a complex and messy process, but one that an ethnographic approach can illuminate, as ethnography suits situations where there are multiple perspectives and realities and the social context is linked to the nature of the phenomena being researched (Mason, 2002, p. 35). This intricate arrangement is what Mason would call an 'intellectual puzzle' and appropriate for ethnographic methodology (Mason, 2002, p. 17).

My position in USHMM as a researcher was overt and I played the role of participant observer. I was introduced as a researcher to all programme participants at the start of the programmes, and it was made clear that my focus was the museum itself, not the participation or their responses. I did not generally contribute to discussions, hoping to allow them to proceed as naturally as possible, although I was occasionally asked questions about the programme subject matter by participants

during discussions or programme breaks. My goal was to observe the interactions, realisations, debates, and questions that arose in the programmes. These served as indicators of how the museum worked as a component of a larger system of social engagement and examining of social norms and responsibilities.

Another advantage of ethnographic study is that the type of data collected in ethnographic research is appropriate for the kinds of interactions and meaning making I believed would be taking place in this study. Recording interactions, dialogue, and relationships as they occur and evolve provided insight into the kind of cultural and knowledge-based changes taking place. Ethnography allows for the interpretation of the social world through the actions and connections between people (Mason, 2002, p. 56). By doing an ethnographic study, I approached the research with the expectation that I would be generating data, not that data was there for me to collect. My data took the form of observation field notes, interview transcripts, and museum documents. Given the form of the data, a more qualitative or survey based approach would not be as effective in this sort of study.

Finally, there are interesting parallels between developments in ethnography and developments in the museum field that I feel make applying ethnographic methodologies within a museum particularly appropriate and interesting. The discussion around neutrality, and the growing recognition that a 'neutral' stance does not exist, is found in discussions around both ethnography and museums, as will be discussed in the next chapter. Both museum studies and ethnography come from traditions which commonly have valued neutrality, whether it is in the presentation of objects in a museum or the presence of a researcher in the field, and traditionalists call for a removal of opinion or assumptions on the part of the information presenter or gatherer, whether museum staff or researcher. Increasingly, however, it is becoming clear that not only is it impossible to create a truly neutral stance, that perspectives, beliefs, and experiences will always emerge in such work, but that it can also be beneficial to include these perspectives as long as they are acknowledged from the outset and not allowed to create a blind spot (Denscombe, 2010, p. 91).

This room for messiness in ethnography, allowing for multiple perspectives to emerge through the research and writing, is also present in approaches in museums programs and exhibitions where attempts are often made to give voice to different perspectives and show the dialogue around meaning-making as opposed to constructing a 'correct' answer. As a museum professional conducting ethnographic research, I had

a unique position of not only seeing my own beliefs in action by conducting my research in a reflexive and thoughtful way, but of being able to see the beliefs, assumptions, and experiences of the museum professionals at play as well. Ideally, this connection creates mutual understanding between researcher and researched. I did feel throughout the process of fieldwork and data collection that the acknowledgement of my position as a researcher and as a former museum professional created a basis for immediate understanding between myself and the museum professionals at USHMM, facilitating the sharing of information and opinions.

2.4 Examples of ethnographic research in museum studies

An ethnographic methodology has been used to study museums, their behaviours, and relationships before. Museums are institutions that hold knowledge and histories and connect those, in one way or another, to audiences. While the methods and effectiveness of how knowledge is dispersed and perspectives are shared has been at the core of much museum research, including exhibition design, audience evaluation, and the effectiveness of various educational initiatives, research into the museum as an organisation or a cohesive group with its own culture is a concept that requires a different type of research. Ethnography lends itself well to this type of investigation and there are several examples, two of which are described here, that use ethnography as a museum studies method and served as examples for this thesis.

Sharon Macdonald's *Behind the Scenes at the Science Museum* (2002) is an ethnographic study of the development of an exhibition about food at the Science Museum in London. Macdonald acted as a participant observer, researching the relationships, interactions, constraints, assumptions, and expectations of a team tasked with creating the new exhibition. Her goal was to look at the process of exhibition creation to better understand and interpret the final product, specifically to understand the disjunction that often occurs between the encoding (creation) and text (final product) within museums (Macdonald, 2002, p. 93). By attending the process as an observer, Macdonald was able to look at the museum as a cultural group, the exhibitions team as a subgroup, and understand how different relationships, interactions, and ways of thinking evolved and led to particular results (Macdonald, 2002, p. 181). Her study moved away from the cause-effect pathway of information leading to a factual exhibition leading to audience learning. She was able to show that

the process is anything but linear and that there is an inherent complexity and feedback process that goes along with exhibition creation.

Another ethnographic study in a museum setting is Richard Handler and Eric Gable's *The New History in an Old Museum: Creating the Past at Colonial Williamsburg* (1997). While Williamsburg is not a museum in the traditional sense of a building and a collection, it is a self-contained, historic space that functions in much the same way, presenting information and ideas for public consumption through the use and interpretation of objects. Handler and Gable used Williamsburg as a 'social arena', analysing the uses and effects of history in a specific place and time in an effort to, "show that social history has hardly had the kind of insurgent effects its critics claim for it" (Handler & Gable, 1997, p. 8). Similar to Macdonald's study, Handler and Gable move away from the tradition of evaluating impact and meaning making solely by looking at the finished product (Handler & Gable, 1997, p. 11). They are using the process of creating exhibitions and displaying history as a way of engaging with culture on a larger scale.

Both of these studies conceive of what is happening in museums in a new way. Instead of focusing on the output, Macdonald, Handler and Gable are interested in the museum as a dynamic and complex cultural entity, realising that the internal processes, hierarchies, relationships, and interactions all affect decisions and actions. Their studies show that looking at input and output in a causal sense is an over simplification, and that the process, with all its complexities, is important if we are to understand the creation of meaning in these institutions, which are so often viewed as the holders and purveyors of culture. These concepts of emergence and complexity were important in conceiving and planning this study as they validate the decision to allow data to emerge and to explore process instead of proving an established hypothesis.

2.5 Examples of ethnographic research in organisational studies

Beyond the knowledge sharing and representation in the case study, this research also looks at the museum in a social and organisational framework. The study explores how the museum operates as an entity as well as how it sits within a network of other organisations. The use of ethnographic research in examining organisations is a more established tradition than that of ethnography in museums, but authors still argue that it should play a larger role in understanding how organisations operate (Watson 2011, Van Maanen 2011). Watson, an ethnographic researcher, is concerned

with 'how things work,' and asserts that, "we cannot really learn a lot about what 'actually happens' or about 'how things work' in organisations without doing the intensive type of close observational or participative research that is central to ethnographic endeavor" (Watson, 2011, p. 204). Again, it is not enough to look at organisations as if they operate mechanically, and researchers must look at the complexity of relationships and actions within an organisation to understand operations.

Critics of traditional management studies cite a static view of culture for the failings in understanding motivations and relationships (Moeran, 2005, p. 3). As such, ethnography takes on a pragmatic role in the field of organisational studies. Culture in the organisational setting, "refers to the meanings and practices produced, sustained, and altered through interaction, and ethnography is the study and representation of culture as used by particular people, in particular places, at particular times" (Van Maanen, 2011, p. 221). Simply put, ethnography allows researchers to connect culture and organisational process. By using ethnography, researchers can create a road map of sorts, one that would allow "any reader… to cope and survive on board such an organizational vessel" (Watson, 2011, p. 209).

Examples of such ethnographic efforts in the field of management and organisational studies include studies such as Alvin Gouldner's *Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy* (1954) and Gideon Kunda's *Engineering Culture: Control and Commitment in a High-Tech Corporation* (1992). Both authors used long-term, immersive research in specific organisational contexts in order to understand trends and patterns in organisations more broadly. Instead of entering the studies with preconceived notions of patterns, they allowed the research to define the trends for them. Gouldner emerged from his study with definitions for three distinct types of bureaucracy he had witnessed in the field (Brown-Saracino, et al., 2008, p. 552). Kunda explored the use of culture within an organisation, citing it as "the latest stage in the historical evolution of managerial ideology towards an emphasis on normative control" (Kunda, 1992, pp. 217-218). Both of these studies serve as examples of research that treats organisations as a unit of analysis worth exploring versus relegating the organisation to a structural background for interaction (Brown-Saracino, et al., 2008, p. 552). They validate organisations as important units of study in the exploration of social interaction and the creation of meaning.

2.6 Challenges of ethnographic research and a multi-method approach

The fluid, emergent nature of ethnographic research can be liberating, but it can also present problems in designing and carrying out a research project. Some of the challenges associated with ethnographic research are purely logistical, such as access to research subject, time constraints, obtaining permission, determining audiences, creating a proposal that satisfies constraints of the research community, and ensuring ethical practices (Denscombe, 2010, p. 6). Other challenges are inherent to qualitative research aims and methods, such as distinguishing between cause and consequence, recognizing material and immaterial influences, and creating coherent results out of fragmented data (Van Maanen, 2011, p. 220).

Many of these can be approached by ensuring that the researcher has enough authority to demonstrate credibility and gain trust within the different communities, whether the academic research community or the research subject. One way to obtain this credibility is training but, at best, as Fine asserts, "as a trained observer I have gained a wobbly authority" (Fine, 2003, p. 42). Another, perhaps complementary approach to training, is the creation of a triangulated research approach, namely a well-thought-out research plan that incorporates different ways of collecting data. This mitigates some of the subjectivity in ethnography, or at least provide more opportunities for reflexivity (Mason, 2002, p. 7). There is an inherent tension here between a tight research plan and the flexibility and open-endedness of an ethnographic approach, but this does not mean that the research cannot or should not be rigorous, systematic, strategic, and reflexive (ibid).

The incorporation of elements from other qualitative methods such as case studies and qualitative interviews can help to mitigate the limitations of ethnographic research and increase the ability to decipher the complexity that might otherwise be difficult to capture (Brown-Saracino, et al., 2008, p. 549). To mitigate the open-endedness of ethnography and balance my limitations in terms of time and access, I incorporated three additional methods: case study, qualitative interviews, and document review. The case study allowed me to create boundaries and limit the scope of the study to a reasonable size, important for getting the depth that is crucial to both the type of study and method used. Qualitative interviews and document review augmented observations and provided a way to triangulate data to show validity and help decipher findings. These supporting methods will be addressed briefly here.

2.6.1 Case study

Case studies are a method of qualitative research in which investigators produce detailed, in-depth data collection and analysis in a bounded research area. Like ethnography, case studies lend themselves well to studying relationships and discovering subtlety in a research subject (Creswell, 2007, p. 73). Case studies do not have to be about the nature of a social or cultural group, but combining the bounded nature of the case study method with an ethnographic methodological approach to relationships and knowledge allows for a more focused, in-depth study. While it may seem counter-intuitive that increasing the focus of a research project would increase the generalizability of the outcomes, in this case an increased focus allows for greater exploration of themes, subtleties and exchanges across programmes and initiatives, increasing the chance of finding patterns that can then be expanded beyond the specific case to provide an understanding of museums more broadly as network members. As Sharon Macdonald found in her study, a case framework allows the ethnographer to grapple with the challenge to see an "unexotic setting" with new eyes and "defamiliarize the familiar" (Macdonald, 2002, p. 7).

2.6.2 Qualitative interviews

Qualitative interviews are another way to triangulate research methods and data to lend validity to the study and authority to the author's analysis. Interviews position the researcher in a different place within the context of the study, creating a different type of relationship than strict observation by putting them in a dialogue with members of the research context. It also allows researchers to explore and test meaning and understanding first observed during interactions, illuminates the perspectives of the members of the research study in new or different ways, and potentially alerts the researcher to undercurrents or themes that they may not initially be aware of through observation (Mason, 2002, p. 65). Qualitative interviews are compatible with ethnographic methodology because, like ethnography, they are attempting to situate knowledge in context and involve, "the construction or reconstruction of knowledge more than the excavation of it" (Mason, 2002, p. 63). Conversely, the qualitative interview method can benefit from being included in an ethnographic methodology. The reflexive practices in ethnography help mediate the potentially fraught power relations that can develop between interviewers and interviewees by maintaining

relationships and power dynamics at the forefront of the researchers thought process (ibid).

Throughout the fieldwork I interviewed a range of staff in the museum, across departments and across organisational hierarchies. I spoke with numerous staff from each of the programmes at the core of this study as well as from supporting areas of the museum such as education, exhibitions, the Centre for the Prevention of Genocide, and museum administration. Each staff member interviewed is directly connected to the programmes in some way, whether through administration, operation, or content development. The interviews revolved around the programme observations at the heart of the study as well as addressing organisational structures, challenges, and goals. These interviews enhanced research by painting a picture of the behind-the-scenes actions and decisions that were leading to the interactions and discussions I was observing in the programmes.[2]

2.6.3 Document review

Finally, document review provided a way to gain access to information, context, and previous studies that might not otherwise be available from my time at USHMM. This additional method also reinforced observations or provided additional depth to the data gathered during programmes. Documents generally took the form of previous evaluations, videos, transcripts, internal documents, and memos that pertained to the programmes I was studying. They allowed me to create a nuanced picture of what was occurring in the museum, beyond what I could gather from observations alone.

2.7 Methodology conclusion

An ethnographic approach, supported by case study, qualitative interviews, and document review methods, is uniquely appropriate for this type of research project. Not only does it fit the ontological and epistemological understanding about knowledge and capacity building that I feel best fit this study, but it provides an open-ended and flexible approach that I hope will be able to encompass the complexity inherent in this research. The value of this type of research in museums and organisations has also been established in both the subjects of museum and organisational studies and is increasingly called for in the literature in these fields.

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[2] For the sample interview protocol used in this research, please see Appendix B

Chapter 3 – Museums as social organisations

The research questions, methodology, and findings comprising this thesis are situated in a broader trend within museum studies. They emerge from shifts within museum education, museum purpose, and social relevance, all which have led to an examination of museums as social organisations. Many museum academics and practitioners at various points in history have addressed the relationship between museums and society and what that means in terms of social responsibility (Dana 1917, Fleming 2012, Gurian 2010, Hooper-Greenhill 2000, Janes 2009, Low 1942, O'Neil 2016, Sandell 2007, 2017, Sandell and Dodd 2010, Silverman 2009, Weil 2002,). This chapter will discuss some of these shifts in education, visitor relations, and social responsibility, and the resulting discussions around museum relevancy, public value, purpose, authority, representation, and 'activist practice' (Sandell & Dodd, 2010) that form the context for this thesis. This is not an exhaustive overview of these arguments or their evolutions, but it will lay the foundation for further discussions in this thesis around museums as social actors and influencers with mandates to not just reflect, but to actively contribute to positive societal change.

3.1 The role of museums in society: Intrinsic versus instrumental value

A debate within museums, and the cultural sphere in general, is how to prioritize the intrinsic versus instrumental value of culture and cultural institutions (O'Neill, 2016, p. 17). This conversation includes perspectives on the appropriate role for museums as active social organisations or as passive mirrors of cultures and histories. At its heart are tensions between expertise and experience, museums' obligations to the public, their responsibilities to objects and memory, and the autonomy of museums versus social accountability (O'Neill, 2016, pp. 18-19).

An early proponent of an outward-facing, instrumental perspective was John Cotton Dana, the founder of the Newark Museum and an advocate for the public value of museums around the turn of the 20th century. Dana argued for a shift away from a focus on collecting and preserving and for museums to put their collections to use, valuing museums not for their inherent value but for their power to connect with the public in all of its diversity. Dana was living in an American society trying to establish a modern identity and he was reacting to a late 1800's trend that he felt prioritized, "the

limitless acquisition of exquisite things [as] the path to museological greatness" (Weil, 2002, p. 166). He felt this museum model reflected a European conceit and did not fit in the dynamic American society in which he believed the museums of his era operated. Instead of focusing on preserving and collecting objects that were valued for their rarity and economic worth, a process he felt created "oppressive" museums, Dana argued that the priority of the museum should be entertaining and instructing the community (Dana, 1917/2004, p. 18). He was part of a movement that placed education and public benefit at the centre of museum purpose, an idea which has perpetuated with numerous scholars and practitioners and has influenced expectations for museum practice, both from the museum sector and the public.

There are, of course, those who feel a social change or social justice initiative is misplaced in museums. Benjamin Ives Gilman, a contemporary of Dana's and Secretary of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts from 1893-1925, argued that art, in particular, was gathered in interest of the ideal and, "a museum of art is in essence a temple" (Weil, 2002, p. 163). More recently, James Cuno, the president and CEO of the Getty Trust, argued that the emphasis on education, marketing, sponsorship, and social activism were "the gravest threat" to the quality of scholarship and museums as repositories for culture (Cuno, 1997, p. 7). Others have argued that a socially focused mission distorts the 'real' purpose and foundation of a museum and is just a form of the government co-opting the cultural sector to make people, "feel better about themselves" (Appleton, 2001).

From another angle, some worry that museums will never be able to make the measurable difference that social workers, police officers, or teachers make and, by placing themselves in the midst of such efforts, museums detract either financially or strategically from real change (Tucker, 1993). Museum workers also must now take on a social work role, something that they may be unwilling, untrained, or unable to do (Vincent, 2003, p. 7). These are all in addition to the difficulties in measuring success and defining the terms of "social inclusion" mentioned in the introduction (West & Smith, 2005, pp. 277-8).

Increasingly, however, this isolationist attitude that museums exist because of their inherent value or that social inclusion is too difficult for museums to take on is losing ground. A rising awareness of both the social and political consequences of museum representations and actions has encouraged a re-examination of the roles

museums play in society, their purpose, and their relationships with the public and other organisations.

3.1.1 Educational theory and the value of experience

Dana's emphasis on the use of the museum experience and collections in public education was reflected in broader educational movements of the time. Progressive education was one such education movement, focusing on both the experiential nature of learning and the social impact of education, specifically on building democratic and just societies. John Dewey, an education reformer and another contemporary of Dana's, championed progressive education and linked it closely with democratic societies in his 1913 book *Democracy and Education*. Progressive education emphasized the role of and connections with objects, activities, experimentation, and observation, in leading to a level of education beyond what books and rote memorization could offer (Hein, 2013, p. 62). Proponents of progressive education believed in its ability to build citizens that would thoughtfully examine and question the world in which they lived and, as a result, society would be stronger. In this way, education was a societal good, not just a personal endeavour.

Progressive education had a direct connection to museums and Dewey saw an important role for museums in this theory of learning. He highlighted the unique capacity for museums to provide spaces for exploration and experimentation and felt that schools should include museums as important educational resources. Museums were important to the progressive notion of education because they, "by their very nature fulfil the requirements for a progressive pedagogy: they do not rely on books or lectures to achieve their educational goals, but emphasize experience with objects" (Hein, 2013, p. 63). In fact, many progressive schools worked closely with museums to run programmes for their students and a view of museums as an educational tool persists. These 'progressive museums' would, "combine experiential learning with a commitment to the socio-political goal of promoting democratic practices", broadening the scope of the museum's impact (ibid).

Dewey and the concept of progressive education would go on to influence education and museums throughout the 20th and 21st centuries. Frank Oppenheimer, the founder of the Exploratorium in San Francisco CA, was a proponent of progressive education and spoke frequently of the value of experience and active learning in building a good life and good society. He felt standard state education had become too

passive and that active discovery, such as he sought to foster at the Exploratorium, would create an environment in which visitors could juxtapose diverse experiences in such a way to build intuition and understanding, not just memorize facts (Exploratorium, 2004). Jerrold Zacharias, an MIT researcher during WWII and the founder of the education non-profit, the Education Development Center, felt that progressive education would lead people to be, "more decent in this world," and that, "a Hitler or a McCarthy could not survive in a society which demands evidence which can be subjected to examination, to re-examination, to doubt, to question, to cross-examination" (Hein, 2013, p. 69). From this perspective, education is both a way to gain information and an important socio-political tool. It is not just a pedagogic task, but also a moral one (Hein, 2013, p. 62).

The emphasis in progressive education on learning through experimentation and observation can be seen reflected in a number of other education movements. The first is the move from behaviourist to constructivist concepts of learning. This is the recognition that education as a process that takes into account diverse experiences and social characteristics instead of solely individual capacities for learning (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000, p. 3). Similarly, Lev Vygotsky (1896-1934) pioneered Social Development Theory. Vygotsky's theory took into account that learning and, "higher mental functions are 'socially formed and culturally transmitted'" (Vygotsky quoted in Baldino, 2012, p. 171). This echoes the progressive idea that, beyond an individual's inherent capacity for learning, there are social and cultural factors that determine how we approach and understand new information. It follows, then, that a diverse population needs equally diverse means of learning (Exploratorium, 2004).

Other education movements include the learner-centred education movement of the 1960s and the investigation-focused science education movement of the late 1950s, early 1960s (Hein, 2013, p. 65). Both of these prioritized students and the learning process over specific outcomes or subject matter. These movements, while not exhaustive of those that include experience and social or cultural factors in understanding how learning happens, are examples of shifts in education that have influenced how museums approach education and the role they play in the process of learning, not just transmitting facts.

3.1.2 Understanding the visitor and meaning-making

Museum practitioners who challenge museums to look outward and education theories that incorporate experience and social context have impacted the contemporary understanding of the relationship between museums and visitors. The result is a greater call for museums to pay attention to how audiences receive and process information (Sandell, 2007, p. 4). Museum practitioners know that, "people don't just fall out of the sky and land inside a museum: they come for a reason" (Falk & Dierking, 2012, p. 32). Following constructivist learning, the visitor builds meaning and understanding based on new information as well as their social background, experiences, and existing knowledge. This approach moves visitors from passive recipients of information to active meaning makers who use physical, personal and social factors as well as life experiences to construct the meaning they take away (O'Neill 2016, Falk & Dierking 2012, Hein 2013, Sandell 2007, Hooper-Greenhill 2000).

Eilean Hooper-Greenhill frames this shift in the agency of visitors as the 'post-museum', emerging during the end of the 20th, beginning of the 21st century (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000, p. xi). During the 19th century the visitor was conceived of as passive, knowledge was objective and information based, learning was linear, and the museum was authoritative. During the 20th and 21st century, when constructivist learning came onto the scene, visitors and learners became active political and social beings (ibid). Visitors incorporate their experiences at museums and the new information with which they are presented into existing understandings (Falk & Dierking, 2012, p. 26). Falk and Dierking call this the 'contextual model of learning', where meaning is built over time and layer upon layer as individuals move through their social, cultural, and physical worlds. These layers are dynamic and impermanent, continuously interacting and feeding back on each other (Falk & Dierking, 2012, p. 29). This means that part of the impact of a visitor's museum experience is under the museum's control and part is what the visitor brings with them, changing how museums approach the process of meaning making (Silverman, 2009, p. 14). The museum's role becomes to provide services and opportunities, not answers (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000, p. xi). Meaning becomes fluid and socially dependent and, as a result, a museum's relationship with both information and its visitors is dramatically changed (Silverman, 2009, p. 16).

Many museums have moved to providing a range of ways for audiences to engage with topics and to use their own life experiences to make sense of information. Importantly, museums also try to understand how this sense making happens. There is

no set 'right' answer and learning outcomes are open-ended (Sandell, 2007, p. 11). The role of the museum shifts from a site of authority to a site of mutually constructed meaning, reflecting a more democratic, less hierarchical concept of knowledge and expertise (O'Neill, 2016, p. 21). The museum still has influence, but the visitor and the museum are now co-producers of meaning (Sandell, 2017, p. 102). In short, these shifts in education towards the inclusion of diverse experiences, putting learners (or visitors) in central positions, and recognizing the role of education in broader social development goals means that understanding the museum's role, its public value, and its accountability are closely tied to the museum's relationship with its visitors and society more broadly (Falk & Dierking, 2012, p. 24). It has also paved the way to look at museums as social and civic organisations.

3.2 Beyond education: Museums and social responsibility

The shifts in education and the social focus of museums have impacted contemporary discussions around museum values, roles, and responsibilities. As the museum becomes part of a larger process of learning and the implications of education in building stronger societies becomes central, concepts of the value and capacities of museums shift. Public value, relevance, accountability, and survival all become important discussions in defining and justifying the role of museums in society. It also requires a re-examination of what social responsibility means and the moral, social, and practical requirements of fulfilling that responsibility.

3.2.1 Public value

Public value has often been couched in terms of education. Frank Oppenheimer, the founder of the Exploratorium quoted previously, saw museums as providing a fundamental service to society because of their role in public education. They provided a way of understanding through perception and experience which he felt was necessary for a, "good life and a good society" (Exploratorium, 2004). The American Alliance of Museums (previously the American Association of Museums) asserted that,

> Museums perform their most fruitful public service by providing an educational experience in the broadest sense: by fostering the ability to live in a pluralistic society and to contribute to the resolutions of the challenges we face as global citizens… Museums can no longer confine

themselves simply to preservation, scholarship, and exhibition independent of the social context in which they exist. They must recognize that the public dimension of museums leads them to perform the public service of education – a term that in its broadest sense includes exploration, study, observation, critical thinking, contemplation, and dialogue (American Association of Museums, 1992, pp. 6-8)

Embedded within these calls for museums to be recognized as learning resources is an increased awareness of the potential of museums to make a difference in the lives of individuals and communities (Moore, 1995, cited in Falk & Dierking, 2012, p. 74). The focus on public value introduces questions about the social responsibility of museums and challenges how they might exert influence and frame discussions. As such, the museum is situated in a broader context of addressing social need beyond solely education.

Stephen Weil saw these shifts as indicative of two movements within museum studies and practice. The first is the shift in to an outward orientation towards visitor and the community, as has been discussed. Echoing Dana, Weil asserted that the collection in a museum are a resource, not a raison d'être (Weil, 2002, p. 89). The second movement is a revolution across the entire third, or non-profit, sector. Non-profits now carry not only a responsibility but also an expectation from the public that they will carry out a social purpose with integrity and will demonstrably and positively impact the individuals and communities they touch. This establishes, "purpose as every institution's starting point – the first promise from which every institutional argument must hereafter proceed" (ibid). The museum thus moves from an inward, organisational focus, to an outward, social perspective.

These movements, or revolutions as Weil identified them, create new overarching concerns for museums. Museums must recognize that they have a competency to affect desirable outcomes and then employ those competencies effectively. This often-times controversial mandate for action will be discussed later in this chapter and will reappear throughout the thesis, but at its heart is a directive for museums to identify their purpose more clearly and to not confuse purpose and function. Museums must understand and honour their capacities for connecting with society more broadly, their expectations of visitors, and visitors' expectations of the museum. There are challenges with this mandate as museums can have multiple and seemingly conflicting purposes, but this self-analysis is necessary for museums to understand their evolving role in society (Weil, 2002, p. 89).

3.2.2 Connecting with social and political contexts

The increasing attention to social purpose and impact all leads to an understanding of the importance of the societal and political context in which museums sit. While museums have power over how they include and present these contexts and the diverse perspectives around them, the interpretation of these cultural expressions is not up to the museum alone. Visitors bring their own demands, assumptions, and needs to bear on museum actions, perspectives, and meaning making, and, "every museum is part of many complex infrastructures, many complex ecologies" (Falk & Dierking, 2012, p. 73). Therefore, representation matters as they both absorb and reflect the cultural contexts and norms around them. Museums do not operate in isolation and their work requires close examinations of the way museums interact with communities, how they present narratives, whose voices are present or absent, and how the museum arrives at the final decisions on presentation and message. What museums say, how they say it, how it is understood and used all depend on these contexts in which the museum sits (Sandell, 2007, p. 3).

Additionally, the power of the cultural authority within cultural institutions like museums carries a responsibility to thoughtfully present and implement museum programmes, exhibitions and relationships (Fleming, 2012, p. 72). The decisions made in museums around representation and narratives can, "reinforce, challenge or potentially reconfigure prevailing normative ideas about right and wrong, good and bad, fairness and injustice" (Sandell, 2017, p. 8). Museum practitioners and academics have begun to understand that it is not only how museums represent the stories in their museums but also what they leave out that matters. Those inclusions and omissions have political and moral consequences, not just for the museum, but for society more broadly. Museums can both open up and close down, "subjectivities, attitudes and feelings towards the self and others" (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000, p. 19). Taking a central role in a community and working to connect with that community on all levels means taking the responsibility that comes along with that cultural authority.

The links between cultural authority, social impact, and responsibility are not without contention and the use of culture as an influence on contemporary discussions and representation is controversial. The suggestion that culture can be used as a tool to illustrate perspectives on social issues can spark fierce debates around the appropriate interpretation of history or culture, the 'instrumentalisation' of culture, the potential for

misappropriation, the perceived neutrality of museums, and the relationships between government, the arts, and society. One answer to these concerns is that museums are part of dialogues around contemporary issues whether they intend to be or not. Whether they explore science, art, history, or natural history, they are connected to social and political debates. Science museums and natural history museums will find themselves in discussions around evolution, climate change, vaccinations, and renewable energy. Art and history museums may find themselves in the midst of debates around contested histories, the rights and representations of minorities, women's rights, and narratives around difference, just to name a few. Even when there is no institutional mandate to engage with contemporary issues, human rights, or equality, museums are still implicated in broader struggles, and their perspectives, actions and inactions matter (Sandell, 2017, p. 55). The question, then, is *how* museums interact and contribute with these issues, not *if*. These issues are inherent in the stories museums tell and it is crucial to understand the complicated and persuasive, "myriad of interactions between visitors and objects [and] the equally myriad interactions of visitors with one another" as they engage with these debates (Weil, 2002, p. 66). As a result, museums must think carefully about their purpose, resources, and relationships and reflect on the roles they play in society.

3.2.3 Relevance and accountability

An awareness of context and impact introduces a concern with museum relevance, specifically in regards to the context in which museums sit and the groups with which they work. Museums are becoming more embedded in the contemporary lives of their communities, both in terms of the expectations from the museum and the public. Given the fact that museums are inherently connected with a variety of contemporary issues, as described above, museums must purposefully look at how they put their resources to use and connect their narratives with contemporary broader social issues and concerns. Social responsibility, therefore, becomes a mandate to understand the connections between the museum and the community and develop relationships in meaningful ways.

How relevance is determined, however, shifts along with societies and social concerns and, "being a successful museum in the twenty-first century will be different from being one in the twentieth century, which in turn was different than being successful in the nineteenth century" (Falk & Dierking, 2012, p. 296). In, "earlier and

more trusting days, the museum survived on the faith that it was an important institution per se and that its mere presence in a community would somehow enhance the well-being of that community" (Weil, 2002, p. 85). That is no longer the case. A museum's contribution to well-being must go beyond its mere existence and cannot be accidental. It requires that they contribute to the broader fabric of society in such a way that they would be missed if they disappeared. Standards of accountability are changing (Weil, 2002, pp. 4-5).

On the most basic level, museums must stay relevant because they require funding which in turn requires that they demonstrate their value in an environment where a number of public services are vying for those funds. The presumption that museums are valuable in their own right, such as Weil argues against, is no longer adequate for convincing funding bodies and governments that museums are worthy investments (Gurian, 2010, p. 77). Museums must establish that they are not just nice to have around but are uniquely valuable to society.

While funding is an important motivation for demonstrating relevance, it is not the crucial reason in this study for examining the museum's relationship and contributions to society. Robert Janes, in his book *Museums in a Troubled World: Renewal, Irrelevance or Collapse?* (2009) offers a stark commentary on the consequences of failing to define relevance in contemporary society. Public concerns are shifting and debates around environmental, social, economic, and political issues are increasingly central to social discourse. If museums fail to address these issues, they will fall outside of the realm of interest and necessity for so much of society. In order for museums to continue their work as organisations that collect, preserve and present stories, and as community organisations, it is crucial that museums examine how those two functions connect. This is how they will continue to fulfil their missions and roles but also recognize the unique capacities in which they can contribute to a fundamentally changing world.

An awareness of the myriad ways in which museums can connect to and contribute to the social context broadens concepts the of potential museums contributions. Janes advocates that concerns ranging, "from climate change to the erosion of cultural diversity – [have] created a watershed of opportunity or an unprecedented crisis for museums" (Janes, 2010, p. 325). These 'watershed' moments are openings for museums to see where they fit in a broader social context. Examples might include demographic shifts, social movements or increased interest in

multiculturalism and diversity, but what they all have in common is a shifting conception of power and relationships in modern society. Power is becoming fragmented, shared and dynamic (Sandell, 2007, p. 9). The old model of museums, one that Janes conceives of as built on, "consumption, entertainment and ancillary education" is unsustainable (ibid). Museums must dig further into what they contribute, which for Janes is an ability to, "provide answers to the fundamental question, 'what does it mean to be human'" (Postman 1990 quoted in Janes, 2009, p. 18). Museums need to approach these issues from the perspective of actively contributing to understanding, not simply describing existing situations. Failing to do so turns the 'watershed' moments into the 'crisis' Janes presents as an alternative consequence.

Additionally, it is in museum's own self-interest to be surrounded by engaged, informed citizens who value the arts, science, history and culture. Museums are part of society and, therefore, it is in their benefit to make that society as strong, open and thoughtful as possible. Museums must rethink and renew their connections with both communities and the concerns central to them in order to both fulfil their missions and to flourish (Janes, 2009).

This revaluation of a museum's work is at the heart of the shifts discussed so far. The very concept of 'public service' is changing as is a museum's relationship with the public and their public purpose. Stephen Weil (2002) used this legitimacy through public service as a way to redefine what makes a 'good' museum. For Weil, "museums matter only to the extent that they are perceived to provide the communities they serve with something of value beyond their own mere existence" (Weil, 2002, pp. 4-5). Purposive, capable, effective, and efficient actions are criteria for a 'good' museum (Weil, 2002, p. 7). From this perspective, the fundamental aspects of a museum's role are intangible. They do not rely as much on specific objects or collections, but instead on innovation, inclusive thinking, and persistent questioning of the status quo (Janes, 1997, p. 83). Increasingly, the best practices for a successful museum include the, "need to maximize the creativity, flexibility, and ingenuity of their relationships, outside and inside the organization" (Falk & Dierking, 2012, p. 297). Successful museums in contemporary society will also be innovative museums (Falk & Dierking, 2012, p. 296). It is not enough to merely survive and survival is not success (Janes, 2009, p. 142)

Shifting social dynamics and power structures impact a museum's sense of place, but they also reflect the above-mentioned changes in public expectations and needs. Increasingly, museums are judged by the social services they provide, not an economic bottom line. In this sense, they are treated like any other non-profit (Weil, 2002, p. 4). This is not to say that funding or a museum's use of funds is not important or scrutinized, but a key part of a museum's function is to represent non-market values (O'Neill, 2016, p. 19). Their ultimate value is measured by a social return on investment, not an economic one, and museums must determine how to make a financial bottom line work in conjunction with a cultural or social purpose. Janes (2007) calls for a move away from an emphasis on the marketplace and a break from the constraints of an economic framework. This would allow for a revaluation of museums' work by placing increased value on critical thinking, relationships, knowledge and debates. A focus on the value in relationships and knowledge sharing will be explored in more detail in relation to the USHMM case study in Chapter Six.

Emphasizing the value in public service means that museums are purpose driven, not process driven. It introduces a sense of the 'big picture' to both organisational strategy and everyday actions. This is a major turning point, as it is both a challenge and an opportunity to fundamentally change how museums conceive of themselves and operate. It causes both the public and the museum sector to question, refine, and if necessary, completely replace traditional practices (Janes, 1997, p. 83). The question then emerges as to what a museum can be and can do when they embrace these connections to society and contemporary issues.

3.3 Redefining the museum

Renewed interest in public service and an emphasis on a museum's relationship with the public both lay the foundation for challenges to the basic definition of 'museum'. A number of academics and practitioners have proposed alternative models for relevant museums that reimagine how museums can expand services and reach broader levels of community, even if it means breaking away from a 'traditional' museum model of collection, preservation, and education (Gurian, 2010, p. 71). In these definitions, the museum is being recalibrated to prioritize public value and leverage capacities to contribute to stronger societies.

One way in which the museum is redefined is by challenging the types of services museums can provide. Elaine Heumann Gurian's proposal is, 'museum as

soup kitchen,' a community focused vision of museum services and relationships with communities. What she proposes,

> is not 'business as usual' – museums cloaked in the name of social good, justifying their pent-up need – but rather transforming currently less-than-useful local institutions into dynamic and community-focused 'clubhouses' for building social cohesion, and incorporating social services usually delivered elsewhere, such as job retraining, educational enhancements, and public discourse – in addition to their classic role of collections care, interpretation and exhibitions (Gurian, 2010, p. 75).

The goal here is to expand the museum services to make museum assets relevant for all levels of community and useful in achieving the diverse needs and aspirations of those community members. Central to the 'museum as soup kitchen' is a need for the museum to become more responsive to those who have not traditionally been the core of a museum's audience. A museum, or any community organisation, cannot be all things to all people, but in order for a museum to be relevant and fulfil its social responsibility it is crucial that a museum be aware of the needs, ambitions, challenges, and concerns facing the whole of the community in which it sits. By embedding itself in the community and providing community focused services, the museum will become increasingly aware and active in strengthening that community. It will also make the museum more resistant to economic and social upheavals by making it an integral part of the social fabric and, therefore, more worth protecting.

Janes approaches this redefinition from a management perspective. He identifies an organisation with a deep awareness of the context in which it sits as a, "mindful museum" (2010). A mindful museum, "incorporates the best of enduring museum values and business methodology, with a sense of social responsibility heretofore unrecognized" (Janes, 2010, p. 326). The organisational characteristics of a mindful museum are that it; values synthesis over process; adopts values that are focused on external issues, not internal ones; adopts a horizontal, multifunctional organisational structure; and develops ways to respond quickly and effectively to unanticipated issues (Janes, 2010, pp. 329-330). The mindful museum, much like the 'museum as soup kitchen' concept above, is intimately connected, aware, and responsive to immediate changes and needs in the organisations and the public surrounding it. Both Janes and Gurian are reacting against what they see as the

traditional, slow, clumsy, and bureaucratic organisations that operate either in isolation or too slowly to be truly significant to immediate societal demands.

In another concept of connecting museums with social benefits, Lois Silverman discusses what she calls the 'social work of museums' and how, "museums foster social functioning and favourable conditions" (2009, p. 14). The question in this iteration is how to build a greater awareness of these interactions and use them purposefully to encourage growth and social development. Silverman breaks the ability of museums to foster social growth into eight theories: "interactive experience and social relationships; communication as meaning-making; the meaning of things; human needs; outcomes and changes; relationship benefits and social capital; social change; and cultural change" (Silverman, 2009, p. 14). The work museums do around preservation, interpretation, exhibitions and education is unique and not to be ignored, but the issue here is not one of replacing these established capacities so much as adding to them. As Weil put it, museums are, "engaged in a process of adaptive reuse" (Weil, 2002, p. 196). These new models of museums are additions, not substitutions.

3.3.1 Museums as active agents

This leads to the final development we will discuss in this chapter; how the concept of museums as progressive, social organisations translates into museums as active agents in the community, not just contributing to positive social change but helping to define what that change looks like. The emphasis on museums' abilities to connect with various groups in the community has produced awareness of museums' facilities to demonstrate progress and propose alternate forms of interacting with 'otherness' as opposed to just reflecting dominant perspectives (Younge, 2012, p. 111). Museums are, "uniquely placed, among contemporary social institution, in their potential to make the moral, social and practical legacies of human society both visible and accessible" (Janes & Sandell, 2007, p. 139). This sort of social responsibility ultimately leads to a call for museums to move away from a passive model that reflects social norms and towards an active model that examines, questions, and challenges those norms.

This practice has been deemed 'activist practice' (Sandell & Dodd, 2010) and the concept has been addressed by a number of practitioners and academics (Janes 2009, Hooper-Greenhill 2000, Fleming 2012, Nightingale & Mahal 2012). Activist practice is not just a reflection of changes or debates in society, but an active effort on a

museum's part to, "construct and elicit support amongst audiences (and other constituencies) for alternative progressive ways of thinking" (Sandell & Dodd, 2010, p. 3). It is a way to leverage the often-unique standing of museums in their communities as more than just residents but also vital centres for communication and meaning (Sobral, 2005, p. 123).

Activist practice emerges from the realization that culture has a strong role in developing and understanding broader social values, and that representation, or lack thereof, matters, as discussed above (Anderson, 2012, p. 226). Museums, as cultural institutions, are deeply involved in building knowledge and understanding through the objects, stories, and narratives they either show or keep hidden (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000, p. 19). Critics of museums have claimed that traditional museum practices have reinforced hierarchies or norms of oppression and exclusion (Younge, 2012, p. 111). Part of activist practice then is reorienting the museum to question dominant norms as opposed to immediately supporting them. In its broadest form, "the social work of museums involves nothing less than the making and changing of culture" (Silverman, 2009, p. 10). In this way, the museum moves beyond the concept of 'museum as forum', which positions the museum as a passive platform for discussion, and turns it into an active participant in the framing of discussions and presentation of perspectives. They are not just reflecting, but also impacting public attitudes.

Activist practice highlights the moral and ethical responsibility in museum work. Working collaboratively, sharing authority, and building representation in a shared and thoughtful way becomes central to museum activities and purpose. Any previous assumptions about the museum's cultural or intellectual authority or the museum's role as an expert are called into question. Instead, the museum becomes one element in a broader process of social development and change. With a contemporary social focus, many of the subjects a museum touches upon might be contentious, sensitive, immediate, and carry different meanings for different groups. As a result, a new skill set is required in museums to portray issues and groups sensitively and fully, not in a voyeuristic or 'othering' manner. The museum's efforts become a form of rights work, not just entertainment or education (Sandell, 2017, p. 115). The museum has political and moral agency, and their, "public service persona and culture/industry business agenda [transforms] into one of a locally-embedded problem-solver, in tune with the challenges and aspirations of communities" (Janes, 2010, p. 335). Importantly for this thesis, activist practice firmly situates the museum in the midst of efforts

around rights and justice as well as in the midst of a larger social and political landscapes.

3.4 Chapter conclusion

Museums have moved along a continuum. The initial movement acknowledged the social nature of their work in addition to their academic or collections based mandates. The second made that social work central and shifted the organisational structures around goals of giving back to the community. Museums developed an awareness of the responsibility to act on social issues, not just reflect them, and as a result fundamentally changed the relationships between museums and their communities. From there stemmed the awareness that museums are an active part of a larger group of civic organisations that all contribute to the growth and strength of more just societies.

Museums ultimately sit in broad networks, frameworks, clusters, or ecologies, where knowledge, meaning, authority, and trust are exchanged to affect broad societal impact. They are active contributors, consciously shaping and adding to discussions on contemporary issues. To fulfil this purpose, museums must, "welcome more, share more, and control less" (Gurian, 2010, p. 83). The culmination of the progressive shifts in education and museum work explored here is that, "museums might reflect the democratic culture they promote" (Hein, 2013, p. 17). This is the context in which this thesis is situated. The centrality of moral obligation and a growing interest in active engagement with rights related issues has seen a re-examination of museum practice as well as the emergence of museums groups such as the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience and the Federation of International Human Rights Museums (Sandell, 2017, p. 9). The museum at the centre of this thesis, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) can be seen as one of these rights focused institutions. Their maxim, "Never Again", along with the social justice focused programmes and rights work they carry out, place them firmly amongst museums that take a stand on issues of rights and social responsibility. This positioning of museums as one in an environment of actors that examine, challenge, reflect, and build social norms and values, is the starting point for the rest of this thesis. From here we will explore how a museum, specifically USHMM, fits in a broader network and the resulting impact of that involvement on both the organisation and society more broadly.

Chapter 4 – The museum network: Motivations and exchanges

The 2015 Mass Atrocity Education Workshop (MAEW) ran at USHMM from the 11th-13th September. This workshop was co-produced by the museum's Civic and Defense Initiatives (CDI) branch and the Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies at the United States Military Academy at West Point. One of the goals for the weekend programme was to create a space for interdisciplinary perspectives around genocide awareness and prevention based on the belief that engaging with issues from different angles can have powerful outcomes.

This interdisciplinary perspective happened on several levels. Firstly, the participants in the workshop were professors from a range of military academies including West Point, the U.S. Coast Guard Academy, and the United States Air Force Academy. The professors also came from a range of disciplines, including economics, history, international relations, mathematics and comparative politics. MAEW provided a unique opportunity for these professors, all of whom address genocide and mass atrocity at some point in their courses, to share resources and perspectives on the subject. Despite the fact that the participants were all at military academies, they were separated geographically and departmentally, and opportunities to directly discuss and share resources were rare. This workshop created a platform for them to connect with other departments and organisations around a shared subject and explore the topic further from different perspectives.

Secondly, the interdisciplinary nature of the workshop extended to the invited presenters. These included officials from different government agencies, including the State Department, USAID, and the Department of Defense, visitors from outside organisations including Amnesty International and Strategy for Humanity, a consulting firm for mission-driven institutions, and members of several museum departments such as archives, curatorial, and the Center for the Prevention of Genocide. The weekend concluded with a talk by Margaret Meisner, a Holocaust survivor and museum volunteer.

Many of these organisations, while aware of each other and their work, might not otherwise have had a reason or a space to connect and share resources, even on a topic such as mass atrocity prevention that touches them all. In this instance, the

museum, together with the Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, was able to leverage its unique history, expertise, and relationships to create an occasion to unite the different organisations. The result was striking moments such as Amnesty International presenting their strategies around data use as a tool to predict and prevent mass atrocities to a room full of military academy professors in a museum. This combination of expertise and experience, and the new understandings that emerged from it, would not be possible without a network to unite the various actors. It is to this network we turn our attention and specifically why a network that includes a museum may be of special interest.

4.1 Networks

Networks occur everywhere in daily life and can encompass social, informational, resource and biological exchanges among others. As such, the concept of a networks has been used in technology, social studies, biology, and other fields to understand how individuals or groups connect or are joined together. In traditional networks studies, networks are composed of points known as 'vertices' or 'nodes' and can represent individuals, groups, or organisations. In the social sciences, these points are also referred to as 'actors', a term which will be used in this thesis. The links between these points are referred to as 'edges' or, in the social sciences, 'ties' (Newman, 2010, pp. 1, 36). These ties can represent friendship, professional relationships, resource exchanges, communication, or other forms of exchange depending on the type of network being described.

The study of networks encompasses the individual components of the network, including the actors and the ties, but, importantly for this study, a network perspective can also help illuminate the pattern of connections between actors. These patterns can have major impacts on the system as a whole, so understanding patterns provides researchers with a window into not just how information, resources, or friendships develop and spread, but also how the actors and ties are effected and change as a result of their involvement with each other (Newman, 2010, p. 2). In essence, a network is a special type of system with interdependencies that evolve as needs and capacities change over time and where actors are inter-reliant.

A network framework provides a range of tools that can help analyse relationships and connections. By simplifying the complicated array of exchanges between different actors down to a network model, it becomes possible to assign

strengths, weaknesses, and unique capacities to actors, illuminating what the individual components contribute and which capacities provide support in the broader system. While it is important to remember that a network is a simplification and a tool for analysis, it is a powerful way to visualize the relationships and exchanges between actors within a broader field and to conceive of the different identities of members, whether through strengths, weaknesses, resources, or relationships. This can provide a deeper understanding of a member's position in the network as well as its value for other networks and other potential connections.

Networks also provide a way to understand power relations. Networks can be vertical, with power largely held at the top and filtering down, or they can be horizontal with power being shared more evenly across members. This can be determined by whether organisations sit side by side or whether interactions are one directional (Mirvis & Worley, 2013, p. 23). Member placement can also be demonstrated by networks through the understanding of the different ties, how they are distributed, built, and fostered. The depth and frequency of interactions can also help define whether an organisation or member sits on the periphery or in the core of the network. Centrality will be discussed in more depth in Chapter Five.

Organisational networks are the type of network that will be the main focus of this thesis. Academics and practitioners alike have explored various arrangements and types of networks in an attempt to understand how organisations put themselves together to accomplish objectives they may not be able to achieve on their own, and how they adapt to increasing competition and complexity (Worley & Mirvis, 2013, p. x). In an organisational network, "power, information, money, and utilities" flow through the ties (Thorelli, 1986, p. 39). The concept of organisations as members of broader networks has also been applied to business, government, civil society, and combinations thereof. "When the analysis of such systems extends to matters of power, influence, trust, expertise, and information flow, writers are really making use of the network paradigm" (Thorelli, 1986, p. 44).

A network perspective is important for our discussion of USHMM and the broader role museums can play in social change, specifically regarding how museums can be sources for crucial contributions to networks including the expertise, information and trust. Through this thesis we are looking at the museum as a node in a network. We will look at its relationships, its contributions to the network, how it

benefits from the links to other members, its position, and how this network perspective might be valuable in future initiatives and collaborations.

4.1.1 Defining 'network' for the USHMM case

In this discussion of USHMM's Levine Institute programmes, a network refers to two or more organisations involved in a, 'long-term relationship' (Thorelli, 1986, p. 37) and are connected by 'commonalities and complementarities' that allow them to support or broaden their goals and capacities (Porter, 1998, p. 4). Commonalities are areas such as expertise, resources, or connections where network members overlap, whereas complementarities are differences in those areas. Importantly, the differences that make up complementarities are helpful in that they support or supplement what another organisation might lack. I am also drawing on the concept of alliances which describes relationships between independent organisations pursuing agreed upon goals by implementing mutually beneficial resources in key strategic areas, as explored by Bussmann et al (2014) and Kang and Sakai (2000), and described in greater detail below (4.3.1).

USHMM's network extends to organisations and individuals in direct contact with the museum as well as those who are connected to the museum through an intermediary party. Other members of the network might be in the same industry or may be focused on a different sector of society, but they are connected through partnerships, collaborations, visitors, and programmes. A key characteristic shared by these links is the commonalities around shared goals and resources as well as the joint impacts of actions and decisions on the network members.

The Levine Institute programmes at USHMM provide a case study for how one such network develops, is structured, and evolves. The components of the focal network in this study includes organisational partners and participants in the programmes carried out as part of the Levine Institute for Holocaust Education, specifically Law Enforcement and Society (LEAS), Law, Justice and the Holocaust (LJH), the Civic and Defense Initiatives (CDI), and Bringing the Lessons Home (BTLH).[1] Figure 4.1 provides a visualisation of this network. The museum, through

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[1] It is important to clarify that the network discussed with these programmes is only a small portion of USHMM's larger network. USHMM is connected to historians, Holocaust survivors, student groups, schools, general visitors, the United States Government, tourism boards, and a myriad of other individuals and organisations, some of whom will not be touched upon in this research. Given the

the LEAS, LJS, CDI, and BTLH departments, connects to a wide range of actors in a variety of ways. The network includes participant groups such as the Washington DC Metropolitan Police Department, the US Naval Academy, and Immigration and Customs Enforcement. It also includes individuals such as former DC Chief Charles Ramsey and Sheila Polk, both of whom were involved in the founding of these programmes. Operational partners, such as Amnesty International which contributes to military training, or the Anti-Defamation League which co-leads the Law Enforcement and Society initiatives, are also connected. On a more removed note, the network also includes visitors, professional associations, researchers or government departments that work in a socially engaged manner and contribute to the museum's work. Each of these groups or individuals has different relationships with the museum and departments, and is either impacted by or impacts the museum with its actions or decisions. These connections build the network and contribute to the ways the museums exchanges resources and knowledge through network links. They also provide avenues through which the museum and their partners can actively address issues with which they are all concerned or impact the discussions at the heart of contemporary issues.

4.1.2 Networks and activist practice

Building on the development of activist practice in the previous chapter, there are a number of parallels between a network perspective and the evolution of activist practice, and the two concepts have been discussed together before. Within the context of museum relevance and social impact, scholars and practitioners have discussed the idea of a museum as a member of a network or group. Robert Janes talks about the "cluster concept" and imagines the "ecology" of museums which he defines as, "the broad web of societal relationships" that are essential to museum relevancy and survival (Janes, 2010, p. 333). Sobral discussed museums as, "part of a web of organizations that create the life of communities" (2005, p. 123). Museums have also been identified as having potential in networks, both globally and locally, because of their connections to objects, images and information (Heyman, 1997, p. 26). In a publication exploring a community based research project at the Japanese American

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socially engaged focus of this research, the Levine Institute network was the most informative in terms of answering the research questions.

National Museum, Hirabayashi et al discuss the reimagining of the museum that took place during the project. Although it is,

> natural to think of a building filled with artifacts and exhibits, we propose that a museum is actually a dynamic 'field'. That is, a museum entails a specific set of networks that revolve around people exchanging objects, ideas, skills, and so forth, with the aim of developing an exhibition and related educational materials, public programs and the like (Hirabayashi, et al., 2005, pp. 208-209).

Hirabayashi et al were looking largely at the networks that take place within the museum, but the links fostered through those networks connect the museum externally to various other actors as well.

Most recently, Jung and Love have looked at museums through the lens of 'systems thinking', the concept that the world is, "a complex, interdependent, and open web of things, people, and relationships that reside within the larger social, cultural, and natural environment that is continually in a state of flux" (Jung & Love, 2017, p. 3). The premise behind connecting museums with systems thinking is that, "museums will be better off when they operate as open, dynamic, and learning systems as a whole as opposed to closed, stagnant, and status quo systems that are compartmentalized and hierarchical" (Jung & Love, 2017, p. 3).

In this concept of the museum within a network, the museum expands on its established position as a social organization to become an active member of a much broader network. This opens a discussion around the complex interactions between the museum and other network actors as well as potential connections between issues. It also begins to expand the understanding of the potential impact a museum can have on the system in which its sits. While the museum may not be the sole creator of social change, its abilities to contribute to the creation of holistic solutions to the most complicated problems are unique and impact the direction and goals for both the organisation and those with whom they create relationships (West & Smith, 2005, p. 282). In this conception of a museum, importance lies with the unique capacities a museum can bring to the table around far-reaching social topics and may, ultimately, reframe the ways in which other actors see the museum as a potential partner. Here the museum is defined in part by its relationships with other groups and organisations, not only as an independent organisation.

In the case of the research at USHMM, the museum's participation in the network emerged as it became clear that the museum was actively working to spread

the values of tolerance and social responsibility inherent in its mission beyond those who might initially be seen as having direct ties to WWII and Holocaust history. The connections to and impact on the police, judiciary and military made it clear the museum had goals beyond only operating in connection to similar organisations. This was also made clear by the variety of the museum's approaches to the history and artefacts it holds. In addition to the chronological history in the museum, there are thematic sections of the exhibition that explore the responses of various nations and groups to the build-up and conflict of WWII, international politics, science and industry, art, resistance, children's experiences, religion, family, and a myriad of other entry points for discussions. By approaching its mission and the history as complex and multi-layered, the museum opens the possibility to a variety of unexpected contacts.

This ability of a museum to complicate and enrich representations, to show the many layers that can be found in objects and history, is part of what makes a museum a powerful source of new understanding (Sandell, 2017, p. 151). Indeed, Weil asserted that, "this almost unparalleled ability of objects to stimulate so diverse a range of responses seems to me the greatest strength of museums" (2002, p. 72). This is consistent with the findings during the field work when, regularly during interviews with staff, programme observations, and document reviews, the museum's perceived ability to provide unique experiences and perspectives on difficult subjects came back to the experience offered at the museum (Museum Staff 1 2015, Museum Staff 2 2015, Museum Staff 3 2015, Museum Staff 5 2015). Several of the staff saw the museum as unique in its ability to move beyond, "just taking information in and then trying to process it" (Museum Staff 2, 2015). Instead the museum tries to find the opportunities in interpretation and offer experiential moments of contact through discussions about the history (Museum Staff 1 2015, Museum Staff 2 2015, Museum Staff 4 2015). The museum is, "not a bunch of artefacts with a story, it's a story and the artefacts help tell it" (Museum Staff 2, 2015).

Here the museum is building on an established argument in the debate around museum relevance, that the message in the objects is just as important, if not more so than the objects themselves. This argument can be traced back at least as far as 1917 when John Cotton Dana made the argument that, "by no right in reason whatever is a museum a mere collection of things, save by right of precedent" (Dana, 1917/2004, p. 26). The traditional connection with objects and stories is part of USHMM's work, but

it expands on that traditional role to the connections that occur between diverse and perhaps seemingly unalike groups and stories, building the links that help situate the museum in broader social and cultural contexts. To do this it leverages the complex history, a diverse store of knowledge, and themes that connect to broader issues. In this way, the museum creates potential links with a wide variety of overlapping organisations and groups. These entry points provide ways to start identifying network members through the commonalities and complementarities described above (Porter, 1998, p. 4).

In their discussion of Tate Encounters and the link between art museum practice and the formations of national identity, Dewdney et al (2012) argue that opening a museum to the perspectives and values of a myriad of visitors and organisations, as well as framing the organisational operations in terms of the knowledge and practices of local networks, opens the museum's network and provides more robust, sustainable, and holistic views of diversity and the museum's role in society. The case of USHMM's Levine Institute programmes and the network in which they sit demonstrates how networks provide possibilities, whether in terms of new audiences, resources, or perspectives, by allowing resources and information to flow between members. The MAEW example opening this chapter also begins to demonstrate the opportunities provided by connecting with different groups, in this case specifically regarding mass atrocity response and prevention, as well as expanding the potential role the museum can play. More broadly, the USHMM case study begins to illuminate both why the museum is a valuable addition to a network and why the network is valuable to the museum. Understanding museum networks also has a role to play in understanding museums as active agents of social change. But how are these networks created, how are members identified, what are the structures of these networks, and what role does the museum play? To explore these questions, we will look at the networks surrounding the Levine Institute programmes.

4.2 USHMM Levine Institute programmes and their network

The leadership programmes in the Levine Institute at USHMM are a study in the evolving nature of partnership and network and, more broadly, the role museums can play in larger societal issues that reach far beyond their doors. Overviews of the structure of the programmes and the main workshops and sessions at the heart of this study were given in the introduction (1.3). The origins and evolutions of those

programmes, discussed here, begin to illustrate the forms networks can take, ways in which the museum connects with other network members, and why it is beneficial for both the museum and partners to form those links.

4.2.1 Programme origins and partners – Connecting to the network

Two of the main Levine Institute leadership programmes, Law Enforcement and Society (LEAS) and Law, Justice and the Holocaust (LJH), were initiated by demand from outside the museum. LEAS began after the Anti-Defamation League, an American national civil rights organisation, invited Former Washington DC Metropolitan Police Chief Charles Ramsey to visit USHMM. Ramsey was interested in the role German police had played in the social decline that led to WWII and the Holocaust, and he felt there were lessons in that history for police in contemporary American society. He felt the police were increasingly becoming enforcers instead of working with the communities in which they operated and he recognized potential in the story told by USHMM to address what he saw as a growing divide between police and community. For Ramsey, the history provided a way to address the complicated but crucial relationship between law enforcement and the public.

Similarly, LJH began when an outside individual recognized the potential in the history and resources held by the museum. In 2006, a museum donor from Arizona invited leaders from his community to participate in the police programme. These included church officials, judges, police officers and school officials. Sheila Polk, a prosecutor from Arizona recognized the implications a similar programme could have if tailored to the legal profession and requested that the museum create such a programme. In 2007 the museum created a programme for public prosecutors in Arizona. In 2008, the museum ran another such programme for judges. By 2009, the museum had a judiciary program for all chief justices in the country. Today's judiciary programme has evolved in terms of content and audience, but these early initiatives laid the foundation for what is now a programme exploring the bigger picture of the role of law and justice in preserving a democratic society (Museum Staff 3 & Museum Staff 5, 2015).

The current programmes in the Civic and Defense Initiative (CDI) have been created from both internal initiatives and external requests. One of the main programmes is a Saturday morning programme for cadets from the Naval Academy in Annapolis Maryland, about an hour from the museum. The programme developed

from an earlier programme in which a Holocaust survivor would visit military academies to speak with cadets and national Day of Remembrance programmes. As the museum recognized the impact of those talks and received feedback from cadets and professors, the museum expanded the programme to include a visit to the museum and the case study.

CDI has expanded well beyond the cadet programmes, both in response to internal recognition of the impact of the programme and external factors. The department now operates a variety of programmes for foreign military, senior executive training through the State Department, programmes at military educational institutions such as the Command and General Staff Colleges, the Army War College and the National Defense University, and the Mass Atrocity Prevention Workshop, described at the start of this chapter and run in conjunction with West Point's Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies.

4.3 Network structures

There are clearly exchanges of resources taking place in the programmes described above, whether in terms of time, knowledge, or expertise. The immediate impression is also one of the overlap in the themes addressed by the museum and the challenges faced by these groups. In these cases, the organisations are bringing together resources around a commonality. Networks are able to function because of overlaps like these between organisations that then translate into links between nodes. These overlaps can be type or field of business, clientele, functions, or territory, and can create networks that are, "tight or loose, depending on the quantity (number), quality (intensity), and type (closeness to the core activity of the parties involved) of interactions between the positions or members" (Thorelli, 1986, pp. 38-39). There is a balance to be struck, however, and while links must be prevalent enough to sustain the network, too many repeats in function will lead to competition and supersede existing capacities, decreasing opportunities for the exchange of complementary resources. Similarly, organisations looking to build networks must create structures that allow for the diversifying of relationships and resource sharing without sacrificing so much autonomy that exchanges overtake the identity or mission of individual members (Handy, 1990). Identifying, negotiating, organising and evaluating these overlaps and the resulting network is the subject of studies on network development and organisation (Gray 1989, Cummings 1984, Huxham & Vangen 2005, Austin &

Seitanidi 2012a, Austin & Seitanidi 2012b, Mirvis & Googins 2006). These studies explore how the partnerships are structured, the challenges faced and the motivations to connect.

4.3.1 Types of networks

There are a number of different organisational alignments that can be used to explore more deeply the relationships between organisations, such as museums and their partners, and how they work together. Three that begin to illuminate USHMM's network relationships are 'network', 'cluster', and 'alliance'. Network is a broader term that has been used in a variety of fields, including political science, economics, and organisational studies. Throughout this thesis I use the term network to describe the relationships between the museum and its partners. This is partly because network is a common term that evokes the sort of connections taking place in this case study. It is also because it is broad enough to allow for the incorporation of pieces of various definitions. By using 'network', we can return to the idea of 'commonalities and complementarities' used in organisational network studies while still stressing the characteristic of 'alliances' as described below. By drawing from the variety of definitions, we can explore the research to determine both how the museum affects a network and how the network affects the museum without having to reshape or exclude findings because they do not fit neatly into a pre-set definition. The specific concepts of 'cluster' and 'alliance', however, provide insight into characteristics that are helpful for identifying what is happening between USHMM and other groups.

'Cluster' is a term with a geographical connotation. There are various definitions for cluster that can be found in disciplines such as music and mathematics, as well as organisational studies, but generally a cluster is a group of single components that make up a whole. Clusters can comprise networks, but generally clusters are made up of organisations that are in a particular field and have an orientation towards a specific market (Bussmann, et al., 2014, pp. 18-19). As a result, there tends to be less diversity in clusters than other iterations of networks. Clusters have less bearing on our discussion of museums as we explore their role in social change, as I am more concerned with the exchange of intangible resources such as expertise and information than with tangible resources such as raw materials and marketable goods. They are important, however, in understanding what might initially draw members together.

Alliances emphasize the strategic focus in networks and enhance competitive strategies by allowing participating organisations to trade mutually beneficial resources such as technologies and skills (Bussmann, et al., 2014, p. vii). Alliances can be tight or loose in regards to the strength and distance between members, but co-operative relationships and the trading of resources are at the core of the structure (Kang & Sakai, 2000, p. 7). Additional characteristics of an alliance are that member organisations remain independent even after they have united to pursue an agreed upon goal, they share control over tasks, and each organisation contributes in one or more key areas of projects or goals (ibid). Membership in an alliance must also become a part of the larger strategy of member organisations, an important distinction of alliances and one that has meaning for our discussion of museums. The strategic plan, selection of partners, alliance plan and implementation schedules must all be factors in the broader direction taken by member organisations (Bussmann, et al., 2014, p. 30).

In the literature, alliances have special importance for the future as organisations strive to address increasingly global problems that require cross-border acting. These include ecological challenges, globalized competition for business and resources, and North-South economic conflicts (Gerybadze 1995, Bussmann et al. 2014, Wang 2013). In terms of museums, the impact of networks on strategy and organisational direction has been identified as a metric for measuring diversity and equality in a museum, as well as how it is situated in a society more broadly (Nightingale & Mahal, 2012, p. 13). The concept of alliances helps explain what we are beginning to see emerge in the programme origins above as the museum aligns its strategies and goals with other members and actively works to situate itself in larger discussions.

A network perspective allows us to examine the museum in a relational framework where actors and organisations are interdependent instead of isolating the museum as an autonomous agent. Structures are helpful in identifying how members interact, but regardless of structure, networks shift the scholarship from individual organisational goals to collective goal setting, single firm initiatives to linked or multi-organisational action agendas, and organisation-level leadership to multiparty leadership and coordinated efforts (Worley & Mirvis, 2013, p. xi). The sources of these overlaps also emerged during the fieldwork, including mission and complementary staff expertise.

4.3.2 Mission overlap

The first connection that stood out in the research that linked the museum with their network partners was the overlap in mission. Thorelli defines mission as, "domain (or scope) plus specific objectives to be attained within the domain" (Thorelli, 1986, p. 39). The unique capacities of each network member are the elements of that domain which the organisation can contribute to attain larger goals, whether they be services, clientele, function, territory or time. These different capacities are crucial for the division of labour necessary in successful networks (ibid).

Mission overlap becomes evident in the LEAS programmes. Beyond the exchange of resources described above, this programme is possible because in many respects USHMM and law enforcement are founded on and prioritize the same democratic values. Serving and protecting a democratic society is a key part of law enforcement's mandate as well as a theme that runs throughout the museum's exploration of Nazi Germany and the Holocaust. It is specifically relevant to the breakdown of pre-WWII German democratic society and the devolution towards an authoritarian regime. Although the ways in which the two organisations embody this objective of upholding and promoting democratic values are different, the overlapping values link the two groups together. Starting from a place of mutual understanding the museum is able to give a historical context to discussions around power, trust and authority, all of which are themes that touch the everyday operations of law enforcement. The overlaps in mission create avenues by which to examine common values from various perspectives, exploring how the values have changed, what actions match or support those values, and how they can be put into practice.

4.3.3 Staff expertise

If mission overlap is one of the 'commonalities' that provides a basis for a network to emerge between the museum and other organisations, expertise is one of the 'complementarities' that sustains the network once formed. At the start of each LEAS programme the museum facilitator stresses that the museum may be the expert in the history, but the officers participating are the experts in their profession. The participants bring the history presented by USHMM into the present and contribute to building relevant connections with the deeper issues the museum explores. The combination of museum and participant expertise moves the issues past specific dates

and events and helps pull out the 'why' behind the 'what'. These are the elements that allow the network to happen.

One example which demonstrates the overlap of both mission and expertise is the origin of the Mass Atrocity Education Workshop. This programme began when Dr David Frey arrived at West Point as an Associate Professor of History and realized that the college did not provide courses or training on genocide. In response, he created to Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, the museum's main partner in MAEW. The museum quickly became one of the Center's most important partners for a number of reasons. Primarily, the museum shares the Center's mission around the prevention of mass atrocities through the study and understanding of historical lessons. The complementary expertise of the military focus at the Center and the cultural lens at the museum allowed the two to create a programme around genocide that would be meaningful from both angles and serve both missions. Additionally, the museum's mandate and mission as well as its federal standing validate the museum as a legitimate and viable partner for the military which has strict requirements for partners. In terms of the workshop, however, the fact that the museum operates independently of the federal government meant that it had enough leeway to tailor programmes around the Center's and participants' specific needs. This is an example of finding a balance between the domain, values and mission that allow for a successful network structure.

4.4 The benefits of networks

We've touched briefly on the benefit of being involved in a network in regards to broadening the scope and reach of organisational initiatives (4.1) and these, as well as several other benefits, will be explored further in this section. Researchers credit networks with being able to increase trust, reduce transaction costs, spread the cost and risk of investment and innovation, combine resources, access diverse expertise, find common ground, explore new market opportunities, access cultural and socio-technical innovation and, 'forge relationships that transcend the perspective of a single organisation and address multiple stakeholders' interests' (Mirvis & Worley, 2013, pp. 20-21). The question might be demanded then as to why, if networks are so beneficial, do they still need to be promoted as viable structures. A 2012 Globescan/Sustainability survey of over 800 sustainability professionals in business, government, NGOs, academia and the media overwhelmingly found that these professionals believe companies need to collaborate with multiple actors to create sustainability. Yet the

survey also found a gap between the importance of collaboration (58%) and likely adoption of collaborative practices (30%). This can largely be attributed to perceived barriers to networks such as the absence of shared goals, lack of leadership, and lack of experience (Mirvis & Worley, 2013, p. 27). Clearly there is as much a need for network understanding and building as there is for the networks themselves.

The USHMM programmes begin to illuminate the value in networks and what might lead organisations to connect to networks despite initial reservations. Beyond the somewhat altruistic desire to address major societal issues and contribute to positive social change, there are also practical reasons for connecting with a network. Networks can help organisations survive resource shortages, contribute to the innovation and flexibility necessary to adapt to changing social and economic conditions, and provide means of responding to new industry requirements that an organisation might not be able to fulfil on its own. Despite the challenges of building networks, there are sufficient benefits and pressures to put networks together to overcome these challenges.

4.4.1 Resources exchange

One major benefit that emerged from the research, and one touched on already, is the idea that companies or organisations in networks have access to resources that they might not otherwise. This means organisations can apply themselves to issues that would otherwise be outside their immediate reach or, in tougher times, survive resource shortages (Wang, 2013, pp. 166-168). A common spark for collaboration found in the research was that an organisation in the network had a goal or a mission, whether in terms of its own growth or its place in the network, but faced a lack of available resources or expertise needed to fulfil that goal. The complex system of recognizing, preventing, and approaching mass atrocity, as described in the MAEW programme at the start of this chapter, is one example of such a goal. Ramsey's goal of building stronger relationships between the police and communities is another. In the above discussion of LEAS, Ramsey identified the museum as a potential network member because of its capacity to contribute specialized skills and knowledge to address an issue that was more complex than his organisation could approach on its own. The museum was able to provide resources, including historical perspectives, educational expertise, and other community connections, to which the police department did not otherwise have access.

The museum also benefited in terms of resources from its involvement in the network. While the museum and the participants can explore democratic values through the lens of history and their own experiences, the museum's ability to bring the discussion more broadly into the present is limited. As one member of staff said in an interview, the museum's approach to the broader issues touched in programmes must always come out of the history; the history should never be warped to fit the goals (Museum Staff 5, 2015b). While the history has a clear message for today, the museum must stay within a direct link to that history or it loses its authority. This is where other members of the network can support the museum and these goals, as seen in the museum's relationship with the ADL.

The ADL works with law enforcement in contemporary society and, as such, their presence strengthens the link between the museum history and contemporary issues. Like the museum and law enforcement, the ADL is also connected by the values of democracy, but based on their work they are able to further explore the contemporary relationships between law enforcement and communities. They build on the questions of roles and responsibilities introduced by the museum and explore the give and take between public safety and individual freedoms. The ADL provides another, deeper layer to the programme and allows the museum to expand their contributions by linking the history in the museum to the present. This link allows the museum to develop connections with organisations and subjects that might otherwise be beyond their scope. The programme opens up a relationship between the museum and both the police department and the ADL, broadening the museum's audience and their access to more diverse perspectives on the history in the museum (Museum Staff 3 & Museum Staff 5, 2015). This is why the network is so valuable for both the museum and the other members. Without the network, each individual organisation would be more limited as an effective member of change.

The challenge of resource exchange is of course the sharing of power that goes along with it. By contributing resources or sharing expertise, an organisation like USHMM submits to sharing some of its authority and power. This power sharing is central to understanding networks and can be beneficial. 'Power' is here defined as, "the ability to influence the decisions or actions of others" (Thorelli, 1986, p. 41). Within this focus on social impact, knowledge and expertise can be a source of power. Sharing power leads to interdependence between network members which allows organisations to form the strong connections necessary to confront the issues they

cannot take on alone and to adapt to a competitive and complex world (Worley & Mirvis, 2013, p. xi). In this context, "the flows of power and information may actually be more important than those of money and utilities" (Thorelli, 1986, p. 38).

Along with these benefits, however, power sharing can also be contentious and requires careful negotiation. It requires that organisations relinquish some of their own autonomy which can be problematic if they reach points where they do not agree with other network members. Partners may have different goals, different ideas of how resource use should be prioritized, or different ideas of what relationships with other groups should look like. A number of interviews at USHMM discussed the delicate negotiations that must happen between partners and the careful maintenance of those relationships. Networks are not easy keepers.

Ultimately, the broad goals seen in these leadership programmes are made possible by resource exchanges and power sharing, and provide opportunities for the museum to contribute to the explorations of new topics and allow participants to engage with topics in novel ways. This returns to the discussion of socially engaged practice in museums discussed in the previous chapter and the need to be able to leverage expertise and resources to connect with broader social issues as well as remain relevant. To survive fluctuations in economic, social, or cultural environments, organisations require the flexibility to adapt to new situations and must be able to respond quickly to demand (Bussmann, et al., 2014, p. 6). Multi-organisation networks and partnerships, in any of their forms, allow organisations to carry out tasks that are too costly or complicated for organisations to tackle on their own. Networks allow organisations to reinforce their weaknesses with the strengths of other companies and, in return, offer their strengths to bolster the weaknesses of others (Bussmann, et al., 2014, p. 7). By working together, organisations, including museums, are able to fulfil a much broader vision and survive fluctuations by tapping into each other's resources and expertise (Wang, 2013, p. 166). This leads to the next benefit, innovation.

4.4.2 Innovation

The second area that stood out in the research as a benefit coming from involvement in a network was innovation. In the examples above, Ramsey and Polk challenged the museum to see new potential in the history. The museum challenged police and judiciary to see the deeper value and implications of their relationships with the community. The result was innovation in the training in Ramsey and Polk's

respective fields as well as innovative approaches to understanding the role of law enforcement and judiciary in democratic societies.

Research has shown that organisations in networks have the ability to perceive the need for innovation earlier than those that are not (Bussmann, et al., 2014, p. 23). By establishing connections to organisations in diverse fields (alliances) and within the same domain (clusters), organisations are better positioned to see larger trends and demands from customers and users. Networks provide the basis for innovation by facilitating the flow of power, information, money and utilities along network lines, all of which open new possibilities (Thorelli, 1986, p. 39). Innovation also comes from network members challenging each other by introducing new ideas, goals, and metrics of success (Bussmann, et al., 2014, p. 24).

The recent rise in tensions between police and African American communities in the United States was reflected in a number of LEAS programmes and provides an example of an innovative approach to an issue, as well as the chance to see larger trends by connecting different perspectives within the network. Building on discussions of the roles and responsibilities of police in Nazi Germany, police in several observed programmes expressed pressure and concern around their roles as public officials today and the ways they carry out their responsibilities in a changing environment. This concern came up in a variety of sessions from various branches of law enforcement, but instead of addressing concerns in terms of 'who did what', the museum approached the issue through an exploration of the kind of relationship that exists between police and the communities they serve, how that relationship has changed, and who has responsibility to whom. USHMM, specifically the LEAS programme, thus becomes a place where the escalation of conflicts on the street could be situated in a larger context. In this case, the issue becomes an entry point for examining the foundational values, roles, and responsibilities of police in society more broadly. The museum's approach provides a new context for an on-going discussion as well as a new perspective in the discussion.

Attempts such as this to understand the deeper implications and relationships in circumstances are at the core of the LEAS programme. The museum facilitator encourages the exploration of the case studies and photos used in the programme through the eyes of both the participants' own experiences and what they think might have been the subjects' motivations. This highlights the importance of looking beyond actions to the values underneath and provides a way for police to open discussions

around difficult questions from a safe distance. They examine events that occurred on another continent and in another century, but remain close enough through the professional values and responsibilities to explore deeper meanings in the images. The facilitator asks questions such as, "Why do you think the policeman agreed to have an SS officer join him" and, "What message do you think the presence of police sends in this situation?" It becomes clear throughout the progression of the images and the history explored in the session that the 'what' of the law enforcement officers' jobs did not change dramatically. They were still keeping the peace, patrolling their beat, performing search and seizures, providing security, etc., but the 'why' behind their actions changed dramatically. This difference between what and why is the first major takeaway the facilitator presents at the end of the museum portion of the programme and one of the major results of approaching the subject through a combination of expertise.

The second deeper theme addressed in the programme is the issue of choice. Law enforcement officers in Nazi Germany did have choices and other options besides participating in the actions seen in the photos. Whether an individual liked those options or not was another story, but there were always choices. This message seemed to be the most surprising to participants as many of them expressed thoughts at the beginning of the session that police officers had to go along with the Nazi agenda or they would be punished for dissenting. The museum facilitators are clear in their emphasis that, historically, there are no records of repercussions if policemen had asked to be reassigned or quit their jobs. These two takeaways around underlying values and choice connect with discussions around contemporary issues in police-community relations. The museum's involvement offers another entry point and a historical lens to the issue.

In this way, the training received at USHMM differs from but also complements the officers' professional training. Instead of purely technical training, the museum opens debates into deeper motivations and encourages critical thinking by questioning preconceptions. This questioning is what the museum calls 'disequilibrium' (or the 'oh shit' moment, as one staff member labelled it) and establishes the museum as a source of change in the network (Museum Staff 4, 2015b). Disequilibrium will be explored in more detail in the next chapter, but it forms one of the major parts of the museum's capacity to use history to challenge assumptions and encourage innovation in how the museum, partners and participants approach issues

and answer questions. As such, it provides a component of training that participants might not otherwise encounter if focused on technical training, establishing the museum as a unique and valuable network member.

4.4.3 Evolving organisational roles

Increasingly complicated issues and demands on organisations are a major reason for both the creation and study of networks. Beyond demands on resources, these complex challenges also blur the traditional roles for government, private sector and civil society and require systems-wide approaches. 'What was once a reasonably clear division of responsibilities between the sectors with regard to society's economic progress, social welfare, and environmental protection now features overlap and interdependencies' (Mirvis & Worley, 2013, pp. 19-20). Instead of having to wait for new types of organisations to emerge, networks can provide the platform for the innovative and multi-directional approaches necessary for existing organisations to address complex problems holistically.

Museums' involvement in such networks has inspired a redefinition of what museums can be and the purpose they can serve. We have already seen this is in the previous discussion in regards to Gurian's (2010) concept of 'museum as soup kitchen' and Silverman's (2009) discussion of the social work of museums (3.3). In the case of USHMM, approaching history thematically, dealing with the broader issues raised by the history, and including different perspectives have shifted the role the museum plays in the network in which it sits. USHMM does not just provide information, but also helps partners think strategically in addition to operationally.

The inclusion of the bigger picture and long-term, strategic implications of actions and decisions emerged as one of the unique contributions USHMM made to the network. Many of the partners in the Levine Institute programmes are largely occupied by operational concerns and focus on operational training. The museum provides a space to include training around motivations as well as manoeuvres and for some of these organisations, such as the military and police, other opportunities for this kind of self-reflection are rare (Museum Staff 9, 2015a). Professors in attendance at the Mass Atrocity Education Workshop (MAEW), described in the opening to this chapter, spoke of a desire for cadets to realize they need to be 'educated, not just trained', indicating a fundamental re-examination of what a military academy does. Part of this re-imagination is connected to the museum. The discussions in the museum

programmes shift the focus from specific actions to the fibre of the system. This introduces a systems-wide approach to bridging the gap between day-to-day operations and the motivations and strategies that underpin long-term actions and relationships with other sectors of society.

4.4.4 Outside pressures

A final motivation for network creation that emerged from the fieldwork is outside influence. There is increasing demand from the public for organisations to be directly involved in social engagement, and 'check book philanthropy' is falling out of favour, giving way to direct engagement with social issues (Mirvis & Worley, 2013, p. 24). As seen in the previous chapter, social relevancy, particularly for museums, is closely tied to a museums ability to address these larger issues. In general, "today's definition of organizational excellence revolves around the common good, about doing the right thing, about effectiveness" (Koster & Baumann, 2007, p. 165). Networks come into play here because many organisations focus on core competencies and are either unwilling or unable to dedicate resources and staff to social engagement (ibid). By creating a network, organisations can engage in the sort of social responsibility work that is demanded of them and contribute to a common good while sharing both risk and responsibility (Mirvis & Worley, 2013, p. 20).

CDI provided insight into how external initiatives or requirements in a sector may drive organisations to create or join networks. These initiatives may demand innovation, as discussed above, or a reimagining of purpose that requires outside perspectives and joint efforts. In the case of the CDI programmes, Presidential Study Directive 10 (PSD 10), the Presidential Study Directive on Mass Atrocities provided just such an external factor. PSD 10 was the impetus for the Interagency Atrocities Prevention Board and Corresponding Interagency Review that began the process of bringing together diverse organisations to try to understand mass atrocities from multiple angles. This approach ultimately inspired programmes like the Mass Atrocity Education Workshop, described above.

PSD 10 starts with the assertion that "preventing mass atrocities and genocide is a core national security interest and a core moral responsibility of the United States" (Obama, 2011). PSD 10 was developed to help create a, "concerted and coordinated effort" to understand the complexity at the heart of sources of and solutions to mass atrocity (ibid). The goal is to create a way in which the government can engage in

recognition and prevention before, "the menu of options has shrunk considerably and the costs of action have risen" (ibid). Included within the mandate of PSD 10 are understanding and identifying triggers for prevention strategies, developing early warning assessments, and, "identifying how we can better support and train our foreign and armed services, development professionals, and build the capacity of key regional allies and partners, in order to be better prepared to prevent and respond to mass atrocities or genocide" (ibid). As such, PSD 10 has been a major motivating force in developing CDI initiatives as well as expanding the museum's branch known as the Center for the Prevention of Genocide.

PSD 10 requires a multi-agency, networked process, and the museum is a natural fit for that approach. Understanding and recognizing mass atrocity, particularly when it comes to the ethical and moral perspectives for government and armed services, fit the museum's mission, the history told in the museum, and existing programmes for military cadets. The existing network, and the resource exchanges and innovation encouraged by it, allowed both the museum and other members to recognize these capacities. The inclusion of PSD 10 goals from other network actors prompted expansions within USHMM's programmes, including the Mass Atrocity Education Workshop. PSD 10 has not only contributed to the expansion of the museum's military programming, but its emphasis on genocide prevention has also helped to define the museum's direction and niche in the network. As a result, the museum's network has expanded to include other organisations with an interest in genocide prevention and the capacities the museum can bring to the table have become more defined, as we shall discuss next.

4.5 Redefining USHMM as a node in a network

Looking at the museum as part of a network changes the lens through which we define the organisation. Objects and specific history are valuable and unique, but the network lens shifts the focus to the museum capacities and relationships. The origins and structures of the museum's programmes begin to demonstrate how the museum operates within the context of connections between the issues that touch both the history in the museum and the roles and responsibilities of the programmes' audiences. The museum becomes an active and influential member of the network, providing a unique combination of capacities including, space, knowledge, time, and freedom to explore complicated topics (Museum Staff 1, 2015, Museum Staff 2, 2015). Beyond

these resources, two main capacities that emerged when this network identity and role came to the surface. These defined a unique niche for the museum and were the ability to detect shifts in values or concerns of the other network members and the ability to draw together the other actors.

4.5.1 Gauging trends

Studies find the public sector, of which museums are a part, "to be far more knowledgeable about social needs and more effective at planning social action than business" (Mirvis & Worley, 2013, p. 24). The key messages in museums that can resonate across disciplines and the museum's ability to act as a constant between various groups allows the museum to operate as a gauge of sorts, measuring the shifts in public sentiment around the subjects touched upon by museum programmes and exhibitions.

In the example with LEAS above, that gauge worked to see the tensions between public safety and individual freedom that exists between law enforcement and the public (Museum Staff 2, 2015). Defining a network based on democratic values also created a direct link between law enforcement, USHMM and the ADL, three organisations that might not initially seem to operate in the same domain. Because of this network, law enforcement gains new perspectives and new understandings on an issue that initially may seem limited to their profession. The network allows ADL to expand its touch points in the community and ways of communicating its mission. Finally, the network provides an opportunity for the museum to connect and develop as a resource, but crucially, it also redefines the museum as a node in the network, not just as a bystander. It also brings to the surface capacities, such as the ability to read the state of the network, that would otherwise go unrecognized.

4.5.2 Power to convene

This ability to connect with various groups takes on a different function as the museum becomes more established in the network. As the museum develops its relationships with other network members, it not only creates its own connections but it develops the ability to pull together a range of other members within that network who might share commonalities. To describe this ability to connect various other actors in a network I have adopted a term used both within USHMM and the US Federal Government, and call it the museum's 'power to convene.' Power to convene, in the

sense of the federal government, means the ability to call together public and private entities around common subjects.[2] It is also used within the context of government actions to reference the idea that stakeholders with diverse interests can band together to harness the strengths of all actors around a common goal (Swift, et al., 2013). Given that USHMM is a federal organisation, these official meanings apply, but the term can also be expanded beyond these governmental meanings to highlight the museum's strength in bringing diverse groups together around a common subject. The authority of the museum, not just in terms of its federal standing but also in terms of the expertise and the depth of the history, gives the museum a certain authority to connect actors that may not initially seem linked. These actors may not have contact outside of these museum initiatives, not necessarily because of diverging interests but simply because their immediate networks do not overlap. The museum again takes the place of node by illuminating the links that exist but are not utilized. Recognizing how a network member, here USHMM, might have the power to convene other members begins to define the network as a dynamic system with movement and exchanges. In this case, it also begins to expand and complicate the museum's role in the network, demonstrating that network involvement is a process.

4.6 Chapter conclusion

As one staff member said, it takes a mature conception of self to develop a network (Museum Staff 4, 2015b). It requires that each organisation look closely at their strengths, weaknesses, and core values and understand where they will be stronger with input from other organisations (Bussmann, et al., 2014, p. 7). This leads to the next stage of analysis regarding the network between the museum and other actors: positioning.

The museum establishes links based on commonalities between its domain and mission and the domains and missions of other organisations or groups. These network links provide pathways through which network members, including the museum, are able to exchange resources, products, and strategies, shifting from an autonomous perspective to a relational one (Worley & Mirvis, 2013, p. xi). These capacities and exchanges lead to collective goal setting and multi-organisational action agendas as network members are able to identify and respond to issues that require interdependent

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[2] The traditional use of 'power to convene' is in reference to President's ability to convene Congress

and systemic coordinated activities. The network allows member organisations to address the, 'big picture', but the development of the network does not stop there (Mirvis & Worley, 2013, p. 4). Questions now emerge around strategic planning and partnership structures, and this is where the "mature conception of self" really comes into play. As the museum engages in more complex networks and begins to better understand its own strengths and weaknesses, it has the opportunity to take an increasingly central role in those networks. This evolution from periphery to centre, and the ability of the museum to take on an increasingly crucial network-building role, is the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 5 – Network position: From periphery to centre

So far in this dissertation we have explored the frameworks and motivations for the creation of networks in which the museum might sit, including both mission overlap and resource exchange. This chapter goes one level deeper and explores how those exchanges take place and the impact they have. The dynamics of the network have an influence on both the structure of the network and the individual members, here the museum. The organisations in the network evolve throughout their interactions with other members, developing and strengthening linkages and aligning value systems (Mangiofico, 2013, p. 42). USHMM is no exception and as the network becomes more prominent in the museum's work, the museum also becomes more embedded in the network. The development and expansion of the programmes, as discussed above, is one way of approaching this evolution, but there is another subtler change happening. Throughout fieldwork observations and interviews it became clear that through its involvement in partnerships, networks, and collaborations, USHMM was moving from a peripheral position in the network to a more central one.

This chapter will explore evidence of the observed shift in USHMM's position from periphery to centre, including operational developments, staff expertise, the museum's role in different programmes, and the evolution from reactive to proactive responses to need in the network. The shift from periphery to centre, while clarifying some directions and goals, has also sparked new debates in the organisation, including identifying metrics of success and the most efficient points of impact. This shift opens discussions around the museum roles, influence, and relationships and, while the specific debates explored here are unique to USHMM, they are valuable as part of a larger examination around museums as active agents of change.

5.1 Network position

Organisations that enter into a network must find their position in relation to other members. Position determines power in creating and influencing the network, including with whom organisations connect and how they exchange information and resources. Positioning is also fluid. It evolves along with the network and depends on the repositioning of other organisations to accommodate new members (Mangiofico, 2013, p. 41). Thorelli identifies three main determining factors of position: "the

domain of the company (indicating its role in the division of labour), the position of the company in other networks, and the power of the company relative to other participants in the focal network" (1986, p. 40). A position determines the quality and quantity of connections and it follows that the greater the connections and the greater the power, or influence, the more central the actor. As organisations become more central they gain more influence, but they also gain more awareness of the, "situation, problems and priorities of other network members" and can become more valuable as contributors and resources for other members (Thorelli, 1986, p. 41).

In network theory, centrality can be determined by a measure of 'degree'. 'Degree' indicates the number of ties attached to an actor (or edges attached to a node as described in section 4.1). Actors with a particularly high degree can be identified as hubs (Newman, 2010, p. 9). This thesis starts from a focus on the museum, but when viewing the network described thus far in terms of degrees and hubs, the museum becomes a central actor. A network visualization, such as Figure 5.1 below, can provide insight into the structure and centrality of actors. In this visualisation, the actors are represented by circles, grouped together by colour. The museum, specifically the branches of the Levine Institute, are represented centrally in blue. The size of the circles indicates both the degrees, or number of ties it holds with other actors, as well as their involvement in the network in terms of programme development and operation. Larger circles, therefore, have larger roles to play in the network described in this thesis.

By placing the museum in such a model, it becomes clear that not only is the museum linked to a wide variety of actors, but that the museum has the capacity to serve as a conduit between those that might not otherwise be connected. Using the model below, it is possible to trace existing connections as well as potential or strengthening connections that arise through links with the Levine Institute. For example, the ADL is already connected to a variety of law enforcement branches, but the connection to the museum provides an additional commonality with those groups who share the ADL's concern with the role of law enforcement in a democratic society. Following the theory that more links mean a stronger or more influential standing, this further path of connection strengthens the ADL's position. Additionally, however, the ADL is now only two steps away from a range of other groups through the Levine Institute, such as cadets and student leaders, who might also share their values and goals. In this instance connection to the museum can begin to define a common

community. These connections also allow for clusters and communities to be defined within larger networks as, "the way a network breaks down into communities can reveal levels of concepts of organisations that are not easy to see without network data, and can help us understand how a system is structured" (Newman, 2010, p. 11). These connections can have implications for actors such as the ADL or cadets, but also the museum as it recognizes its ability to draw others together, recalling the power to convene introduced at the end of the previous chapter (section 4.5.2). This recognition then impacts how the museum functions strategically and operationally, both internally as well as in connection with other network members.
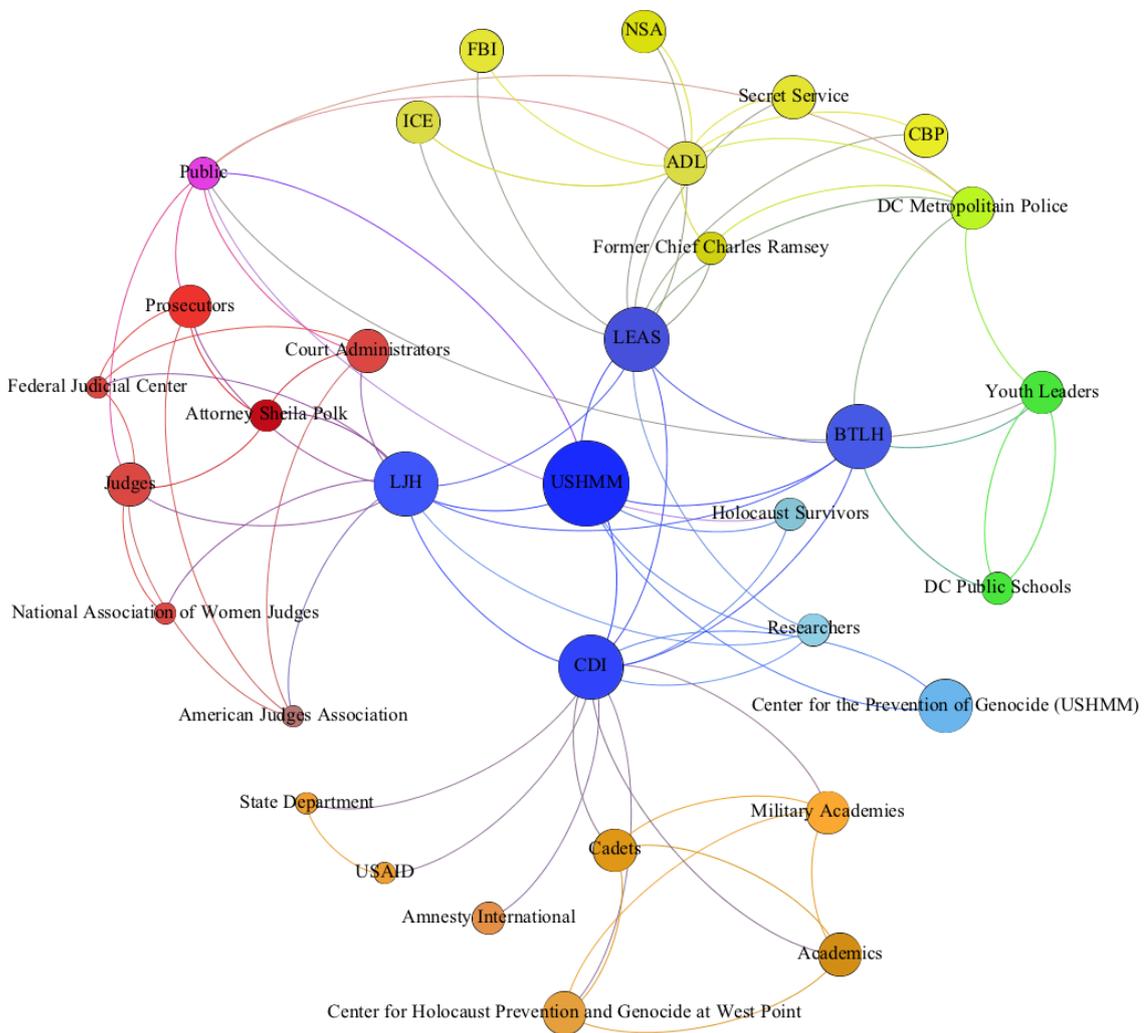
Figure 5.1: USHMM as a central hub
The Levine Institute Leadership Programs Division network is here reimagined with the museum as the central component

5.2 Operational developments: evidence of a shift

The initial evidence for the museum's shift from periphery to centre came from observing changes in the way USHMM approached its own role in relation to goals, partners, and values. It became clear that the awareness of the different roles the museum could fulfil in the network, as explored in the previous chapter (4.5), was impacting the museum's strategic approach to its own operations and relationships with both partners and society more broadly. The areas where this became most evident were, the development of a 'theory of change', discussions around defining success, emerging emphasis on identifying leaders, and a growing range of staff expertise.

This is reminiscent of the concept of alliances in the previous chapter (4.3.1). Throughout the fieldwork the museum was, whether intentionally or not, exploring a variety of ways in which to structure exchanges of information and power with other network members, examine roles and responsibilities of each organisation, and examine what it really means to affect change from a network perspective. These shifts all point towards a new awareness of not just the fact that the museum is in a network, but that the museum is becoming increasingly central to achieving larger goals within that network. The operational developments explored here demonstrate how the network is becoming embedded in the museum's functions and lead to an understanding of the reciprocal action of the museum becoming more embedded in the network.

5.2.1 Theory of change

At USHMM one of the main operational elements to emerge as an indicator of the shift from periphery to centre is the museum's 'theory of change'. This theory was implicit for many years and only became explicit at USHMM in the past five or six years. Like the origins of several of the Levine Institute programmes, the theory of change originated with an external demand (Museum Staff 1, 2015). It was created at the request of a donor who asked the museum to articulate how the organisation believed change happened through its programmes.

The theory of change operates in conjunction with the mission, serving as a guiding framework for how the mission can be carried out. If the mission defines the museum's mandate and the areas of focus in terms of subject matter and goals, the theory of change helps the museum to define how it achieves those goals and where it

is most impactful (Museum Staff 2, 2015). If the mission is the 'what', the theory of change is the 'how'.

USHMM's theory of change is three pronged, comprising of 'literacy, disequilibrium and relevance,' and attempts to define how the museum feels they best move visitors and participants from having an interest in the history to seeing relevance in that history for their own lives and decisions. The first component, 'literacy,' is understanding and becoming familiar with the history. Literacy is often the product of the history portions of each programme, including tours through the exhibitions, case studies, presentations, or historical documents. This is the first stage in a progression as it lays the foundation for a deeper understanding that will follow through examining and questioning the themes in the history.

The second prong is 'disequilibrium' and occurs when the museum challenges existing assumptions about the history. Disequilibrium is an important part of a museum's capacity as a social change agent because it provokes "reflective deconstruction of identities" (Bodo, 2013, p. 185). The role of disequilibrium is not to alienate or make participants uncomfortable. It is to challenge the established understandings of history and practice and encourage alternate approaches to contemporary issues and the complex motivations behind them. It is important that moments of disequilibrium are always rooted in the history and are not judgements on participants' own actions or what they do or do not know. New information and questions then emerge, as well as the recognition of diverse perspectives.

At USHMM disequilibrium often occurs as part of the in-depth exploration of the history. An example of disequilibrium can be seen in the judiciary programme. Participants generally assume that the judges in Nazi Germany who were not Nazi party members themselves upheld Nazi legislation and passed down rulings favoured by the Nazi party because their lively-hood and possibly their lives would have been in danger if they dissented. In reality, there is no record of any judge being forcibly removed from his/her position or sent to a prison camp for not enacting or supporting Nazi law. The closest to that is the story of a judge who declined to sign an oath of loyalty to Hitler and was simply moved to a smaller, more rural jurisdiction. The museum staff running the programme stress that Hitler had even put in place legislation stating that no comments or rulings made by a judge on the bench could be used as cause for removal from their position. The Nazis did not want to revamp the legal system. They wanted their social agenda to go through what they saw as legal and

legitimate avenues, which meant maintaining established civic bodies, including the legislature.

Based on fieldwork observations and staff interviews, many programme participants are surprised by these facts and disturbed that the motivations of the judiciary carrying out laws that ultimately resulted in the Holocaust were not fears for the safety of themselves or those close to them, but mundane and ordinary, coming much more from an interest in preserving status and personal comfort than upholding justice. The revelation complicates what they think they know about their parallel profession in Nazi Germany and demonstrates disequilibrium.

The third prong, 'relevance,' occurs when participants begin to see how the history and themes covered are relevant to their own lives, the decisions they make, and the relationships they create with those around them. When these three things happen, the museum feels it moves people to a clearer awareness of their own roles and responsibilities in contemporary society and the importance of understanding history. The theory here is that when participants have their assumptions challenged they begin to ask questions which opens the door for self-reflection. In this type of questioning and then reforming of assumptions and knowledge, the museum uses identity as a starting point rather than perceiving it as a fixed or solid state (Bodo, 2013, p. 189).

To return to the example from the judiciary programme, the revelation about the lack of coercion in the Nazi judiciary opens the door for contemporary judges to examine their own motivations and values, the values of the system in which they work, and their roles and responsibilities to the society and public they serve. I cannot say from my observations whether these moments of relevance last long beyond the session, and that is the subject of on-going museum evaluations. Based on those studies the style of programme does seem to have lasting impact. An evaluation carried out for the similar Law Enforcement and Society Programme found that over 70% of police officers who had attended a programme at the museum still found the programme to be impactful five years after attending (Museum Staff 3, 2015). The museum feels that the experience for audiences and participants is most impactful when they move through progression of literacy, disequilibrium and relevance and this seems to be supported by ongoing evaluations (Museum Staff 2, 2015).

In addition to identifying the process in which the museum operates, one of the goals for the theory of change is to unify the organisation around an articulated conception of socially engaged practice and participant engagement. The theory of

change lays out 'change' as a goal, defining the museum as an active agent in the network as opposed to a passive observer, and therefore provides a guide for how to approach institutional goals. The mission helps to define initiatives with the purview of the museum's mandate, but the theory of change allows departments to coordinate efforts more concretely around affecting change. Through the theory of change, the museum approaches mission through process instead of specific outcomes.

The theory of change demonstrates how the museum is beginning to see its own work as impactful on larger initiatives to challenge dominant norms that are socially oppressive or limiting. By incorporating a framework like the theory of change, the museum is incorporating that awareness into their own operations. Strategy and actions are now partly defined by their connection to and impact on partners. This a network oriented attitude and one that becomes apparent in other areas of the museum operations as well.

5.2.2 Connecting departments

An awareness of network involvement and objectives also impacts the day to day functioning of the museum, including the ways departments are connected and interact. As museums move to a more network oriented approach, there is a challenge to, "evaluate…organizational structure and to consider the relationship between internal structure and external goals" (Hein, 2013, pp. 70-71). Throughout the research, there were several examples of departments connecting around broad strategies and outward facing aims as opposed to following traditional divisions around individual projects or responsibilities. For example, the exhibition and the education teams have staff that straddle the two departments, and the departments work closely together to establish thematic as opposed to strictly historical messages within exhibitions. They focus on message and impact, combining their research and experiences to understand the perspectives people might bring with them when they come into an exhibition and how to move these visitors to question assumptions and towards new understandings. The departments also work together to connect with partners who know the local environment and establish inclusive definitions of the 'community' they aim to reach (Museum Staff 12, 2015). In this example, and broadly throughout the museum, literacy, disequilibrium and relevance become the purview of all departments instead of just one and, therefore, link them together. Of course,

different departments have individual responsibilities, but the connection between them means they fulfil those responsibilities with an eye towards a bigger picture.

Another example of the museum unifying around a broader network strategy is USHMM's strategy for the new digital presence which was being developed during the fieldwork. A number of different departments needed to contribute to the new digital platform and each had their own expertise and ideas, whether in terms of technology, content, layout, etc. A network awareness and its embodiments, such as the theory of change, helped these departments coordinate their various skills around the goal of "being provocative", a goal which emerged from the idea of the museum as an active agent (Museum Staff 1, 2015). In this example, relevancy and impact have come to the forefront, shifting the museum away from merely presenting history to emphasising why the history has meaning today and how it can be seen in a larger context (Museum Staff 2, 2015). These exchanges across departments is reminiscent of Jung and Love's assertion that, ""museums will be better off when they operate as open, dynamic, and learning systems as a whole as opposed to closed, stagnant, and status quo systems that are compartmentalized and hierarchical" (Jung and Love, 2017, p. 3).

5.2.3 Getting to Point B

A network perspective is also present in on-going operational discussions around outcomes and the question of whether change is a linear progression with clear beginning and end points or a process without a pre-determined finish. For some in the organisation, both in administrative and operational roles, change implies a movement from Point A to Point B. If the museum's goal is to affect a system or a network, then there needs to be an outline for what that impact looks like. Those who argue for Point B claim that a defined outcome is an inherent component of change and necessary for demonstrating the museum's worth, both to partners and donors (Museum Staff 13, 2015). Those on the other side of the debate question how the museum can identify such a point in a complex and evolving society, or if one even exists (Museum Staff 4, 2015b, Museum Staff 6, 2015). They also argue that it would be impossible to attribute an arrival at Point B solely to the museum, as the museum is part of a broader network of change (Museum Staff 9, 2015b). The museum does not operate in isolation and a myriad of factors impact visitors and participants. From a network perspective, to argue for Point B over simplifies the museum's contribution and detracts from the importance of the process of change.

The Point B debate can also be seen in difficulties defining metrics of success (Museum Staff 9, 2015a). Law Enforcement and Society, for example, does not list 'fewer citizen complaints against the police' as one of its goals, although that might be a metric of measuring stronger relationships between police and the public. Instead, the goal is to contribute to a robust and sustainable relationship, a more process oriented goal, albeit one that is hard to define. The museum does not have the expertise to identify the metrics of how that relationship is best measured, but the museum does have the ability to raise questions as part of the process of challenging participants to look at that relationship in ways they might not have before. The museum's goal in these programmes is to be provocative, raise awareness and challenge assumptions, not dictate answers.

The question of Point B is largely about how open-ended programme results can be and the challenge of moving away from a linear cause and effect perspective. This is another theme that is also reflected in the literature around networks and how organisations work together towards end goals. Complex adaptive systems is a framework in which this flexibility and responsiveness to changing contexts is a central tenant. These systems are based on complexity theory, an idea with its origins in science which states that although the natural world appears to be full of haphazard phenomena and chaotic events, there are actually complex and recurring patterns to be found (Brown, 2002, p. 8). This theory has been adopted by those looking at organizations to describe the, "independent but dynamically interacting agents that create results that cannot be predicted by an analysis of the cause and effect relationship" (ibid). The complexity perspective allows us to look at the interactions and knowledge produced in organizations in regards to an organisation's response to emergent dynamics and complex environments (Mangiofico, 2013, p. 37). 'Emergent behaviour' here refers to, "unfolding behaviour and interactive patterns that occur as a result of on-going mutual influences of the people involved as they work together" (ibid). Because, according to this theory, context is ever changing, it prohibits us from predicting the future for both individual organisations and the network and would eliminate a pre-defined "Point B" as described above. Instead of defining organisations or actions based on past results or experiences, the complexity perspective looks at the results of interactions within the current context and tolerates a level of uncertainty.

Of course, complex adaptive systems also comes with great challenges. There are ever-present chances for disruption in the complexity network as boundaries and

roles shift with the context. As a result, creating stability in the network is a constant priority. Common patterns, called 'attractor patterns', will emerge to help maintain some stability, but those attractor patterns are not permanent (Mangiofico, 2013, p. 41). This is where the aligned value systems, mentioned in the previous chapter, can come into play to stabilize the network. Patterns such as the qualities of success, resources that prove to be particularly valuable, and educational strategies that are impactful, are also carried between programmes and over time and can stabilise relationships and processes.

Applying complexity theory is not to say that partnerships or networks are absent planning or strategy, and there is still a strong role for research, evaluation and goal setting. Complexity theory does mean that less tangible resources, such as relationships and dialogue, can be identified as valuable tools for building sustainability and necessary for network success (Mangiofico, 2013, p. 42). The challenge remains, however, to define roles and outcomes without a precise structure or endpoint. Within museums, this means conceiving of where the museum might lie in the, "wider creative and cultural aspirations of users" (Antrobus, 2009, p. 4).

Discussing Point B with some of the museum staff also brought up a fear that, if Point B became a metric of success, the museum would become positivist in its programming, striving only for specific outcomes and ignoring the depth of change and the complexity of both the history and the contemporary issues they look to address (Museum Staff 6, 2015). The capacity to get beyond the superficial symptoms of social issues, to find the why behind the what, is part of the belief in why the museum is an important contributor to the network in which it sits and to the issues it addresses. To narrow down the outcome of programmes such as those in the Levine Institute to a specific action or change in behaviour would work against the very strengths the museum seeks to leverage as a member of the network.

The concept of looking at broad trends and processes instead of specific steps, however, raises a further question as to whether being part of a process is enough. Is it enough to plant a seed of change? In museum terms, is that what activist practice is? And if so, how to does one demonstrate the important of the museum's impact in the larger process of social change to donors, potential partners, and participants? A focus on process, instead of tight "mechanical functions," can allows the freedom to explore new perspectives and can lead to the "reflective deconstruction of identities" explored

earlier (Bodo, 2013, p. 185). It can also cause uncertainty and ambiguity that can be uncomfortable or difficult to defend.

The tension between end-point and process is one of the major challenges associated with carrying out activist practice, as well as an indicator that there is an awareness in the museum of network processes beyond solely the museum's actions. The most common perspective I heard while carrying out research, from all levels of staff interviewed, is that Point B can't be identified as a specific action or behaviour, but perhaps it is an awareness of how the history relates to what individuals do every day, a quality of self-reflection (Museum Staff 2, 2015, Museum Staff 3, 2015, Museum Staff 4, 2015b, Museum Staff 6, 2015). The question still remains as to how to prove that the qualities of awareness and self-reflection are valuable, but from the perspective of many in the museum Point B does not need to be a specific change in behaviour. To limit it as such overly simplifies the impact of the programmes and goals of the museum.

5.2.4 Identifying leaders

Another operational debate that develops when the museum moves from the periphery to the centre and becomes more aware of network position is around where the museum is most impactful, specifically in terms of its touch points or entry points into the network and the types of connections that are best for facilitating the sharing of knowledge and resources. One of the evolutions in the Levine Institute programmes is a developing focus on 'training the trainers' in order to create a more system-wide impact. This has come from an awareness of a process of change, as above, and from the outward focused perspective that comes from embedding a network mentality into the organisation's strategy.

For CDI, the military branch of the museum, training the trainers is an important part of integrating the museum into the network. CDI's ultimate goal is to become incorporated into the military structure and they are doing that through a three-pronged approach within the military education system. The first prong is direct training strategies, including identifying audiences, trying new resources, and building relationships. The second element is developing resources that are relevant to military training, including those made with the participation of partners as well as in connection with other museum departments. The final prong is training the trainers which will embed the museum into future developments in military approaches to

genocide prevention, human rights, ethics, and leadership, all of which have a connection to the museum's history and mission and are areas the museum is uniquely positioned to impact (Museum Staff 9, 2015a).

'Training the trainer' largely hinges on whom the partners and the museum identify as leaders with the ability to affect the system. For some, leaders and leadership are defined by positions. Leaders are those who hold the authority in an organisation and can be defined by titles, ranks, or the like. The museum identifies these top-down leaders as 'active agents' and they allow the museum to operate with a visible and powerful 'believer in the other camp' (Museum Staff 1, 2015). One staff member described this approach as 'hooking yourself to a star' (Museum Staff 7, 2015). On the other side of the spectrum, leadership is a quality defined by actions and connections as opposed to title or rank. In this view, we can conceive of a cadet in the military as a leader just as we might a general.

Perhaps it is overly simplistic to try to define leadership as one or the other, and the museum looks at both types when it structures its programmes. There is still, however, an internal discussion as to where to place the emphasis as the definition of leader or leadership defines how the museum approaches other organisations and the network. If the museum targets leaders defined by title and rank, then the museum goes into the network from the top down. If, however, leadership is an action and a perspective, then the museum connects to a system from the bottom up (Museum Staff 9, 2015b).

There are strengths and weaknesses associated with each definition of leadership and the coinciding means of connecting with an organisation. A benefit of the top-down approach is that it allows for a faster integration between the museum and partner organisations. This is demonstrated by the origins of the LEAS programmes when former DC Metropolitan Police Chief Ramsey saw the value of the lessons at USHMM for the police force. Because he had the formal authority to do so, Ramsey was able to quickly establish a relationship between the museum and get programmes up and running as part of police training. In this case, Ramsey was the 'active agent' or the 'star' and the museum was a recipient of an offer to connect.

In some cases, it might be an appropriate to wait for an 'active agent' to appear. Some in the museum expressed concern that if the museum marketed itself as a change agent and became an instigator it might alienate important community groups (Museum Staff 7, 2015). From this perspective, it is appropriate for the organisations to take a

receptive role and wait until one of these stars approached the museum. The museum can still take a central role from this perspective because the buy-in from one of these 'active agents' can move the museum to the centre if it is identified as a crucial partner. A downside of this approach, however, is it can place the museum on the back foot waiting for one of these active agents to appear and without a way to communicate its value. Approaching a system exclusively from the top down, where the museum is largely at the mercy of those with more power, limits the museum's ability to share power and decision making with other network members. In addition, this approach becomes less tenable as the museum moves towards the centre of the network and looks to exercise more influence as a decision maker. Waiting puts the museum on the outside of the action and only connecting when the decision makers on the inside reach out.

The bottom-up approach to leadership allows the museum to move towards a part of the network where structures are less rigid, individuals are still forming ideas, and 'leadership' may take a different form (Museum Staff 2, 2015). A benefit of this approach is the ability to connect with future leaders who are still forming their opinions and approaches and where, perhaps, there are more ongoing discussions around defining values. This was evident in the military workshops, specifically MAEW in which professors described the cadets they teach struggling with big decisions they will have to make in their careers and the ways in which the USHMM programmes and materials contributed to discussions around those responsibilities. Top tier leaders, such as military generals, might be harder to influence or more set in their ways whereas cadets are still in the process of making sense of some of the complicated issues they will face (Museum Staff 9, 2015b). Of course, there are exceptions to this rule, but the bottom-up approach ultimately allows the museum to connect with partners on a more fundamental level, becoming a more integrated component of training and learning. If one of the museum's goals, here specifically the CDI branch, is to become an integrated component of military training, reaching individuals who are embedded in that training, whether the cadets or those who have direct contact with those cadets, creates a broader touch than through a single top-down entry point.

Another benefit of this bottom-up approach is the ability to create deeper cultural shifts that can support shared values and positive social change. For example, during the MAEW workshop, there was a long discussion around 'red-teaming' and

how to create a channel for productive dissent in the military, no easy feat in an organisation that is built on following orders. This concept is illustrated by the system in the Supreme Court of the United States in which dissents are written in response to the majority decision. Dissents are not written to overturn the decision, but they offer an alternative view. The goal here is not to reward dissent or break chains of command, but to encourage counter-intuitive thinking and creative solutions from a wider variety of military officers.

In MAEW, the discussion around facilitating an open channel for dissent came from the military case studies USHMM uses to explore the role of the military and the choices officers had in carrying out orders they felt were illegal or immoral. The question of what to do with these types of orders is still an issue that occurs today, even more so in a world where military decisions have to be made quickly, often in real time on the battlefield without the checks and balances created by traditional chains of command. Several professors in attendance at MAEW related instances in their classrooms in which cadets expressed questions and concerns about how they can or should respond to situations in which they are called upon to make a decision not normally made by someone of their rank or when they are unsure about the ethical or legal implications of orders. The sort of mission command change needed to address these issues would require a shift in military culture and ultimately require the acceptance of commanders. Here it starts, however, with shifting the cultures of the cadets themselves, giving them the knowledge and critical thinking skills they need to evaluate, not just carry out orders. Perhaps they carry this with them when they themselves become generals.

This returns to the theory of complex adaptive systems and the opportunities to move away from linearity and hierarchical rules frequently monitored through strict cause and effect predictions. Complex adaptive systems recognizes what Brown calls the 'paradox of innovation': the need to tolerate uncertainty and ambiguity while trying to find solutions to the causes of that very same uncertainty (Brown, 2002, p. 5). Doing so gives networks the flexibility and connection with current contexts to respond and engage with emerging dynamics and learning as they occur (Mangiofico, 2013, p. 37). Additionally, moving away from hierarchical structures and encouraging informal leaders and self-organizing groups has the potential to stimulate creativity and address increasingly complex issues (Janes & Sandell, 2007, p. 5).

There is also opportunity in complex systems to integrate disparate groups as these groups are defined more on their present responses to context as opposed to past histories. Instead of looking at organizations as entities, they are to be viewed as processes of unexpected patterns that will lead to innovation (Stacey & Griffin, 2008, p. 1). Applying complex adaptive systems to this case helps demonstrate that a fundamental aspect of the museum's role in the process of addressing social issues is, "innovation, inclusive thinking, and the persistent questioning of the status quo" (Janes, 1997, p. 83). It is in the nature of complex systems to change and museums have the potential to deal with the myriad of resulting perspectives, topics, and needs that arise if they are willing to adopt the flexibility and questioning nature required to do so (ibid).

The primary downside of the top-down approach is that affecting change can be slow and the museum still needs the major decision makers, usually the leaders in title, to buy in or provide access. It can also be difficult to make the case for the value of these programmes that focus less on tangible outcomes and more on intangible values and morals if the top-down leader does not see immediate value. This approach can also make it more difficult to identify crucial touch points, as initially there are so many potential emerging leaders.

The top-down/bottom-up debate around leadership demonstrates a shift in the museum's concept of where it sits within the network and how it connects to the other actors. Ultimately, by acknowledging both potential definitions of leadership the museum is able to approach issues from different sides. It also demonstrates another museum capacity, namely the ability to connect with multiple groups around a single issue. Few organisations can connect with both generals and cadets around the same subject at the same time. One of the challenges then in programming is to get both top-down and bottom-up approaches to work in tandem (Museum Staff 9 2015b). Ultimately, the ability to adapt and build relationships with diverse members is an important factor in the museum becoming an active agent of change, and something we will return to in the next chapter.

5.2.5 Staff knowledge

The final operational indication of the museum's shift from periphery to centre is the evolving expertise of the staff at the museum and the diversity of the projects and resources they are developing. Increasingly, the museum staff members are not only experts in the museum history or the day-to-day operations of the museum but are also

experts on using and building on that history to connect it to contemporary society. There are of course traditional museum roles such as conservationists, archivists, and exhibition designers, but there are also members of staff with backgrounds in the military, educational, politics and business. These members of staff apply unique knowledge to interpreting the museum's history in such a way as to make it useful for the network.

The diversity of staff knowledge again demonstrates a move away from linear progression or using the past to predetermine the future. Each organisation comes with its own unique perspective, culture, and history, none of which are to be ignored, but instead of using these to define the role of the organisation they become starting points for stabilizing and sense-making in a complex system with diverse viewpoints (Mangiofico, 2013, pp. 40-41). Definitive boundaries are removed and roles and responsibilities are a matter of negotiated choice, allowing for more dynamic evolution of the organisation's makeup and its connections with other actors within the network (ibid). This is demonstrated by the expansion of the types of staff and expertise that contribute to USHMM, as well as the connections between museum departments which connect different forms of expertise and challenge traditional boundaries.

MAEW provides several examples of this diversity of staff experience in action. One presentation during the workshop was *Encyclopaedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933-1935* and was presented by the museum staff member in charge of the project. One of the goals of the encyclopaedia project is to make the information both available and useful for a variety of groups looking at this history, "as part of the Museum's commitment to increasing the visibility, impact, and productivity in the field of Holocaust studies in the United States and abroad" (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2017). Another major goal is to create a record of the militarisation of the Nazi society and challenge the idea that creating an efficient, ordered, command and obey structure is always beneficial for society.[1] This is relevant for the military academies and cadets and returns to the question above of providing space in a command structure for critical thinking around decisions and actions.

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[1] As of June 2nd, 2017, Volumes I and II of the encyclopaedia have been completed and are available online. They are also available in book form. The remaining volumes, of a projected total of seven, will be made available online after print editions appear. Researchers have identified 44,000 sites and, when finished, the encyclopaedia will be the most comprehensive survey available of known Nazi camps and ghettos (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2017).

The staff member leading the project has a background in history and military studies and holds positions at the USHMM as well as other WWII history sites. Importantly, though, he is also an advisor to the military and sits on military historical committees. This staff member's expertise and connections allow for an approach to the encyclopaedia that advocates for both historical and instrumental goals and balances them in the construction and presentation of the project. The diversity of expertise within the staff, particularly this member's connection to both history and the military, allows the museum to create resources with clear links to multiple organisations, thereby creating further connections.

Another presentation at MAEW came from the museum's branch, the Center for the Prevention of Genocide (CPG). CPG is an embodiment of the third prong of the museum's mission to encourage the public to reflect on the Holocaust and their roles and responsibilities today. It applies lessons from the rise of Nazi Germany and the Holocaust to contemporary situations in an attempt to recognize potential risks of genocide and mass atrocity. CPG works closely with other international organisations and receives data from government and NGO projects with the goal of providing a human story to go along with the big data. It is also unique amongst museum departments in that it has a policy focus and aims to contribute to policy decisions. Although CPG does not give specific policy recommendations, it works to provide as much information as possible to enrich the conversation within a larger goal of supporting democracy (Museum Staff 10, 2015). The museum, and CPG in particular, feels there must be a relationship between data, methodology, analysis, and an on the ground effort to improve lives. CPG directly extends the application of the museum's mission to contemporary events and, in doing so, opens connections to a new variety of network members.

The CPG's presentation in MAEW dealt with a recent trip sponsored and run by the department to Burma/Myanmar to visit the Rakhine State, the state where the majority of the minority Muslim Rohingya populations lives. The goals for the trip were to look for emerging patterns of repression and to document early warning signs of mass atrocities such as physical separation, restricted movement, denial of aid, and erasure of the physical evidence of communities. The CPG staff member who went on the trip and gave this presentation does not have a background in museum administration or in Holocaust history. She is a Returned Peace Corps Volunteer with a background in law. As such, she provides the museum with a different perspective

and access to a different world of policy and international work. The expertise of staff such as this member and the expansion of the museum into branches such as CPG situate the museum as a more central and active member of the network with a goal to educate and influence in addition to serving as a source of information. These staff and departments are also part of a process of redefining the museum as an initiator of change that is closely linked to contemporary issues and events.

The diversity of staff knowledge, such as described above, allows the museum to connect with a wide range of audiences, but it also allows for the museum and their partners to approach issues from new angles. Such, "multifunctional teams are essential in cross-fertilizing the rich storehouse of knowledge, skills and experience inherent in museums, not only to develop programmes and exhibitions, but also to enhance the general level of creativity, innovation and problem solving" (Janes & Sandell, 2007, p. 5). In the previous chapter, we discussed the benefit of networks in sparking innovation by bringing different perspectives into contact (4.4.2). Here approaching issues from various angles is part of the shift required to allow organisations to operate in a more network-minded way and move to a more central position. A large part of this is re-examining how different types of knowledge are valued and recognizing the value in expertise that may come from different sources, such as experiential and cultural knowledge in addition to academic knowledge (Hirabayashi, et al., 2005, p. 209). This is especially true when it comes to developing new or innovative programmes and perspectives.

5.2.6 Co-creation and common goals

Co-creation, sometimes called co-production, is a theory that can help explain the value in bringing together different perspectives around a common goal. Co-creation is the process of service providers working with constituents to produce a new product or understanding while sharing power in the process as evenly as possible (Govier, 2009, p. 3). The theory explores the value of developing programmes, services or initiatives with those who will use them (Boyle & Harris, 2009, p. 11). The term co-production first emerged in the 1970s in regards to community economic development (Boyle & Harris, 2009, p. 13). The idea behind co-production was to empower neighbourhoods through the process of being involved in the development of the social service initiatives they themselves used. The thought was that the

community would best know what they need and, if involved in the process, would be empowered to become agents of change themselves instead of just passive users of services (Boyle & Harris, 2009, p. 11).

Dr Louise Govier prefers the term co-creation in regards to museums because she feels that it, "implies slightly more openness about where the collaborative journey might take all of the participants: farther than producing something that may be relatively defined, we are creating something new, who knows exactly what" (Govier, 2009, p. 3). One of the main ideas behind co-creation is to produce a shift in organisations as well as a shift in programme development. Organizations would ideally no longer be, "obsessively looking inwards to targets and procedures, but increasingly looking outwards to local neighbourhoods to create supportive social networks, seeking out local energy where it exists to help deliver and broaden services, and seeing clients for what they can do, not just what they need" (Boyle & Harris, 2009, p. 14). Equality and pluralism are necessary components of co-creation, and this involves adopting a strategy within an organisation to be outwardly focused with goals that impact the larger network as opposed to the organisation in isolation (Antrobus, 2009, p. 4).

Another goal of co-creation, and one that is important for the issue of staff knowledge, is to match specialist interest with public interest (Spalding, 1999, p. 36). Co-creation emphasizes the need for an organisation to value knowledge from various sources as much as their own internal perspectives (Boyle & Harris, 2009, p. 11). This can help create innovative solutions as well as create more sustainable and long-lasting relationships between partners and between participants and outcomes by embedding value in organisational characteristics instead of actions (Antrobus, 2009, p. 1). Valuing diverse knowledge can also build buy-in from a wide range of audiences or partners. In the example of staff at USHMM, the museum has begun to value knowledge from different sources enough to integrate it into its own staff. By becoming a source for a variety of expertise, the museum can also become more central and more valuable to the network as a whole, demonstrating the link between this operational development and broader network position.

Although such specialised staff allow the museum to grow by providing new resources, approaching new partners, and setting new goals, such specialisation can also limit the museum by creating situations where only certain staff are able to run programmes. This is a current struggle with the judiciary programme (LJH) where the

staff member responsible for the programme has such detailed and specialized knowledge about the German judiciary system during the war years that it would be very difficult to have anyone else operate the programme. He is able to discuss detailed legal nuances with the professionals who attend the programmes in very technical ways and, without him, the depth and breadth of the programme would be limited. He is only capable, however, of offering so many programmes and, therefore, reliance on him limits the museum's ability to expand the reach of this programme.

Perhaps it is a truism of activist practice and developing networks that, as well as the careful positioning of the museum in the network, the careful use of resources, and the exploration of connections and relationships, ultimately a lot of success comes down to having the right staff. In addition to the variety of connections, dynamics and exchanges in networks, "networking places a new emphasis on personnel. Power, expertise, perceived trustworthiness and social bonds are often person-specific rather than firm-specific" (Thorelli, 1986, p. 47). It is a concept that makes the goals of activist practice difficult as there is no formula nor is it possible to replicate certain staff. It is also a limitation in terms of generalizing the findings in this study, which will be discussed further in the conclusion (7.4). An awareness of this reliance, however, helps a central network member, such as USHMM is becoming, to identify value in terms of network impact and make operational and staffing decisions accordingly.

5.3 Demonstrating the shift: A programme comparison

A comparison of two related programmes at USHMM helps demonstrate the above organisational shifts in action as well as how they translate into the museum's move from the network's periphery to the centre. This illustration could be done with a number of programmes and here I am comparing the Saturday Morning Naval Cadet programme and the Mass Atrocity Education Workshop, two programmes within CDI, the Levine branch focusing on military and defence initiatives.

In the Naval Cadet programme, the museum generally operates from a peripheral position in the network. As described in more detail in the introduction, the Naval Cadet programme involves the cadets arriving at the museum for a self-guided tour through the exhibition, a debrief session, and an exploration of a historical case study. This study includes themes that have relevance for cadets in their present capacities, namely the roles, choices, and motivation of military officers and the

challenges of being faced with orders that appear illegal or immoral. The museum's main function is one of facilitator and a provider of information. The cadets are mainly recipients of information although they do participate in discussions by using their expertise to analyse what they have seen in the exhibition and the facts of the case study used in the programme. The details are unique to specific meetings, but the broader framework is the same across each session. The majority of knowledge and authority in the programme lies with the museum.

Another reason the Naval Cadet programme sits closer to the periphery is that, although it sits within a broader training scheme for the cadets and offers a unique experience, it is not embedded in the other components of training. Of course the programme may be referenced in other parts of a cadet's training but it does not necessarily impact how other training elements are run or the content in those trainings. The connections between this session and other training the cadets receive is up to the cadets to make. A survey of cadets who had participated in the programme found that 79% felt the programme was "relevant to USNA [United States Naval Academy] experiences" and 53% "strongly agreed" with the statement, "My knowledge of the Holocaust and of contemporary genocide is relevant to my future career as a Naval officer" (Lyon, 2012, pp. 7, 14). There were also indicators that the programme came up in classes and in informal interactions with other cadets. The programme does not, however, have formal strategic impact on how the Navy trains its cadets or structures the organisation.

A peripheral placement does not mean that the programme is less impactful or valuable than others. Returning to the above discussion on leadership, the bottom-up approach to leadership is part of connecting with cadets from an early stage in their careers and could be a strength of this programme and give it real impact in both the museum and the Naval Academy as these emerging leaders develop. For now, however, it demonstrates a certain type of relationship between museum and participant based on an exchange of information as opposed to the creation of new information.

In some ways, this separation from the fundamental operations of the network makes the programme more easily sustainable for the museum. The programme can be operated by a variety of staff in a variety of situations. While each cadet participant group may impact the specific discussions in the programme, it has a certain universality for the audience that means it is easy to implement and, once running, requires little in the way of new resources or effort for the museum. In this instance, a

peripheral position in the network equates to ease of operation. This is not necessarily a causal relationship (there are other programmes including Law Justice and Society that would also fit this peripheral description but lack the ease of operation), but it is an interesting consideration for organisations that are becoming embedded in networks.

The contrasting programme is the Mass Atrocity Education Workshop, the weekend long workshop created in conjunction between CDI and the Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies at West Point (CHGS). Here, the museum moves towards a position where power and authority are more equally divided between partners. The museum works in conjunction with CHGS to produce the workshop content and structure as well as the outcomes. There is less of an expertise divide here, both in terms of the two organizing bodies (USHMM and CHGS) and the workshop attendees who are all experts in their fields. The programme plan changes each time the workshop is held, depending on the input from previous and upcoming participants and can even change midway through to accommodate discussions, inputs, and new knowledge that comes up through the course of the programme.

The structure of exchange here is reminiscent of co-creation referenced earlier in that users are empowered to participate in the process of creating the services and resources they use. MAEW employs this concept of user development with educational resources, and here we have two educational bodies that are working to develop means of connecting raw information and educational platforms. This programme also demonstrates one of the theories at the heart of developing networks and systems, namely that as issues become more complex it is necessary for organisations to connect to address those issues (Worley & Mirvis, 2013, p. x). The museum works closely with the MAEW participants to set goals and develop outcomes and, importantly, develop new knowledge around the context that did not exist before in that form or context.

One example of an outcome of this collaborative work is *Ordinary Soldiers: A Study in Ethics, Law and Leadership,* an educational resource that emerged out of a 2011 MAEW, again jointly conducted by USHMM and the CHGS. During the 2011 workshop, a West Point professor presented the research on a specific incident in WWII history that subsequently became the case study in *Ordinary Soldiers.* The case study, briefly touched upon in the introduction, is built on surviving judicial documents and eyewitness testimony and presents the different responses of three company commanders to a single order to kill Jewish civilians in their respective areas of

operation. The resource begins with the case study, including analysis of context and supporting information such as the basic principles of the law of armed conflict. It then presents appendices with additional background information such as Wehrmacht orders that affected the area in which the case took place, army regulations, and the subsequent court decisions in the trials of the concerned company commanders. Finally, it offers education materials for using the case study in a learning environment, such as alternative ways to approach the case, study questions and discussion formats such as peer-to-peer learning.

What is unique about this case study is its ability to meet the diverse and stringent requirements of a teaching resource in various contexts and levels. The study involves the law of armed conflict, "for which the facts and documentation are sufficient to appeal to ethicists, historians and lawyers" (Prescott, et al., n.d., p. 4). It also involves the unequivocal presentation of an illegal order and, finally, involves ordinary soldiers going about their military duties (ibid). As such, it can be adapted to a variety of disciplines, contexts and levels of study.

Ordinary Soldiers is worth exploring as it demonstrates a concrete way in which the museum and its network partners collaborate to create a solution to a need that neither would be able to accomplish on its own. The museum has the historical documents necessary to create such a case study and the CHGS has the knowledge of military education and operations that allow the partners to present the information in a relevant and valuable manner. It also demonstrates the museum's ability to connect with many different groups around the same subject. USHMM took a central role in the production and distribution of the materials and, importantly, this case study allows the CDI to begin to accomplish its goal of becoming embedded in the military structure through training the trainers and a bottom up approach of reaching emerging leaders (Museum Staff 9, 2015a).

5.3.1 Trading zones and knowledge exchange

Trading zones are an organisational partnership framework which can help clarify the move that is demonstrated by the difference between the Naval Cadet programme and MAEW. Trading zones attempt to order the ways in which knowledge and expertise are exchanged between different actors in attempts to build a product or an outcome that neither entity would be able to produce on its own. There are different

levels of trading zone, but each describes the exchanges of power and information, whether in equal or unequal measures that allow for such exchanges.

Like complex adaptive systems, the idea of a trading zone was established in the sciences. Peter Galison defined the concept in the late '90s to address issues of incommensurability, attempting to negotiate how scientists with different backgrounds and disciplinary languages, specifically physicists and engineers, could communicate (Collins, et al., 2007, p. 657). In order for a trading zone to exist, there must be a need for intercultural communication, whether the cultures are organizational, disciplinary, or social. In many ways, the connections between the museum and its partners, such as the military academies, the police, or the ADL, can be seen as intercultural communication as they all work to express their understanding of common goals or interests from their own perspectives and using their own industry's language. If all parties understand each other perfectly or come from the same background, there is no need for a trading zone (Collins, et al., 2007, p. 658). This is why trading zones are often discussed in terms of creating a new language or a 'creole' combining elements of the different parties involved (Collins, et al., 2007, p. 657). The type of exchange or communication used to overcome difference determines the type of trading zone, as well as the degree to which there is an equal exchange of power and knowledge between groups (Gorman, 2002, p. 932).

Gorman defines three main types of trading zones: 'elite', 'boundary object', and 'shared representation' (2002, p. 934). The first type, 'elite', only requires expertise on the part of one participant. Knowledge is one sided and tightly controlled. Participants are given access to knowledge as needed to carry out tasks, but they are not involved in goal setting, decision-making, or evaluation of a project (Gorman, 2002, p. 933). This can also be called an 'enforced trading zone,' meaning that there is a maximum of coercion involved to get groups to participate and a minimum of homogeneity in the beliefs or understanding of participants at the end (Collins, et al., 2007, p. 658).

The second type of trading zone is a 'boundary object' trading zone. Gorman defines this type of trading zone as, "where experts from different fields interact around the development of a technology or system" (Gorman, 2002, p. 933). Boundary objects are objects or products that are plastic enough to adapt to the needs and understandings of diverse groups, but solid enough to retain a single identity across the different groups (Collins, et al., 2007, p. 660). A boundary object simultaneously provides a

common link within a network and assumes different meanings between individuals. In this type of trading zone there is an exchange of knowledge and perhaps explanation of perspectives, but there is not necessarily the development of a new, shared understanding at the end (Gorman, 2002, p. 934).

I would argue that the cadet programme sits between the elite and boundary object trading zones. The museum is largely responsible for setting the goals and the decision making in the programme. While there is input from the academies and feedback from the cadets, the programme is largely fixed and is not adapted between sessions. The boundary objects might be elements of the history or the case study used, and there is adaptation of the meaning of the historical context based on the discussion in the session and the exchanging of perspectives. Cadets, however, are mainly participants and have little authority in determining the operation and outcome of the programme.

The final type of trading zone is 'shared representation'. In this type of trading zone, groups with different perspectives and expertise come together around a shared goal to collaborate around a continuously evolving representation or system (Gorman, 2002, p. 934). This type of trading zone produces new innovation and involves the creation of new interactional expertise and the 'creole' described above. The expertise that emerges from this type of trading zone was not held by one group prior to the collaboration and is context specific (Collins, et al., 2007, p. 661).

MAEW sits towards the 'shared representation' side of the trading zone spectrum. The museum professionals and professors are sharing expertise and developing a common goal to create a new understanding of mass atrocity training. In this example, the museum and the partners are invested in both the programme development and the outcome. In relation to the theme of this chapter, the museum's role in the innovation or developments that emerge from the programme is more central. In both cases the museum may impact the system as a whole, but that impact will be more diluted in the cadet programme as it is not as central to the process of cadet training. In MAEW, the museum's contribution is central to the programme and continued work of members.

This comparison is not meant to prioritise one collaboration over the other or to place a value on the relationships demonstrated here. MAEW presents an exciting new way to build knowledge and understanding, but it is complicated to run, time consuming and demanding in terms of resources. On the surface, the cadet programme

seems to be superficial in terms of relationship between museum and participant, but it is very possible that it has immense impact as the evaluations discussed earlier begin to suggest. Returning to the leadership lens, the bottom-up connection would suggest that the museum has great potential to become imbedded in a system by connecting directly with these prospective future leaders. The comparison is meant to show how the museum has the capacity to move from a position as a peripheral source of knowledge and autonomous operator, such as in the cadet programme, to a more fluid and inter-dependent member of an emergent process. One, however, is not exclusive of the other as clearly the museum can hold both roles at once, operating both the cadet and MAEW programmes simultaneously. The organisation's position in the network and the variety of networks in which it can sit are fluid and change along with goals, partnerships, and authority.

5.4 Chapter conclusion

The connections between the museum and its fellow network members do not need to be, nor would it be possible, for them to all be of the same nature. The connections need to be tailored to the goals and needs of each organisation or participant. Recognizing, however, that the distinctiveness and quality of connections are just as important as quantity allow an organisation like USHMM to identify and dedicate resources to areas that allow networks to flourish and strengthen the impact of the museum.

These developments demonstrate that part of the process of joining and becoming embedded in a multi-organisational network is looking at new ways to evaluate opportunities, delegate resources, and respond to context. It is an opportunity for museums to, "engage in deliberate renewal of their own design", to make themselves more relevant and responsive to the society in which they sit (Janes, 2009, p. 184). This requires a certain amount of reforming to work within the network in such as a way as to best leverage the resources actors give and gain (Worley & Mirvis, 2013, p. x). It also requires that the shared goals, values, and missions of organisations begin to be absorbed in the strategic planning of other actors as the network opens, "new perspectives of structure, strategy and performance" (Thorelli, 1986, p. 46)

On some level, the museum recognizes this shift in positioning as well, whether they define it as periphery to centre or not. The fact that CDI aim to become

incorporated into the military training structure is something that would not be possible, or desired, if the museum was content to stay on the periphery (Museum Staff 9, 2015a). This demonstrates a shift in metrics of success in the museum, one of the organisational shifts discussed earlier. Success in this case is now defined by having an impact on both individuals and systems, a shift that demonstrates an awareness of the network around the museum as well as a desire to become more central (Museum Staff 2, 2015).

These evolutions from periphery to centre are helpful in understanding where the museum sits in a network and its larger impact, but they also begin to suggest what is fundamentally valuable about these interactions: the relationships built and strengthened between the members of the network, particularly as the museum becomes a more central and connected member. This is the subject of the next chapter which will introduce social capital theory to the discussion. It will explore the value in relationships and why museums are so well placed to take on the role of the broker in social capital exchanges.

Chapter 6 – Social Capital

The discussions in the previous chapter of the museum's orientation towards the network and move from the periphery to centre begin to illuminate one of the major sources of value in this study: the relationships between actors. In addition to shifts in the museum's role and strategy, the movement from periphery to centre is synonymous with a move to a broker position, or a member within the network that can form and strengthen relationships with and between other network members. This gives the museum additional value in the network as it is not just as a provider of resources in regards to objectives, but it is also a node that allows further development and strengthening of the network as actors connect through it. The network perspective explored thus far has introduced why organisations like USHMM are valuable for achieving objectives, but can only partially explain why the museum's involvement in active approaches to social change is important. The question then emerges as to why the network and the relationships it contains are valuable and why we should be concerned with the building and maintenance of these relationships.

One example demonstrating the additional depth of connection fostered in these museum interactions is a programme run as part of Bringing the Lessons Home, the USHMM youth programme for local public high school students. In one iteration of this programme, the high school students, many of whom are minorities and/or from less affluent parts of the city, lead police officers through the museum. The power and role reversal in this interaction is significant and the normally prominent identities of these two groups are superseded. Inner city youth become leaders and experts. Police become visitors and learners. The students are the enforcers of norms and guide behaviour through the museum while the police follow their lead. The BTLH students transmit information and present new perspectives and, as such, are valuable to the police in a whole new way. The police take on a different, perhaps less imposing role. The resulting benefits of this interaction go beyond the acquisition of information as it creates new dynamics and new relationships between the participants.

An observed law enforcement programme at USHMM provides another example of an exchange that required more than resources exchanges to overcome differences or potential ruptures in the relationship between two organisations. During the ADL's portion of a LEAS session, the ADL facilitator and a police instructor had a

debate around the role of individual values versus institutional values in bringing police to their profession, providing support in their careers, and preventing abuses of power. The police instructor believed that the personal values officers arrive with were the main factor that allowed them to carry out their job to the best of their abilities. To this the ADL facilitator responded that there must be some sort of outside guidance or value system because she, as a citizen, did not want to have to rely on the individual values of thousands of different people to keep her safe. A discussion ensued around the relationship and potential conflicts between individual and professional values, but at the heart of this discussion was a fundamental question about the role of values in the police profession and how police fit into the larger social structure, whether as individuals guided by their own morals or as part of a group guided by outside rules. Ultimately a cautious agreement was reached that the answer is somewhere in the middle, but the debate showed the presence of multiple value systems within something like the police force that might initially seem quite homogeneous and between partners working around a common goal.

This discussion could have wedged a divide between these members of the network, but the relationship remained intact and a greater understanding may have emerged as a result of the debate. The ability of the museum and the ADL to challenge the police officers understanding of their role is an important and valuable one. Similarly, the police officers' perspectives deepen the ADL and museum's understanding of police culture and the part of the society in which they sit. The relationship and opportunity for these exchanges, however, depends on both sides being able to rely on the other to approach the subject in a thoughtful and open way. While some organisational values were shown to be different, the discussion reaffirmed that all three partners value both public safety and individual agency and understand the need for balance between the two. These values of safety and agency, and the goal of achieving pubic good, are what allows the network to withstand fluctuations and the unique relationships between partners to continue to grow.

Both of these examples begin to demonstrate the diversity of perspectives present in these programmes and the exchanges happening beyond knowledge or resources. In the first example of BTLH, the social norms and relationships that influence actions and decisions are evolving. In the second concerning the law enforcement officers, motivations and values are explored and understood on a deeper level. Fundamentally, the programmes offer new approaches to power structures,

understandings, and the interactions that build communities, not just the exchange of resources. Each of the potential differences between network members in these examples could provide enough fission to end relationships, yet the programmes continue and grow. How is that happening, and how is the museum maintaining its own strength of perspective while building trust with other organisations?

In analysing the programme described above and other findings like it, more of which will be explored in this chapter, social capital theory emerged as a way to better understand what was happening on a deeper level and what the case of USHMM can tell us about the wider trend of museum involvement in social justice and civic engagement. It became clear that the main functions of the museum's programmes and partnerships are not immediate gains such as money or attendance figures, although those both have value for the museum, but to create social ties that build a stronger, more robust and stable social base for addressing some of the difficult issues the museum and their partners take on. The value in the museum's capacities and the importance of exchanging information and building relationships emerged as central to the questions of what role the museum played in social change initiatives as well as why it was a unique and important member of a larger network.

In this chapter, we will explore this application of social capital theory to USHMM's programmes and the museum's networks in an attempt to illuminate what is, ultimately, so valuable about the network and define why the museum plays a unique and crucial role. The lens of social capital will demonstrate why maintaining a relationship with an organisation like USHMM that is a member of a network has special value. It enables actors to share information and build understanding across divides, leading to more connections, greater access to resources, and hopefully stronger societies.

6.1 Social capital in the context of USHMM

Social capital is helpful in the discussion of museums, here specifically USHMM, as members of networks and contributors to social change for a number of reasons. One of the aims of this thesis, and a theme that has run throughout, is the potential strength in including museums in social change work and the broader value of museums to society beyond their collections and educational reach. Of course, this is not to say that collections and education are not valuable, but the argument here is that museums can offer more than the knowledge and objects stored within their walls and

that those elements can be put to use to inspire broader social change and stronger societies. Social capital theory helps to explain that value, particularly through an understanding of the importance of relationships and connections as demonstrated in the USHMM case study.

In this chapter we will use social capital as a lens through which to examine the value of networks relationships, especially those between unalike actors, investigate the creation and maintenance of social norms, explain why position and connections within the network matter for both organisations and the network, unpack some of the debates and questions around the museum's role as an active agent regarding contemporary issues, and finally, connect the social change network, specifically the social capital held within its connections, to other forms of capital and the marketplace.

6.1.1 The value in relationships

Social capital theory provides a way to understand the importance of the relationships we have seen develop as, "the core idea of social capital theory is that social networks have value" (Putnam, 2000, pp. 18-19). Social capital has been explored by a number of theorists (Jacobs 1961, Loury 1977, Bourdieu 1986, Coleman 1988, 1990, Lin 2001, Putnam 2000) in a variety of disciplines including sociology, political science, and economics, all with the aim of examining how our lives might be made more productive by social ties (Putnam, 2000, p. 19). There are numerous takes on the specifics of social capital, a few of which we will explore in more detail below, but the common thread throughout is that resources are embedded in social relationships and can be mobilized by actors in networks when they wish to achieve actions or goals beyond their own immediate capacities (Lin, 2001, p. 24). Relationships can be between like or unalike actors, strong or weak, and created with similar or different outcomes in mind, but in general these relationships work as resources to exchange information, establish social cooperation, impact identities, and generally influence social well-being.

The two main theorists providing the basis for this thesis are Robert Putnam and James Coleman. Putnam approaches social capital from a political science angle and is largely focused on civic participation and the creation of stable democratic societies (Putnam et al. 1993, Putnam 2000, 2002). He is interested in understanding how social relationships and exchanges in civic life enable actors or groups with

varying degrees of overlap in interests, values and resources, to coordinate actions towards shared objectives, how this coordination affects governability, and what happens when that engagement in civic life deteriorates. To do this, he introduces the concepts of bridging and bonding capital, described in further detail below, to understand how groups connect with both like or unalike actors. Ultimately, Putnam's aim is to understand how to foster healthier, safer, richer, more just and stable societies (Putnam, 2000, p. 290).[1]

Coleman approaches social capital from a sociological perspective. His studies looked to understand how poor or marginalized groups bolstered educational attainment by leveraging community strengths other than economic resources. Coleman looks at the system as a unit and, in order to understand that unit, he looks at the internal processes involving individual components (Coleman, 1990, p. 2). For Coleman, social structure is an aggregate of individual behaviours, and individual preferences and actions can reveal the principles of the social order as a whole (Field, 2008, p. 24). In taking this approach, he expanded the concept of social capital to a community-based view and examined the public good that can result from investing in it. Importantly, Coleman looks at communities as valuable and posits that community links and norms can offset social or economic disadvantage elsewhere, making them worth investing in even if returns are not immediate. The ideas of combining resources by establishing relationships in order to achieve larger goals and the public good of such interactions are important for our discussion of museum networks.

6.1.2 Social capital and networks

The approaches to networks and social capital in this study complement each other in a number of ways. Networks are formed of the very same relationships in which social capital is embedded, and networks describe the structure that allows social capital to both emerge and function. Both also provide insight into how organisations can accomplish goals beyond their immediate capacities. Connecting the two can provide insight into key components of each and strengthen our understanding of the creation and value of both. In regards to this study, the inclusion of social capital strengthens the argument that both the network in which the museum sits and the

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[1] Putnam's main works in this area are focused on Western democracies, notably in Italy (*Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*, 1993) and the United States (*Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, 2000).

museum's emerging position as a connector between different actors are valuable to the museum and society more broadly.

It is important to understand the makeup of the relationships that form networks and social capital. Both the quality and the quantity of relationships create a baseline for cooperation and reciprocity, and "networking is the first and essential step in developing collective consciousness" (Lin, 2001, p. 95). This established support is crucial in creating sustainable relationships and future network action. It helps spread the cost of operating, fosters norms of reciprocity, facilitates flows of information and builds on past actions (Field, 2008, p. 34). Strong connections and the presence of social capital help maintain a strong base of underlying value systems, thus contributing to stabilizing complex and ever-changing networks (Mangiofico, 2013, p. 42).

Social capital and networks are complementary explanations of the workings of social structure that facilitates exchanges and cognitive or social development, whether individual or corporate. While networks describe a structure and social capital a resource, they both provide a better understanding of the strengths, weaknesses, and overall operations of the system more broadly (Field, 2008, p. 27). They are also both based on shared values and mutual goals and are facilitated by trust (Field, 2008, p. 3). Shared values and objectives help create relationships and strengthen links between both like and unalike groups. This idea can then be applied to social capital to define value or to networks to define connections. We will explore this below through the concepts of creating bridges between unalike actors and the process of maintaining or challenging existing social norms.

6.1.3 Cautions with social capital

While social capital is a helpful theory in exploring the phenomena of networks, relationship building, and collaborative efforts at social change, it is important to be aware that social capital presents challenges as well as opportunities. It is not a cure-all for what ails society and it has weaknesses and negative effects that are important to keep in mind. First of all, not all social ties are beneficial. Close social links between alike actors, what Putnam calls 'bonding capital' and which will be explored in greater detail below, can reinforce oppressive social norms and have negative effects on those excluded from the inner circles, creating a strong sense of the 'other' (Putnam, 2000, p. 22). This 'othering' can lead to antisocial behaviours on the part of those in the inner

circle (Putnam 2000, Field 2008). In its mildest form, this can reinforce hierarchies and elite privileges (Lin 2001, Bourdieu 1986). In its more extreme iterations, this sort of exclusive social capital can lead to groups such as gangs, extremist groups, or cults (Putnam, 2000, p. 22). Although in many forms social capital is credited with strengthening tolerance and inclusion, as we will explore in more detail below, here we see the darker side of social capital. Somewhat ironically, the very same concept that can lead to more inclusive societies can also reduce tolerance and divide societies with sometimes violent results. The challenge in using social capital theory, then, is to ask, "how the positive consequences of social capital – mutual support, cooperation, trust, institutional effectiveness – can be maximized and the negative manifestations – sectarianism, ethnocentrism, corruption – minimized" (Putnam, 2000, p. 22). It is important throughout the exploration and application of social capital to remember that it is not a panacea and the very presence of social capital does not necessarily equate to positive outcomes.

A second concern to bear in mind with social capital is the potential circular reasoning in regards to the presence and creation of social capital. Many theorists and critics have struggled with whether social capital is an input or an output (Coleman 1990, Lin 2001, Portes 1998, Putnam 2000). Social capital is credited with leading to positive outcomes such as economic development and safer communities, but its presence is also often inferred from those very same outcomes (Portes, 1998, p. 10). It is important, therefore, to view social capital as part of a larger process of relationship and capital development (Field, 2008, p. 3). There are other factors to keep in mind such as economic capital, educational resources, and existing societal norms and levels of trust, that also come into play in growing and maintaining social ties.

Finally, there is a transition that needs to take place to move social capital from the realm of the individual to that of organisations and society more broadly, and different theorists take different approaches to this expansion. Coleman's (1990) conception of social capital as a public good and Putnam's (1993, 2000) use of social capital to explore trends in civic engagement broaden the application of social capital. For Lin, however, social capital loses much of its meaning when it is divorced from the individual. Lin feels it must be separated from collective goods such as culture, norms, trust, et cetera, because, although these goods and social capital support each other, they are not alternative forms of the same thing and cannot be equated (Lin, 2001). Clearly then, this transition from individual to organisation must be handled carefully.

Here I am moving social capital past the sole purview of individuals to examine how it plays in organisational relationships and the impact on society more broadly. In some ways, I am treating organisations, such as the museum, as individual entities, but I am interested here in social capital on a more macro scale. It is important to maintain social capital as embedded in relationships and it is a question of who or what those relationships connect. It is also a matter of determining how relationships function as resources, the different type or relationships, and how they can be leveraged.

6.2 Building bridges

The value in connections and the understanding that emerges from the intersection of different perspectives, no matter how difficult or contentious the process, is a main reason why social capital is important for both developing approaches to larger issues faced in society today and the analysis of this study. One of the museum's capacities identified during the fieldwork was the museum's power to convene (4.5.2). This is valuable for its role in exchanging knowledge and resources, as discussed earlier in the thesis, but social capital provides another way to conceptualize the value of bringing together unalike actors. In particular, Robert Putnam's theory of 'bridging' and 'bonding' capital provides a way to understand what happens when unalike actors come together, why they stay together, and the benefits and challenges to society more broadly.

In his studies, Putnam emphasises two different types of social capital, what he calls bridging and bonding. Bonding capital, or exclusive capital, links homogenous groups. It is inward looking, identity reinforcing, and good at mobilizing solidarity and encouraging the forms of reciprocity that uphold established norms. It is important for creating strong ties, but can be limiting in terms of exposure to new ideas and, as a result, innovation and growth. Examples might include ethnic fraternal organisations, church groups or exclusive country clubs (Putnam, 2000, p. 22). Bridging capital, or inclusive capital, works across diverse, less connected, social groups to link to external assets and spread information broadly. It expands identities and encourages reciprocity across established groups by encompassing broad segments of society within connections and supporting collaboration at the community level (Putnam, et al., 1993, p. 175). It requires more effort and maintenance than bonding capital, however, as the immediate links between actors may not be as apparent. Examples of bridging capital might be civil rights movements or youth groups (ibid). Other theorists frame this

concept of bridging and bonding as 'strong' or 'weak' ties or as dense/closed or broad/open networks, but the concept is largely the same (Coleman 1990, Lin 2001, Portes 1998). Another way to conceive of these two forms of social capital is that bonding provides, "sociological superglue" whereas bridging social capital, "provides a sociological WD-40" (Putnam, 2000, p. 199). These two types of social capital will help us as we look at the museum's position within the network and the types of relationships the museum builds and fosters.

Bridging capital is important for this study as it allows for a range of agreements and disagreements to be "discerned and refined across disciplinary lines and professional boundaries," something that is crucial for addressing complex social issues and important for the museum's efforts around these issues (Woolcock, 2011, p. 199). As Putnam asserted, "for our biggest collective problems we need precisely the sort of bridging social capital that is toughest to create" (2000, p. 363). It is difficult to create because it requires us to, "transcend our social and political and professional identities to connect with people unlike ourselves", but it is valuable because it unlocks new perspectives, ideas, and resources that can illuminate otherwise unseen angles on a problem (Putnam, 2000, p. 411). Multi-stakeholder, complex social issues require that we break out of established ways of operating in our own circles, a process that is aided by 'weak' or bridging ties. Putnam, drawing from Granovetter (1974), asserts that these 'weak' bridging ties are actually more valuable than 'strong' interpersonal ones when it comes to fostering collaboration across social divides instead of within groups (Putnam, et al., 1993, p. 175). We can begin to see, then, why the museum's ability to even get different groups into the same room, regardless of immediate outcomes, can be valuable.

This process of identity transcendence and discourse across professional or disciplinary lines can be seen in observations of a number museum programmes. In the example of the discussion between the police and ADL instructor opening this chapter, the process of thoughtfully unpacking the debate around values required that the museum, ADL, and police participants all have to step away from their day-to-day assumptions about policing and examine the larger implications of their values and actions. A similar process could also be seen in programmes such as MAEW where organisations that might normally be at odds, such as Amnesty International and the US military, put aside their professional identities and come together around a larger goal, in this case atrocity prevention. The BTLH example at the start of this chapter

also provides a striking example of this sort of removal from expectations based on personal, professional and societal identities. In that programme, both the police officers and students gain new understandings in their arsenal of perspectives on the world and, following social capital theory, are therefore more valuable to both their own communities and society more broadly.

Social capital reinforces the assertion in Chapter 4 (4.4) that innovation comes from networks where partners share information and challenge established assumptions. This is the sort of innovation required to solve complex challenges, and it is the sort of innovation shown in programmes such as MAEW where participants transcend established roles for government bodies, NGOs, or cultural institutions to come up with new uses for information and new approaches to shared problems. If individuals and organisations are surrounded by other groups that think the same way, they become siloed in their own ways of operating. Without challenges and inspiration, innovation and creativity suffer. Putnam cites arts and cultural activities as capable of providing opportunities for building bridging capital, but ones that are vastly under exploited (Putnam, 2000, p. 411). Convening, in the sense of the museum bringing unalike actors together, brings different perspectives, opinions and knowledge into contact, with the aims of both working towards a common goal and of challenging established conceptions. Perhaps case studies like this one can start to show the benefit of their involvement from both a network and social capital perspective.

We could of course have these discussions without citing social capital, and my guess is that many do, but social capital allows us to see the "discursive bridges" across disciplines and sectors, and to understand why those bridges are important for strengthening society (Woolcock, 2011, pp. 198-199). The, "language of social capital makes an opening conversation possible. Without it [different disciplines] would likely operate in parallel universes" (Woolcock, 2011, p. 201). A statement that came up frequently during interviews with staff, and one that was reinforced by programme observations, was that different groups do not necessarily stay apart because they fundamentally disagree with each other. Of course this happens, but the consensus was it is not the rule. They stay away because they don't have the opportunity to come together. In these cases, the bridges described above are either difficult to see or do not yet exist. An organisation like USHMM that can appeal to a variety of groups on individual levels and yet draw them all together over a common value or objective is crucial to building those discursive bridges and allowing the conversations and

information to flow across them. Social capital allows us to define just what the museum is building when it draws these groups together and why the value and strength of those bridges matter.

Social capital, in particular the concept of bridging capital and the value in the museum's ability to bring together unlike actors, can help reframe some of the challenges associated with an active network role that emerged throughout the fieldwork. Whether in terms of process, touch points, or diversity of partners, social capital can help frame these discussions in ways that are more in line with a systems approach to change and, therefore, help situate them in a larger context.

6.2.1 Measuring success

One such debate in the discussions about the museum's role as an agent of change was how success can be measured and goals set. This is where we saw the question of identifying a 'Point B' and if the museum should be defining an end point for their own goals as well as their partners and participants (5.2.3). In regards to this, social capital theory introduces a way to look at the value of process instead of focusing on individual outcomes. Here, connections are valuable in and of themselves, instead of for the end point they reach. This shift in value frees up an organisation like USHMM to experiment and try new approaches to contemporary questions as well as reach out to groups that might not immediately seem like obvious partners. If relationships, particularly horizontal connections and collaboration, are valued, then the museum and their partners have more leeway to see where those collaborations take them than they would if evaluated solely on an arrival point.

Ordinary Soldiers, the learning tool that emerged out of a previous Mass Atrocity Education Workshop, is a good example of this experimentation (5.3). By valuing *Ordinary Soldiers* for the exchanges shared in the development processes as opposed to more quantitative measures such as frequency of use, the door opens for more collaborative works that can take increasingly creative and innovative forms. The experimentation in creating *Ordinary Soldiers* makes way for the subsequent game theory lesson plans and economic modelling activities that have also emerged from MAEW.[2] This is not to say that *Ordinary Soldiers* does not have concrete metrics for success or goals for use, but here the information exchange itself is valuable.

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[2] Game theory is a process of using mathematical models of cooperation and conflict between intelligent, rational decision-makers to predict behaviors and situational outcomes. The available

Social capital theory provides a way to reconceptualise success and value around quality and process instead of quantity and end points. By basing the success of collaborative efforts on meeting needs instead of on final form, the museum creates space for further collaborations and creative thinking. This opens the door for the sort of new collaborative efforts that so many have called on as necessary for addressing the systemic and complicated make-up of so many of our pressing issues today.

6.2.2 Leadership: Top-down or bottom-up

Social capital, particularly the discussion between bridging and bonding or strong and weak ties, can also address the debate about how the museum connects with other network members, whether through established top-down leadership positions or via emerging leaders who are defined by their leadership potential rather than official titles (5.2.4). It provides a means by which to approach the question of the values in tight, officially regulated relationships as well as looser, more casual connections and how social capital fits within existing hierarchies or official structures.

For Putnam, this is a "false debate" (2000, p. 413). Just as there are benefits to both bridging and bonding, loose and tight should not be a question of either/or, as both structure and flexibility are needed to build social capital. While social capital helps explain the value in all sorts of relationships, it also needs a structure and social legitimization. Officially sanctioned relationships can provide consistency and recognition. These highly structured relationships are valuable for reinforcing identity and recognizing allies, but they can also be excluding for those who do not fit the definition of a member. This is where the less controlled relationships, here those with emerging leaders, come in. By allowing broader inclusion, these loose ties bring in a variety of perspectives and allow information to be spread more widely.

Bridging networks of civic engagement also promote a horizontally structured society that fosters trust and cooperation. In horizontally structured communities it is easier to enforce norms of reciprocity and sanctions against antisocial behaviour, something that is much more difficult in vertical structures where sanctions are less

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resources and environment can be changed to affect decisions. It is mainly used in economics, political science and psychology, although has also been adapted to other disciplines. The game theory lesson plan presented during MAEW was created by an economics professor to demonstrate the effect of resources, political power, and political environments on the likelihood of mass atrocities.

likely to be enforced upwards (Putnam, et al., 1993, p. 174). Social capital is important in horizontal structures as,

> it contributes to collective action by increasing more potential costs to defectors; fostering robust norms of reciprocity; facilitating flows of information, including information on actors' reputations; embodying the success of past attempts at collaboration; and acting as a template for future cooperation (Field, 2008, p. 34)

Putnam is looking at the ways to facilitate cooperation for mutual benefit and provide social structures that provide opportunity and strength across differences. Social capital helps him explain both how and why that cooperation occurs. This concept fits well with Putnam's interest in fostering democratic societies, but here it is useful as we look at power sharing in these convened groups that are working towards common goals. These relationships create a checks and balances system and keeps organisations and networks from being dominated by officially sanctioned ideas or orders.

This idea of checks and balances returns us to the example of MAEW, specifically the discussion around how to provide a pathway for productive dissent in the military in order to promote a diversity of perspectives (5.2.4). There are a larger number and variety of individuals who occupy these 'bottom' roles. By including a bottom-up approach, the network is opened up to more perspectives but also creates checks on a concentration or misuse of power.

Looking at this debate through the lens of social capital, it becomes clear that bottom-up and top-down are part of a systems-wide approach and are not competing entry points. Whether these connections are framed as tight or loose, strong or weak, top-down or bottom-up, they each have a valuable role to play in creating social links and facilitating discussions and sharing information. There is a balance necessary between working within existing channels and problematizing established norms. This can be done by creating a system where a variety of different groups are brought together in ways that value both existing and emerging leaders and define the ties with each group as significant.

6.3 The maintenance and creation of social norms

In addition to understanding why bringing unalike groups together can be valuable, Putnam's focus on civic engagement broadens the concept of social capital beyond individual gains and begins to examine its benefits to society. He includes civic organisations in his discussion of social capital and ties the concept to broader

trends in politics, social inclusion, and civic participation. Bridging capital, the sort of social capital that was most evident in the fieldwork at USHMM, has benefits beyond those attained by the museum and its partners. As a result, we can begin to see social capital in the relationships between organisations as well as between individuals and how the actions and connections between network members can begin to influence the social norms that dictate connections and behaviours.

There are strong links between social capital, networks, and societal norms as social capital can work to both uphold established norms or create new ones. The idea of societal norms and the formation of those norms are fundamental to Coleman's definition of social capital (Schneider, 2000, p. 376). Coleman defined norms as, "actions [that are] regarded by a set of persons as proper or correct or improper or incorrect. They are purposively generated, in that those persons who initiate or help maintain a norm see themselves as benefitting from its being observed or harmed by its being violated" (Coleman, 1990, p. 242). Social capital can be actively used in such a way as to alter the norms by which social interactions occur (Schneider, 2000, p. 376). Sometimes these changes are dramatic and sudden, sparking revolutions or rebellions, but sometimes they are subtler, adapting and replacing prevailing institutions (Lin, 2001, p. 195).

Both Lin and Bourdieu provide examples of how social capital can maintain established norms. Lin describes social capital's maintenance of "institutional fields" which are defined as networks built around shared values and norms (2001, p. 187). These established values and norms are maintained by social capital when groups and individuals adopt them and then expect others within the network to also operate by the same parameters. There are elements of mutual obligation in social capital and the importance of being included and recognized as a societal member encourages the reproduction and upholding of established social rules. In this way, the capital embedded in these social ties makes it difficult for individuals or groups to tend towards antisocial behaviour.

Bourdieu, a significant contributor to social capital theory who influenced later theorists such as Putnam and Coleman, was interested in social connection and hierarchy, in particular social class, or what Bourdieu calls, "institutionalized relationships" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 248). He found that membership in a network of socially comparable individuals creates an, "aggregate of actual or potential resources" which can be leveraged for practical, material or symbolic ends (Bourdieu, 1986, pp.

248-249). This, he believed, was largely how the elite maintain their privilege and status. It also provides an explanation for the differing success of individuals, whether educational, financial, or social, when natural ability or monetary returns are not enough to explain the difference (Bourdieu, 1986, pp. 243-244). For Bourdieu, social capital can perpetuate hierarchies and norms that benefit the elite because they have access to a larger network in which to leverage their resources. Social capital is a product of investments in networks and, "endless effort at institution" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 249). It is perpetuated through socialisation, so those who have more time and opportunities to exercise social exchanges will, by definition, continue to have more social capital (ibid). In this way, social capital can perpetuate established social hierarchies. In both of these instances provided by Lin and Bourdieu, social capital operates almost like a bicycle – as it gets rolling, it becomes more stable.

This ability to perpetuate an established norm through socialisation and mutual obligation imposed by a larger group was seen in the observed programmes. One example comes from an observed police programme. The museum and their partners were very clear about the values and norms at the heart of the programme at the beginning of each session, in particular the values of democratic society, equality, and civic engagement. During one of the programmes, a police officer argued against the museum and ADL's assertion that stereotyping did a disservice to the police force by erasing the nuances to be found in different individuals and, therefore, created a divide between police and public by diminishing the potential relationships and understandings with community. This officer argued that stereotyping was an inherent part of the police profession because often police did not have enough time to look into nuance and, especially in moments when they were in danger, they needed to be able to make quick decisions based on information officers had built over previous interactions in similar situations or with similar members of a community. The other officers in the session responded by disagreeing and saying that stereotyping should never be the first source of information in making a decision, even if it was easier and faster to draw on than trying to dig into a specific situation. It is beyond my research to know if this reaction is the same one that would have happened if the discussion had taken place elsewhere, perhaps in the police station or during a casual discussion, but it does seem that the clear establishment of the social norms and values within the museum influenced the overwhelming response to the dissenting officer. Here, I argue, the museum and partners established the values in the network and the dominant norms in

operation for this particular relationship. It was clear that members of that network were expected to perpetuate those norms, and in this example, the majority of the members in this programme followed the lead of the facilitating organisations and encouraged the upholding of those norms, maintaining the relationships.

There are also instances of how social capital can be used to change broader societal norms. Putnam gives the example of bridging capital in the US Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 60s which dramatically altered accepted social norms around race and civil rights. In this sense, Putnam was interested in how frequent interactions between diverse groups can produce new norms of reciprocity (Putnam, 2000, p. 21). Here, social capital is not just used by individuals to establish or maintain their position in society. It is also a force that can redefine how society operates more broadly, creating new forms of inclusions and value and, as such, becomes a powerful tool for social change.

This is the type of transformation that is particularly relevant to this study as museums take up increasingly central roles in establishing more just and fair societies beyond their own walls. The process of shifts in social norms occurs when "institutionalizing organisations," or those organisations that train and indoctrinate actors with values and skills in line with prevailing norms, begin to transform societal rules by offering alternative that also provide benefit or advantage (Lin, 2001, pp. 192-4). The challenge becomes how to position the norms of tolerance, civic engagement, and understanding expressed in the example above so they are adopted into society more broadly. Can the museum and their partners instil these values to such a degree that participants carry them with them back into their everyday lives?

There are a number of examples of beneficial alternatives being given to established conventions during the programme. One might be the Law Enforcement and Society programme's examination of how the value embedded in community unity and understanding can have broader social benefits that outweigh the benefits of immediate force or stereotyping. Another might be the discussion around opening lines for productive dissent in the military. In doing so, the museum's military programme begins to offer an understanding of the value of each individual's actions and how military members who think critically about orders and their responsibilities are norms that can lead to a safer society. A final example is the exploration in MAEW of why coordinated efforts around mass atrocity prevention are valuable in terms of global stability, both socially and economically, challenging the norm that mass atrocities are

things to be dealt with after the fact. Social capital, and an understanding of its power to shift norms, defines the museum's contribution to the network as more than fostering understanding or exchanging resources. The programmes and relationships become tools to build stronger and more connected societies, which promotes greater social cohesion.

While it is beyond my research to know how far these alternative social norms are carried by participants, it does establish that the museum is part of a process of social change and one in a variety of actors addressing how members of communities and networks relate and work together.[3] Additionally, a wide variety of research, including from the authors cited in this paper, supports that those who are able to draw on others for support are happier, healthier, and wealthier, while socially isolated people face severe risks to their well-being (Field, 2008, p. 48). The museum helps establish ways for different groups or individuals to draw on each other. Social capital plays an important role in the renegotiations around social norms and values as society continues to change. Within that, we need organisations like USHMM that can address operational change as well as technical training and, importantly, exchange information across diverse stakeholders.

This returns to the idea of museum as a gauge, measuring the changing attitudes and social norms in the network in which it sits (Museum Staff 2, 2015) (4.5.1). The museum does not provide blue prints for action or dictate what should and should not be done. Instead it challenges established conventions and attempts to find socially advantageous alternatives to existing restrictive or exclusive norms, not just in the immediate moment, but as society continues to evolve through the many global challenges described above. The museum's strategy to dig below the surface to look at motivations and connections, the why behind the what, as described in earlier chapters, is just as important as fostering understanding, although that is valuable as well.

6.3.1 Civic tolerance

Social capital reveals the benefit of connection and allows different value systems to exist alongside each other without undermining cooperation, which in turn has strong ties to building civic tolerance (Centre for Educational Research and

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[3] USHMM has carried out a number of audience evaluation projects for their programmes, both in house and through outside evaluators. These studies have largely found that participants do remember and draw on their experience long after a session at the museum.

Innovation, 2001, p. 41). In the instance of the discussion between the ADL facilitator and the police instructor around the role of individual versus professional values described in the introduction to this chapter, the values held by each member of that discussion are important but the goal of that conversation was not to change individual values in a specific way. It was to create an awareness of how those values interact and an understanding of how others in society are affected by decisions that stem from them. The value in social capital, then, is not the ability to build consensus on specific definitions, but to create a system where different value systems coexist.

Individual values sit within larger social norms of varying degrees of tolerance and reciprocity. For a united social system to be created or cooperative action to take place, it is important to build a social framework that is robust in these characteristics. Thus, we can see that in addition to developing creative solutions to larger issues and tying different social or civic groups together, bridging social capital helps build the civic tolerance discussed above. Individuals who connect with others, particularly diverse groups,

> develop or maintain character traits that are good for the rest of society. Joiners become more tolerant, less cynical, and more empathetic to the misfortunes of others. When people lack connections to others, they are unable to test the veracity of their own views, whether in the give-and-take of casual conversation or in more formal deliberation. Without such an opportunity, people are more likely to be swayed by their worst impulses (Putnam, 2000, pp. 288-289).

This has real importance for the work USHMM undertakes. In addition to validating the belief that bringing diverse groups together and finding shared values can make a difference, it supports how the museum operates its programmes as well. The concept of 'disequilibrium', so important to the theory of change, gains major theoretical support when viewed through the lens of bridging social capital. The value in 'give and take' and the power of having our views challenged takes on greater social importance by giving people or groups ways to test their own beliefs. Of course, challenging held beliefs can be difficult and is not always undertaken willingly, but disequilibrium, when carried out in sensitive and supportive environments, greases the wheels for positive societal change, cooperation, and stronger institutions.

The museum is not the only organisation working on building this sort of infrastructure, and many other groups or organisations could be cited as having this

aim, including universities, NGOs, and community groups, but the museum is an important part of a larger effort to find common threads that links individual value-sets back to a social norm of understanding. I have argued in this thesis that one of USHMM's main strengths and values for the network is its ability to bring together unalike groups. By taking a network and social capital perspective, the museum, as well as its supporters and partners, can demonstrate why that contribution is important and how it fits into a larger process of social change.

6.3.2 Resisting change

This is not to say that common values always lead to strong relationships or civic tolerance. Although the relationships between organisations might be successful in creating tolerance or establishing norms of inclusion, individuals may still leave feeling alienated or disconnected, which can impact future connections. There were several examples in observed programmes where a distance remained between individual participants and the programme subject matter and themes. Sometimes this came in the form of specific pushback or disagreement from participants, as with the law-enforcement officer in the introduction to this chapter, but more often it appeared as a much subtler wall between what the participants appeared willing to connect with and what they were not.

The clearest example of this came from an observation of a LEAS training with Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). ICE is on the frontlines of the contentious debate in the US around immigration, deportation, and citizenship, a debate that has only become more fraught in the time between the researching and writing of this dissertation. The public scrutiny and debate around ICE and their profession created a tension that was less present in other sessions. There was visible discomfort from participants in some of the discussions about the profession and defensiveness around the motivations and values behind the job, demonstrated by reluctance to participate, short answers, and a lack of discussion amongst participants compared with other programmes. At one point in the ICE session, the ADL officer asked the room whether they tell people what they do for a living when asked during a casual encounter. The resounding answer in the room was 'no', demonstrating a wariness around the public perception of their profession. According to the ADL facilitator, this answer of 'no' is unique to ICE and not seen as consistently with any other organisation who attends this programme.

The parallels between the museum material and the ICE profession were striking, including the questions around identifying social or ethnic groups, the role of racial profiling, and the tension between looking at a person and seeing an individual versus seeing a governmental policy. In contrast to other programmes which were strengthened by increased connections between themes and participant professions, as the parallels increased in this programme, so too did the tension. The line between awareness and accusation were close and had to be treaded carefully. In this programme, more than any other, the moments of disequilibrium had to be handled with great sensitivity. This created a very different environment and one where the museum and the ADL could not rely on the established basis of shared values in the same way that they could in other programmes, such as with the Washington Metropolitan Police Department. In this case, despite common values around democratic society on a broader level, the connections with individuals made the relationship tenuous and the museum's approach to the subject matter more cautious. Here, the museum and the ADL had to be careful that they did not push so hard that the relationships on the organisational level broke down.

This example demonstrates that the process of building relationships on shared values is not straightforward. The presence of possible connections, here the values of a democratic society, do not guarantee a strong relationship and it can be a long process to build connection and trust. While the participants in this session may not have left convinced of the connection between the history and their contemporary role in society, it is still a step in building a relationship. As that relationship gets stronger and the parties become more trusted, the ability to challenge perceptions of roles and responsibilities will also increase. Building social tolerance can come from social capital, but strong social capital needs to come first and there must also be a level of trust between parties.

6.4 Trust

Social capital theory supports the emphasis on trust which emerged during the fieldwork. Throughout interviews with museum staff, the stabilizing influence of strong relationships with partners was often couched in terms of building or maintaining trust. For Putnam, social capital entails the, "features of social organizations, such as trust, norms and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated action" (Putnam, et al., 1993, p. 167). Here, trust is

tied to the same norms of reciprocity and networks of civic engagement in which we see social capital (Putnam, et al., 1993, p. 171). Like bridging social capital, trust can also grease, "the wheels of a variety of social and economic transactions which might otherwise prove extremely costly, bureaucratic and time consuming" (Field, 2008, p. 170).

The relationship between trust and social capital, however, can be unclear and depending on the source, trust can be both a cause and a product of social capital. Putnam sees trust as a form of social capital and a product of the same social relationships in which social capital is embedded. Fukuyama however believes that social capital comes from trust and is acquired through links to moral norms of the community where trust resides (1995, p. 26). The common thread, however, is that whether an element of or a cause of, without trust, social capital would not work.

This raises the question of what trust is for the museum, and there are interesting parallels in the importance of trust in both social capital and the museum's work. Trust can be conceived of as part of social capital in this case study because it is part of what constitutes the value the museum finds within its relationships. Social capital makes the network valuable and trust is a specific characteristic defining valuable relationships. It is also part of what makes the museum valuable to the network. So, trust is a characteristic of both links and actors, and fostering trust falls to both individual organisations and partners within the system.

Trust is also, however, a locator and helps situate the museum within the network, defining how it connects to other members. Here, trust not only "greases the wheels" of exchange but it also helps define an individual or organisation's place in the larger civic network. Several museum staff cited trust as one of the museum's most valuable assets and, without it, the museum's efforts to engage with current and future audiences would fail. Indeed, this can be seen in developments in several of the programmes. LEAS, for example, has expanded beyond police to include other branches of law enforcement, as discussed above. Trust and the museum's reputation are large parts of what allows the museum to attract these new groups and build new relationships. Without it, the museum's relationship with partners, their authority to challenge established norms, and their ability to bring unalike actors together around contentious subjects, would never succeed.

A number of aspects of the relationships between the museum and their partners emerged through programme observations and staff interviews that could divide

partners or break down collaborations. The museum and their partners come from different sectors of society, such as the cultural sector and law enforcement, and as a result they are often oriented in different directions in terms of desired outcomes and metrics of success. The museum is focused on systemic or operational change while their partners are often focused on technical know-how. The museum and their partners also address contentious issues such as intolerance, public safety versus individual freedom, stereotyping, and the lines between free speech and hate speech, all of which can lead to tension. Yet the trust built through common value of a stable, democratic society, and the norms of reciprocity established through their relationships provide stability through these fluctuations.

Trust is not static and it requires constant attention. It is a quality that increases with use and decreases when ignored (Putnam, et al., 1993, p. 169). The state of trust, and therefore social capital, in a community or network can indicate the health of those networks.   For a community that derives value from social capital, trust must be protected, and the museum network is one such community. As a result, the museum invests in and guards trust closely. Here again is the positioning of the museum as a gauge (Museum Staff 2, 2015). Trust is based on reputation and past performance, but it is also built on connections and social bonds created in day-to-day interactions. As the museum moves to a central position and becomes more embedded in the network, it becomes not only a broker but also an indicator of the strength of that network and the value of the bonds between different actors. It can measure this through the levels of trust as well as the willingness of different actors to engage in difficult conversations. This leads us to the next section in this chapter exploring how social capital contributes to our understanding of why the museum's position in the network is so important.

6.5 Network position

The previous chapter discussed the museum's move from the periphery to the centre of the network and here we have discussed the museum as a connector between different groups. This idea of positions within a network, specifically nodes that are important in fostering relationships between other actors, has strong roots in social capital theory, specifically the concept of social capital that involves the transfer of information to facilitate action (Coleman, 1990, p. 310). Lin called these connecting locations "social holes", creating links between other actors with information and resources (2001, p. 22). As discussed earlier, social capital and trust grow when

exercised but, if disregarded, fall into entropy. Thus, these central actors also help protect and sustain the presence of social capital by maintaining relationships. Organisations that recognize the resources present in relationships and can conceptualize how they might be put to use are better able to move to these central locations and leverage social capital for the benefit of both themselves and the wider network and society.

Obtaining these central positions requires an awareness of the network and the value embedded in relationships between actors. Central actors, or those in connecting positions, benefit from establishing and strengthening network relationships. Their centrality and the access to the information they receive as a result of their location and connections can lead to competitive advantages (Burt 1992, Lin 2001). Strategic locations in networks imply better or worse access to information influence and control. It follows then that central actors are more able to affect change (ibid). Organisations or actors who are closer to these central roles and with a range of bridges are also less constrained in terms of single interactions and have more opportunities for growth. As a result, they seem to gain better returns on their involvement in social relationships and networks (Lin, 2001, p. 247).

This growing flexibility of interactions and opportunity for growth is visible in the museum's developing range of projects and interactions. For example, the museum's connections to governmental and military bodies have provided an opportunity for the museum to expand the application of its expertise around mass atrocity from a historical perspective to a contemporary one. The Center for the Prevention of Genocide's mission to Burma to "bear witness" to potential atrocities, discussed in previous chapters, is one example. Another was the Early Warning Project, a risk assessment database the museum is working on to help provide information for governments, advocacy groups, and at-risk societies about the potential for future atrocities. Without the relationships between the museum and these various governmental, military, and community organisations, efforts such as these would be impossible and fruitless. The relationships expand the museum's purpose and impact.

In addition to connecting with other actors, these central positions also foster new links between those actors, links that once formed may operate independently of the central actor involved in the initial relationship building. To return to an example from USHMM, the relationship developed between the BTLH ambassadors and police officers through their mutual involvement in the museum leadership programme is

initially reliant on the museum as moderator. As that relationship develops, however, the Washington DC Metropolitan Police, the student leaders, and their schools may all construct their own independent relationships, growing beyond the specific exchanges that occur at USHMM and separate from the connection held with the museum. This was also demonstrated by the connection between the military academies and Amnesty International during MAEW. The relationship between the two was strengthened by their joint involvement in the programme and may continue independently of the museum's involvement. The museum can initially serve as a mediator and an outside perspective on these relationships, but the relationships, once established, may not be reliant on the museum.

Social capital establishes these relationships as valuable, but the question then arises as to why the museum should continue to invest in promoting relationships that may move beyond its own involvement or operate around it? Does USHMM lose the benefit of these connections of it is no longer immediately involved? In addition to the museum as an individual actor, social capital helps demonstrate the long-term value of helping build relationships by providing a way to understand how relationships affect the society in which the museum operates more broadly, whether through opportunities, stability, growth, or inclusion. The purpose of these 'social hole' positions then becomes not necessarily to build an actor's individual connections, although that is also beneficial, but to strengthen network relationships in general, whether the coordinating actor is directly included in those relationships or not.

6.5.1 Beyond self-interest

Coleman examines how social capital moves individuals past what he believes is an inherent inclination towards self-interest. His intellectual framework revolves around the classical economic idea of rational choice theory, the idea that individuals are largely motivated by self-interest. He wonders then, why people cooperate when their immediate self-interests may be better served by competition. For example, it is often immediately more beneficial to keep all of one's resources, whether in terms of knowledge, time, or money to oneself as opposed to contributing to larger efforts where gains may not be immediate or may be diffused across a large group. Why then, do members of society donate, create voluntary organisations, pay taxes, et cetera? It is a contemporary social application of the prisoner's dilemma where actions that will return benefits in the short and long term do not coincide and yet individuals manage to

cooperate despite that conflict (Field, 2008, p. 24).[4] While it is questionable as to whether Coleman's view that human nature is inherently hard-wired for selfishness is sufficient to explain human or social behaviour (I do not believe it is), social capital can help explain seeming contradictions in motivations and actions that delay returns on investment or prioritize social good over individual gain.

To partially address this seeming incoherence between self-interest and cooperation, Coleman proposes that there is a "broadly perpetrated fiction in modern society" which largely stems from natural rights theory in political philosophy and classical and neoclassical economic theory.[5] That 'fiction' is that, "society consists of a set of independent individuals, each of whom acts to achieve goals that are independently arrived at, and that the functioning of the social system consists of the combination of these actions of independent individuals" (Coleman, 1990, p. 300). The problem with this, according to Coleman, is that independence and "perfect competition" do not account for an uneven distribution of resources and the need to leverage and complement one's resources with those held by others (ibid).

For Coleman then, a major characteristic of social structures, and one that leads to the need for social capital, is the interdependence between actors that arises from varying levels of interest and control over events and resources. Actors have total control over some resources and events, but also have interests in events under the control, either partially or fully, of other actors. Social capital is the resources inherent in the social relationships that come into existence as individuals attempt to deal with the discrepancy between control and interest, and the social interdependence and systemic functioning that arise from those efforts (Coleman, 1990, p. 300).

This discrepancy between interest and resources is also a reason for organisations to come together in a network. These connections, whether viewed from

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[4] Prisoner's dilemma is an example of Game Theory (see footnote 2) which aims to explain why two rational, intelligent individuals might not cooperate when it is in their best interest to do so. The game proceeds as follows: Two partners in crime are arrested and held separately. They have no way to communicate with each other. The prosecutor does not have enough information to convict them on the main charge and hopes to convict each for one year on a lesser charge. The prosecutor offers each of them a deal. The offer is as follows: If both betray each other, they both serve two years. If 1 betrays 2, but 2 remains silent, 1 will be set free and 2 will serve three years (and vice versa). If they both stay silent, they will both serve one year. Pure rational self-interest would have both prisoners betray the other, but they will get a better reward if they both stay silent. The result of prisoner's dilemma games has been to demonstrate that people have a tendency towards cooperative behavior, more so than would be suggested by pure rational-behavior predictions.
[5] Natural rights, as opposed to legal rights, are those which are not given to individuals by laws or rules and are, therefore, inalienable and universal.

a social capital or a network perspective, allow actors to achieve ends that would either not be attainable individually or at a considerably higher cost. Pathways for exchanging resources and share values are productive elements of society and facilitate the community norms and growth that protect a community in the long term (Coleman, 1990, p. 304).

By becoming more central or taking the position of one of the 'social holes', the museum facilitates transactions and, as a result, lubricates the entire social network, allowing actions to be both smoother and more purposeful. The museum contributes to a framework within the network for building and sustaining social capital, for allowing the various forms of expertise held by network members to be shared, built on, and empowered to create the connections that can help organisations and society more broadly to withstand the fluctuations in social, environmental and economic arenas (Field, 2008, p. 19). It demonstrates that the museum is part of a larger society and, therefore, benefits when that society is stronger as a whole.

The museum's role in facilitating discussions between the various participants at MAEW, the discussions between the ADL and police officers, and the approach to leadership that brings together both established leaders and emerging ones, can all be seen as indicators of the museum taking this social hole position. The social capital perspective allows us to look at the museum's move from periphery to centre not just as a central node for the distribution of resources, but as a growing awareness of the value of relationships and the museum's role in the process of building a stronger social structure. This suggests an outward looking perspective on the museum's part, which was reflected in interviews and observations and shows a growing confidence in capacities. Without the social capital lens, it is difficult to conceptualize the broader implications of the museum's move beyond the benefits to the museum itself. Social capital allows us to make a stronger argument for the value of the museum's presence in the network and the exchanges that take place in that network, whether directly involving the museum or not. We now broaden this one step further to look at the benefits from the broader perspective of the market and economy.

6.6 Engaging with the marketplace

Up to this point, we have mainly focused on the intangible values of social capital in regards to the museums involvement in networks, but social capital is also an

"investment in social relations with expected returns in the marketplace" (Lin, 2001, p. 19). That marketplace might be economic, political, or social, but it is part of a larger system of capital exchange and has important impacts on other forms of capital, namely human and economic. Human capital can be defined as the knowledge, skills, and health found in individuals that allow them to carry out jobs and contribute to the economy. Physical capital is the physical components of production and economic growth, whether the inputs or outputs (Lin 2001, Coleman 1990, Centre for Educational Research and Innovation 2001). Social, human and physical capital are all linked by their contributions to social and economic growth and, in addition to social and cultural benefits, can have economic impact and help to sustain organisations in times of flux or economic hardship.

Social capital contributes to human capital in a number of ways. Firstly, human capital, specifically knowledge and skills, is held in people's heads and can be difficult to share. One of the main benefits of social capital is the links it creates between individuals and groups that allow the exchange of information, thus potentially freeing up this held human capital. Figure 6.1: Coleman's model of capital flow provides a visual of these connections by representing a three-person or organisation structure. A, B, and C are individuals and nodes in a small network. They represent the human capital. The links between them represent the social capital through which the human capital in the form of knowledge or information can flow.
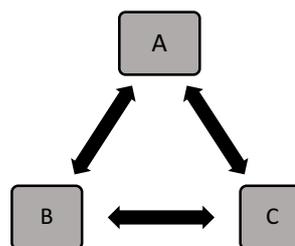

Figure 6.1: Coleman's model of capital flow (Coleman, 1990, p. 305)

By creating linkages between diverse groups, "they [people or organisations] are going to learn and keep learning new things, things not already in their repertoire of knowledge and skills. In a fast-changing world, the power of network links to unfamiliar people and organisations is crucial" (Gee, 2002, p. 68). Social capital makes the divisions and gaps in knowledge smaller.

The second way social capital can contribute to human capital is through the creation of opportunities. In addition to linking individuals to diverse others for knowledge sharing, numerous studies have affirmed that individuals with large

networks of diverse members have more opportunities for personal and professional development and success.[6] They are better connected to be aware of emerging opportunities, to come to the attention of those offering the opportunity or to take advantage of the chance.

This relationship with human capital carries on to impact physical and economic capital. More connected, informed, and productive people spur economic growth. The OECD's Centre for Educational Research and Innovation terms this the, "new economy" (2001). This "new economy" focuses on networks, trust and partnerships in collaborative ventures. Networks, where social capital is embedded, foster strong opportunities for growth through innovation and learning (Centre for Educational Research and Innovation, 2001, p. 46). Just as with the discussion of addressing social issues, collaboration and networks can help companies reach audiences they would not be able to access on their own or solve problems they would not otherwise have the resources to address. These social capital links can be converted to economic capital and indeed social and economic capital can be seen as inter-reliant (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243). Social capital is the mechanism that links collective action and economic development together (Woolcock, 2011, p. 201). Lin draws the link between social and economic capital because, "capital is intrinsically a social notion. Capital entails processes of social activity" (Lin, 2001, p. 7). This is important for museums that want to (or perhaps are required) to demonstrate benefit beyond their social role.

According to Coleman's approach, social capital is a public good. While it can be leveraged by individuals, it is not the private property of those who use it or those who receive immediate benefits (Coleman, 1990, p. 315). The benefits of exchanges in social capital are promises of information, trust, or reciprocity, what Coleman calls the "credit slip" concept of social capital (ibid). These benefits belong to society as a whole and can be enjoyed by those who are not immediate parties to exchanges. In a society where social capital is prevalent, actors benefit because they can assume transactions with others are fair, that they have a certain amount of personal safety, and that others are honest with them, whether or not they have been actively building those

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[6] See Putnam's (2000) discussion of employment and employment opportunities, in particular *Chapter 6: Informal Social Connections*, and *Chapter 19: Economic Prosperity*

norms of reciprocity themselves. As such, social capital fosters growth in other forms of capital and benefits markets in general.

Finally, in regards to human and economic capital, social capital can help us understand the alternative forms of value in society beyond currency and objects. Social capital can move us away from the 'deficit model of disadvantage' by emphasizing the resources communities already have, in all of their various forms, instead of focusing on what they lack which is often couched in economic terms (Field, 2008, p. 141). Social capital can redefine the value and potential contributions of individuals or communities who may not be able to contribute to the economy in traditional ways. Instead of dismissing economically weaker areas as less valuable, social capital redefines potential contributions in other areas and can provide a basis for ensuring the economically disadvantaged are not excluded (ibid). This is exemplified in the BTLH programme described in the introduction to this chapter where students are valued for their knowledge, their contributions to the museums programme, and their role in the police officers' experience.

The relationship between forms of capital is important in addressing larger societal issues because of a growing recognition that economic growth alone cannot solve our greatest societal ills such as poverty, inequality, and exclusion. Robert Hass, the former US Poet Laureate and a Pulitzer Prize winning author, once said, "capitalism makes networks, it doesn't make communities. Imagination makes communities" (Weil, 1997, p. 15). Well-being is broader than economics and the strength in relationships can provide an important addition to economic theory. As Woolcock claims in support of including a social theory approach, "social theory is not so fragile, economic theory is not so robust, and some form of mutual exchange is needed for sensible resolutions to be crafted in all realms of life, especially those where the topics of debate are inherently contentious" (2011, p. 199).

The role of social capital beyond the social sciences is gaining traction. In 2001 the OECD released *The Well-being of Nations: The Role of Human and Social Capital.* In this document, the OECD builds on the long-standing theme of human capital supporting economic growth to argue that social capital also has a part to play in, "sustainable economic and social development" (Centre for Educational Research and Innovation, 2001, p. 7). As new forms of interaction and diversity emerge from the proliferation of globalisation and new technologies, social capital allows us to reimagine social cohesion in ways that economic or human capital cannot (Centre for

Educational Research and Innovation, 2001, p. 9). Increasing flexibility in work schedules, globalized markets, changing family structures, shifting roles for women and the elderly, deregulation of markets, and information technology all shift the "social coordinates" by which we navigate (Field, 2008, p. 102). Increased mobility, transport, communication and prosperity, more awareness of diverse identities, and the politicization of those identities all create the emergence of new social and political fault lines (Woolcock, 2011, p. 204). These all require the examination and restructuring of social norms and values and negotiations on a social, rather than economic, level.

We see this revaluation in the museum network where partners and collaborators are chosen for their community connections, their social values, and their efforts to build stronger societies instead of for purely economic contributions. Value and importance is assigned based on less tangible strengths. Cadets, non-profit partners, government bodies, and professors can all be equally valuable partners. They are seen as part of a system instead of individual entities and their value lies in their relation to each other as opposed to each in isolation.

This focus on relationships and interactions introduces the conclusion of this chapter: how social capital provides us with a way to engage with the debate around the appropriate role for the museum as an agent of change. Throughout our discussion of social capital, it has been implied that the museum, or any member of the network, has agency in identifying partners, establishing values, and building relationships in their various forms and strengths. We now turn to this discussion in more explicit terms, looking at how social capital can guide the discussion around the museum as an active agent with a purposeful and direct role in shaping social context and change.

6.7 Chapter conclusion: Active agents

Broadly speaking, according to social capital, relationships are valuable. There are different types of relationships, whether in terms of the actors they connect, the resources exchanged, or the goals of those brought together, but in each type there are exchanges, social norms, and reciprocity. These relationships might provide opportunities or they might allow actors to broaden their own scope and impact. In the context of this thesis, these relationships help us understand how networks operate and where actors sit in relation to others. Social capital also situates networks in larger

contexts of economic and human capital. Importantly, however, social capital requires participation.

This active participation is emphasized in Putnam's work. Building and maintaining the relationships that foster innovation and civic engagement is a dynamic and ongoing process and requires, "people who have active and trusting connections to others" (Putnam, 2000, p. 288). Whether it is in terms of the resources used, the connections made, or the consensus reached, there is a shift that needs to happen with social capital from individual action to an organized movement. Resources are combined to create, "system-level behaviour" (Coleman, 1990, p. 305). Collective action, and action in general, is at the heart of social capital.

This approaches the larger debate within museum practice and scholarship around whether museums should be passive, neutral places for discussion, or whether they should take on more active and provocative roles in arguing for social justice. This question around an active role and its relation to position in a network will take up much of the concluding thoughts for this thesis, but again social capital provides us with a way of conceptualizing exactly what happens when a network actor like a museum takes an active or passive role.

The returns on social capital, what those who are involved in the relationships in which it is embedded receive, can be broken into instrumental and expressive. Instrumental returns are active and lead to obtaining resources the organisation or individual did not already possess, whether economic, political, or social. These returns come from actively reaching out for new connections and creating shifts in the network. They are useful for creating innovative sparks and encouraging change. Expressive returns, on the other hand, are more inactive or passive. These returns involve maintaining resources organisations or individuals already have and are useful for mobilizing others with similar interests and resources (Lin, 2001, p. 249).

Neither of these returns is ideal on its own. Too much focus on instrumental returns can be destabilizing and cause confusion or even the loss of identity. This sort of constant reaching out to new or shifting connections means an actor is always moving from one thing to another and the constant movement can be destructive. On the other hand, too much focus on expressive returns can cause stagnation. Focusing on established resources and those that have the same resources could also ultimately lead to social division and even cause class or social conflict (Lin, 2001, p. 249). Clearly there is a balance necessary here.

An organisation like USHMM must have a clear identity and sense of its strengths, weaknesses and goals or it will fail to effectively direct its efforts. It must also, however, reach out and attempt to shape the network and the society in which it sits or face stagnation. By remaining inactive and focusing on its expressive returns, the museum will not only be ineffective but it will ultimately be working against its own mission. Passivity would send a message that the connections and resources the museum already has are adequate and that developing relationships is unnecessary. Whether intentionally or not, it would emphasize the difference between those who are included and those who are excluded, those who are alike and those who are unalike. USHMM stresses inclusion and tolerance in its mission and vision. To take a passive role in a network and focus on established and 'tight' relationships with like actors would only reinforce divisions and, ultimately, would be hypocritical. By reaching out across established boundaries, whether social, political, cultural, or economic, the museum is practicing its mission and building the inclusive society set forth in its vision. It is also recognizing that it is part of a dynamic process of social change and not a bystander.

Throughout the analysis in this thesis, we have explored how the museum is uniquely placed as a member of a broader network to address social ills through their own capacities, as well as their ability to bring other actors together around common goals or values. Social capital is a valuable asset, both for the museum in terms of its own goals and survival, and for the society in which it sits more broadly. Social capital theory defines this building of relationships and resources as an active process and, therefore, it follows that as an organisation both capable of building and requiring social capital the museum itself is an active agent.

Chapter 7 – Conclusion

The research questions guiding this thesis and the analysis in the preceding chapters lead to a number of key findings. Revisiting the research questions and how they are addressed in the analysis also illuminate the limitations of this study. This conclusion will address these findings and limitations. To review, the research questions laid out at the beginning of the study are as follows:

- Using the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) as a case study, how do museums contribute to the building of stronger, more just societies, through their involvement in larger social change initiatives?
  - How do museums fit within a larger network of social change actors?
  - As the museum becomes more engaged in 'activist practice' (Sandell and Dodd, 2010), how does its position within the network change?
  - How can the museum's involvement benefit society more broadly, beyond the immediate visitors and programme participants?

The key findings that emerge from the analysis are; the manner in which the museum contributes to social change initiatives by integrating itself into a network; the ways in which that network participation moves the museum towards a more active role in initiating change and building networks, therein challenging the potential role of museums and museum neutrality; and the value of the museum in its role as a relationship builder, building bridges across unalike actors and connecting the concepts of social capital and networks. There are also limitations in this study, namely around the uniqueness of the case study and the generalizability of the findings. These limitations also provide an idea of the further study that might emerge from this thesis.

7.1 The role of the network

A main finding to emerge through the programme observations, staff interviews, and subsequent analysis is an understanding of the network around social change initiatives in which the museum sits, both in terms of how it is formed and what role the museum plays as a member. This understanding of the network helps to answer the main research question of how USHMM contributes to the building of a stronger, more just society through its involvement in larger social change initiatives. The concept of the network helps explain the structures and motivations behind the

exchanges of resources, ideas, and power evident in the partnerships and programmes observed. It also provides an explanation as to why certain actors connect, specifically in regards to the concepts of complementarities and commonalities, and how the museum fulfils a specific niche in a broader system of social initiatives.

Networks also help explain the reciprocal relationship between the museum and its partners. It became clear through the study that, while the museum contributes to efforts and impacts partners and participants, whether through additional training, understanding, or actions, partners also have an impact on the museum. The evolution of both the museum's programming and the museum's role in those programmes demonstrates a shift in the museum's conception of the history it houses and its role in building on that history. This is demonstrated by instances such as those in the Mass Atrocity Education Workshop where the history and knowledge held in the museum are used in increasingly creative and non-traditional ways. Examples are the development of innovative curriculum, creating connection with organisations like Amnesty International or military academies that might initially seem outside the museum's immediate circle, and working to address systemic cultural changes such as the potential role of dissent in the military (5.2.4). The realisation of this reciprocal relationship and the ways in which it changes the concept of what the museum can be and do, begin to challenge the traditional conception of the museum as neutral or passive, and provide additional ways to understand the museum as an active agent of change.

7.1.1 Problematizing neutrality

As USHMM becomes increasingly active in the network and, as a result an increasingly active member of its community, questions arise around the traditional concept of the neutral museum. There is an ongoing debate on neutrality in museums in the museum sector, and this debate was evident in the research. Even in USHMM, which seemed fairly clear in its stance on human rights, tolerance, and justice, there were internal debates about neutrality and whether the museum could or should remain neutral. This case study provides means with which to examine and challenge what is ultimately the 'myth of neutrality' (Janes, 2015).

Firstly, USHMM has taken a side on the issue of human rights. The museum is clear in its goals and the impact it hopes to have on visitors and society more broadly.

It encourages visitors to, "reflect on their own responsibilities as citizens of a democracy" and warns against the dangers of complicity and inaction in protecting equality and freedoms (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, n.d.c). The concept of neutrality and USHMM's mission and purpose are at odds with each other, so the museum needs to take a stance. It would not make sense for a Holocaust memorial to remain 'neutral' on the issue of the Holocaust, nor can the museum remain neutral on the links between Holocaust history and contemporary issues if it is to memorialize the victims or promote the kinds of civic engagement and understanding that it believes are crucial to preventing atrocities and human rights violations in the future. Neutrality would not allow the museum to accomplish its goals because, as Mark O'Neill asserts, there is no evidence that 'neutral' displays promote tolerance and, "further, neutral displays seem an unlikely method of 'challenging divisive identities'" (O'Neill, 2016, p. 24). This sort of impact in the museum's mission cannot be created through neutrality. The museum has taken a stance that requires defining roles and responsibilities and breaking down divisions, all of which requires active participation from the museum. This can be seen in the theory of change, described in Chapter Five (5.2.1) as well as partnerships with organisations such as the ADL and Amnesty International who contribute not just in content but in perspective as well. Not only does the idea of neutrality not fit in the purpose, mission, or actions of this museum, but it would be counterproductive.

Beyond USHMM's active mission, this thesis also challenges neutrality by demonstrating that society benefits from an engaged and active citizenry and civic organisations have an important role to play in creating that engagement, as explored in Chapter Six (6.3.1). Museums are part of civic life and, therefore it is in society's best interest for museums to have agency. Engagement is an active process and requires active participation from both individuals and organisations.

7.1.2 Why hold on to neutrality?

In addition to the arguments against neutrality, this case also illuminates some of the reasons museums might hold onto the concept of neutrality and why these arguments are necessary at all. Based on interviews and conversations at USHMM, neutrality and the perception of trustworthiness seemed to be closely linked. There was a fear that being explicit in the themes and lessons from the history would be too

aggressive in promoting the museum's own perspective or would take agency away from visitors who make their own meanings. If the history in and of itself has value, why does the museum need to push for disequilibrium and relevancy? This returns to the larger debate around the inherent value of history and objects, as discussed earlier when looking at the social value of museums in Chapter Three. There was a real tension in the museum about whether the museum should, "craft exhibitions that are around key messages or around larger themes, or should let those exhibitions or those particular slices speak for themselves and then people can extract those messages" (Museum Staff 2, 2015). In this way, the concept of neutrality often seemed to be linked to a passive museum approach when discussed in interviews.

Based on the observation and subsequent analysis, however, trust between the museum and partners or between museums and participants did not seem to be linked so much to neutrality as to transparency. In fact, in the case of the Holocaust, not taking a stance could as equally be a source for mistrust as trust. Neutrality, or not taking a position, could just as easily be complicit with oppression and domination (Sandell, 2017, p. 161). The growth of a programme such as Law Enforcement and Society, which takes a clear stance on the value of democratic society, the role of authority, and human rights, not to mention being run in conjunction with a civil rights organisation, demonstrates that trust and neutrality are not inter-reliant. In this case, trust is linked to understanding the organisation's stance and actions. Neutrality from an organisation whose founding purpose is to memorialize victims and promote tolerance and cohesion to avoid future atrocities would be confusing and might cause other organisations to doubt the museum's motivations and loyalties. If trust comes from understanding, then neutrality does not foster trust.

Despite the opportunities to break the link between museums and neutrality in this case, "activism" was not a welcome term during the field research, a trend that seems to be common throughout the museum world (Sandell, 2017, p. 9). While USHMM strongly promotes its positions on human rights, it hesitates to use the word 'advocacy'. As one staff member said,

> it's not advocacy because we're not telling people what they should do.
> We are trying to teach them how to think, and give them an experience
> that they will remember about those values. So, I would say it's midway
> [between neutrality and advocacy] … right smack in the middle!   It's got
> a real position without being determinative or leaning towards a particular

outcome in the way that an advocacy [organisation would] (Museum Staff 1, 2015).

Activist practice is at the heart of establishing museums as effect social change organisations, yet findings in this study reinforced a disconnect between carrying out activist practice and identifying as an activist organisation. This thesis provides some alternative ways to think about or define what it is that museums are doing when they undertake such a practice, specifically by linking the concepts networks and social capital.

7.2 Linking networks and social capital

Another finding to emerge from this case was the link between networks and social capital in regards to museums participating in social change initiatives. Both networks and social capital were necessary to understand what was happening as the museum participated in the socially engaged practice at the heart of this study, but the question then arose as to how the two are linked. This thesis analysis provides a way to see how the two concepts work together and facilitate the exchange of resources as explored briefly in 6.1.2. The network, through the commonalities and complementarities on which it is based, provide the pathways for resources to flow. The social capital, built on the common goals, experience, and trust between the museum and partners, provides the grease that allows those resources to move.

This facilitation of exchange through networks and social capital is demonstrated by recognizing the museum as a convener (4.5.2), not just in terms of perspectives or hosting dialogue, but in connecting resources, information, and relationships built on the priorities and values that foster action and change. The museum is able to bring together both like and unalike groups around common goals and objectives. Once those actors are brought together, the network in which they sit as a result of their connection to the museum allows for the actual exchange of the resources that allow those common goals to come to fruition. If relationships are valuable and important for providing access to the resources that foster stronger societies, as Chapter Six on social capital suggests, a museum's capacity to identify and nurture connections helps create the links that let the museum and its partners, and arguable society more broadly, to benefit from those relationships.

The museum's position as a gauge (4.5.1) also demonstrates the connection between networks and social capital. The museum's ability to connect with a wide range of seemingly unalike groups around common themes uniquely positioned the museum to understand trends and attitudes in the network. As the museum becomes more central in the network and its social capital grows, its ability to identify and evaluate the values and concerns of those organisations with which it was connected also grows. The examples given in earlier chapters about concerns within the police and law enforcement organisations around growing tensions in society (4.4.2) and the discussions about the shifting culture of the military (5.2.4) all allow the museum to gain a broader understanding of the ways in which various groups in society, especially those tasked with protecting rights, are evolving and connecting with the society around them. Understanding social shifts and changes provides information on how both the museum and its partners can adapt, connect, and build stronger societies.

7.2.1 Reimagining 'activist'

The museum's active involvement in bringing together unalike actors and connecting various parties, described as 'bridging capital' in Chapter Six (6.2), can be conceived of as a form of activist practice. Network awareness and the value in relationships, when connected with the museum's mission, raise activist practice beyond specific instructions or acts to the level of value and rights. The museum is not accusatory or prescriptive, but challenges the frameworks within which groups and individuals interact. Activist practice does not equate to reactionary, hasty, or rash actions and statements, but looks for the connections between events and values and how to build understanding across diverse experiences. The museum identified this connection with values as their niche by linking change directly to their mission and the values espoused in their purpose. By establishing this link and transparently sharing their value sand vision, the museum is still able to create the 'safe space' that is so often spoken of as synonymous with the neutral museum, as discussed above. There is a difference, however, between neutrality and creating a safe space. This case study demonstrates that creating an open and tolerant place for different perspectives lies in addressing contemporary issues from a clear viewpoint, not avoiding them.

7.3 Further research - Links between a central network position and activist practice

From the start of this thesis, I have positioned USHMM as active in the network, whether in terms of setting goals, building programmes, identifying partners, or establishing relationships. As the conclusion in the previous chapter affirmed, an active approach to building connections is not only a possibility, but necessary if a museum like USHMM is to carry out its mission. This active approach has coincided with the emergence of a central role for the museum. Yet, while it is clear that the network allows USHMM to carry out a socially engaged practice and that the museum's position in the network shifts as this type of work becomes more commonplace in the museum, the question of the link between a central network position and activist practice is not one that has been answered fully. While at USHMM there does appear to be a link between a central network position and an ingrained socially engaged practice, it is not clear whether this trend would be true in other museums. A definitive conclusion to the link between the two is beyond the scope of a single case study, but might be the subject of future research based on this dissertation. Further research into this phenomenon would allow for a clearer answer to the second research sub question, "as the museum becomes more engaged in 'activist practice' (Sandell and Dodd, 2010), how does its position within the network change?".

7.3.1 Finding links between activist practice and socially engaged networks

Fundamentally, engaging in activist practice and becoming central in a network are two different types of actions. Activist practice in this study has been concerned with values and social issues, while moving to a central position has largely been a reflection of relationships with other actors. The two are related, however, as many of the same organisational values are present in the museum's participation in both becoming more central in the network and becoming stronger advocates for change. Primary amongst these is a value of diversity, whether in terms of backgrounds or perspectives. This is reflected in the messages of the museum's exhibitions and programmes, but it is also reflected in the ways it interacts with other groups. Valuing diversity allows the museum to approach a wide variety of organisations and individuals which, in turn, allows the museum to draw them together. This fulfils its

mission of building understanding, but also builds network connections around the museum.

Placing a value on social progress is also crucial to both of these capacities. As discussed earlier in the thesis, networks are fluid and require constant re-examinations of relationships and actions (4.1). Network members must maintain a finger on the pulse of the actions and values of the organisations around them if they are to work together towards common goals. The same can be said of much of the work the museum does to expand the lessons of the Holocaust into contemporary issues. The Center for the Prevention of Genocide, the branch of the museum concerned with informing on potential human rights atrocities and influencing policy, is consistently working to maintain an up-to-date view of what is happening beyond the doors of the museum, and the same could be said of the other leadership programmes central to this study. For the museum to effectively operate these programmes and make the lessons of the Holocaust relevant and impactful in creating the sort of change at the heart of the museum's mission, the museum must be acutely aware of the situations, values, and issues around it.

There are also practical elements that allow for activist practice and a central network position to coincide. A clear mission allows other organisations to have a sense of what the museum stands for, how they will likely engage with different topics, and what they might have in common. This transparency also facilitates trust, as described above, and allows the museum to both actively engage with issues and with other organisations. Similarly, the museum engages in ongoing strategic planning, looking closely at how the history can be interpreted, the links to contemporary issues, how the museum fits in with the efforts and values of other organisations working on similar issues, and how to identify audiences and partners. An example of this is the work the museum has done around identifying and defining leaders, as discussed in Chapter Five (5.2.4). This allows the museum to both identify touch points, important for a network position, as well as position the museum's messages in such a way that they will have the broadest reach and impact.

Despite these overlaps, it is possible that network centrality and activist practice are not connected. There are museum activities which can have great impact but for which the museum might be less reliant on other actors or could take place in much smaller networks. For example, the museum does important work on collecting testimonies and oral histories from survivors. Of course this involves a network, but

the impact from these efforts come as much from the product and the histories than the network itself. I would argue that substantial networks are still necessary for the relevance of these testimonies and ensuring that they are used in such a way that does justice to the lived experience, but their value is not reliant on a large network.

The average visitor experience is also less reliant on the museum occupying a central space in a network. The museum may have great impact on casual visitors and inspire change in their values or actions, but it may also be peripheral in their own personal web of connections. Drawing a strict line of causation between centrality and activist practice is beyond the scope of this study, but what has come out of this research is the fact that a network perspective can be a powerful tool for organisations that are concerned with relevance and affecting positive change.

7.4 Limitations - Beyond this case

Although this thesis hopes to provide a means by which to inform museum practice beyond this individual case, there are limitations in regards to expanding the findings to research questions beyond USHMM, as the discussion above on further research suggests. The first limitation discussed here is the uniqueness of USHMM as an institution. The second is the timeframe of the study.

7.4.1 A unique institution

The unique staff and organisational cultures at USHMM allow for this type of socially engaged practice. It became clear throughout the case study that the values of 'activist practice' and positive social change are embedded in the organisation, from an institutional ethos such as the theory of change (5.2.1) to individual staff members (5.2.5). While I do not know the history of the museum well enough to know how this organisational culture was established, it is clear that unique staff are necessary to initiate and perpetuate such a culture. Much seems to rely on building a team that supports such work. The museum seems to be a stage now where the culture is strong and ingrained enough in museum operations to not only survive staff turnover, but to influences new staff members. It is therefore self-perpetuating, although still in need of tending. Arriving at this point, however, is a long process. A museum professional reading this now, while hopefully informed by some of the takeaways around conceiving of a museum as part of a larger network and the impact of building social

capital, would not be able to institute overnight the kind of work done at USHMM. It is a long process that requires examination and reflection. That process is not something that can be elucidated by this thesis analysis alone.

USHMM is also unique in terms of its size, funding, and federal status. The museum has resources, both in terms of funds and authority, that many museums would not be able to access. The 'power to convene' and the authority of the museum as a federally funded, US government sponsored organisation, give the museum the authority to connect with groups such as the US Military in an official capacity that other museums might not have. While this authority is not required for making connections or building strong ties with other network members, it could be helpful in initiating the types of relationships seen in the networks and social capital discussed in this thesis.

The federal stance and funding the museum receives, however, might not always be a boon. Federal funding often comes with terms and conditions, and such links might tie the museum to outside pressures or limitations. This has previously been the case in other federally funded museums, such as the Smithsonian.[1] As stated in the introduction, the federal funding received by USHMM is generally used in regards to basic museum operation and maintenance. The programmes at the heart of this study are funded through private donations and grants. Perhaps because of that the larger US Government influence is minimalized in this area of museum work and, indeed, such an influence was not something that came up in any of the programme observations or staff interviews conducted as part of this study. That is not to say it does not exist, however, and it must be included as a factor in what makes USHMM unique in regards to other contemporary museums.

Finally, throughout interviews and discussions, the question came up of whether all museums can engage in the sort of social impact work undertaken at this particular museum. USHMM has a history that easily and richly connects to modern society and many contemporary social issues and discussions. Not all museums have such a clear link on which to build a socially engaged practice. This does not mean, however, that other museums cannot establish such a practice. Ultimately, the process, 'really has to start with the question of 'why does this particular institution exist''

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[1] The Enola Gay scandal at the Air and Space Museum, and the Hide/Seek at the National Portrait Gallery are two examples of Smithsonian museums with Federal funding coming under pressure to remove or change exhibitions as a result of the receipt of those funds.

(Museum Staff 1, 2015). While the specifics of the history in this case study are unique to USHMM, the process of identifying stakeholders, partners, values, and relationships is not. Specific organisational characteristics may be different, but capacities for positive change can be gained and strengthened across the industry.

7.4.2 Time

Another limitation in this study is the length of time that was available to conduct research. The three months spent at the museum were focused and the study in-depth, allowing for a good understanding of the museum and its programmes. It is not, however, enough to observe trends over long periods. There was an opportunity to return to the museum some months after the bulk of the research and to check back in with follow-up observations and interviews, but additional time would have only strengthened the research. Perhaps it would also have added to a greater understanding of outstanding questions, as described above in regards links between socially engaged practice and a central network positon, and future inquiries would have emerged as the study continued.

7.5 Chapter conclusion

Museums must continually re-examine and adapt their places in society and the networks we have discussed in this thesis. Many in the practice and study of museums have called for museums to respond to changing dynamics and to make sure they reflect the challenges that crop up around them and contribute to solutions. But why should museums be reactive, why can they not be at the forefront of the changes that allow for the kinds of social progress that museums have an ability and responsibility to promote? The movement from periphery to centre and the creation of relationships are accompanied by an increase in power and influence in the network as well as an increased awareness in the situation and priorities of other network members. Indeed, it seems that museums like USHMM are taking the lead on opening new approaches to contemporary issues in thoughtful, balanced, and mission driven ways. The challenge is to recognize their role in networks and embrace that power to support the values they and their partners espouse.

USHMM serves as the case for this study, but the value of an active role in a network and the importance of relationships can be applied to all museums. There is a

broader lesson here as civil society, including museums, continue, "to reach out to and engage an ever-widening spectrum of groups…while simultaneously refining their theoretical moorings" (Woolcock, 2011, p. 205). This is a complicated task, but it is not enough to embody values within the museum walls. A museum must exemplify those ideals in its actions and relationships as well as its collections.

In 1942, in the midst of WWII and shortly after the USA had joined the war effort, Theodore Low, a museum educator at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, wrote the following:

> It is the army and navy which will win the war. The museum's task lies in preparation for the peace to come. It is then, in a world which we hope will be more ready to understand the problems of others, from nations down to individuals, and which will be searching for ways to make 'peace' a word having real and lasting meaning, that the museum can assume a leadership befitting its position (Low, 1942/2004, p. 31).

Today there is still a need for organisations that build cohesion, explore difference, and work to connect diverse actors in sustained and meaningful ways. Ever-emerging tests all demand an examination of not only what museums can do, but what they *have a responsibility* to do. My goal in this thesis has not been to assign 'shoulds' or 'should nots' to the actions of museums, but to draw attention to their capacities and the powerful role they can play in a larger system of social change.

Appendix A: Observation and Interview Schedule

Observations

Law Enforcement and Society Observation Schedule

- 24/8/15 – National Security Administration
- 25/8/15 – Customs and Border Patrol
- 27/8/15 – Secret Service
- 28/8/15 – Immigration and Customs Enforcement
- 1/9/15 – Secret Service

Civic and Defense Initiatives

- 11-13/9/15 – Mass Atrocity Education Workshop
- 19/9/15 – Naval Cadet Saturday Morning Programme
- 9/12/15 – Military Graduate Training

Law, Justice and the Holocaust

- 14/11/13 – Off-site programme (video)
- 9-10/7/15 – Off-site programme (video)
- 10/12/15 – On-site programme

Interviews

- 11/8/15 – Museum Staff 3 and 5 programme overview
- 12/8/15 – Museum Staff 9 programme overview
- 19/8/15 – Museum Staff 12 interview
- 20/8/15 – Museum Staff 5 programme overview
- 31/8/15 – Museum Staff 4 programme overview
- 3/9/15 – Museum Staff 8 interview
- 8/9/15 – Museum Staff 13 interview
- 14/9/15 – Museum Staff 2 interview
- 15/9/15 – Museum Staff 3 interview
- 15/9/15 – Museum Staff 5 interview
- 16/9/15, 18/9/15 – Museum Staff 4 interview
- 17/9/15 – Museum Staff 6 interview
- 17/9/15 – Museum Staff 7 interview
- 18/9/15 – Museum Staff 10 interview

- 21/9/15 – Museum Staff 1 interview
- 21/9/15 – Museum Staff 9 interview
- 21/9/15 – Museum Staff 11 interview

Appendix B: Interview Protocol

Section 1: Introduction/broad questions

1.1) Introductions, explanation of project

      a. I'm interviewing you as part of a PhD research project around the unique roles museums play in partnerships around social initiatives. These initiatives can range from health and wellbeing to equality to tolerance, such is the case in much of the work done at USHMM. The USHMM is my case study for this project and I have been exploring the role the museum plays in such initiatives by observing and participating in a range of programs here. These interviews will be a part of my data and my hope is that they will help me to understand and contextualize some of the experiences I've had here, as well as provide an insider's view and another perspective.

      b. Consent form

1.2) Can you briefly explain your role in USHMM?

1.3) What involvement have you had in partnerships between USHMM and outside organizations?

      a. Individual role

      b. Organizations worked with

Section 2: Perspectives on partnerships

2.1) What do you think the museum's goals are in undertaking partnerships with outside organizations?

      a. What do you think the partner's goals are in working with the museum?

2.2) From your experience, who generally initiates a partnership? Do the museums seek out partners or vice versa? Can you give any examples?

      a. From within the museum, where do the partnerships take root and where does most of the work happen? For example, is it highly structured, is it top-down, is it compartmentalized by department?

      b. From your own personal experience, do you feel the museum has ownership over the programs you have worked on?

2.3) Do you think these partnerships are essential to fulfilling the museum's mission? Why or why not?

2.4) USHMM has a Theory of Change as well as a mission. How do you see the relationship between the Theory of Change and the mission? What does the Theory of Change give to the museum that the mission alone cannot or does not, if anything?

2.5) What do the partnerships bring to the museum that the museum could not otherwise have/do on its own?

    a. What do you think the museum brings to the partnerships that partners could not otherwise have/do on their own?

2.6) How/why do you think the museum contributes to these partnerships in ways that other organizations (such as universities, community groups, etc.) could not?

    a. Do you think other organizations could fulfil the same role?

2.7) What do you think is the museum's strongest asset or resource (i.e. collection, expertise, staff, position within the community, perceptions of trust, etc.) in regards to fulfilling a role in these socially oriented partnerships?

2.8) What role do you think the museum mainly plays in these partnerships? For example, do you think they are content providers, hosts, mediators, other?

2.9) What changes, if any, have you noticed within the museum that you would attribute to its involvement in these socially oriented partnerships? Are their strengths or weaknesses that have emerged or changed? Does the museum have capacities or abilities that have developed or changed over the course of their involvement in these partnerships?

    a. Where would you say these changes manifest? Are they within the staff, the ways the programs are structured? Would daily visitors notice them?

Section 3: Relation to theory/clarifying.

3.1) Do you see the museum as neutral?

    a. Do you think there is space between neutrality and advocacy?

    b. How does the museum negotiate between having a defined perspective/outlook on its subject matter and staying a safe space for different groups?

3.2) Often in collaborations, groups with different expertise or backgrounds come together and must find a common ground either through values, language, organizational culture, goals, etc. What do you think is the common ground the museum shares with its partners?

    a. How do you think that common ground is reached or agreed upon?

3.3) Do you think USHMM has a 'culture'? Do you see USHMM as a community?

    a. Why or why not? What element of culture or community are present (or lacking)?

3.4) Do you think that museums in general have a place within these kinds of social change initiatives, or do you think the work is unique to certain kinds of museums? Specific museums (i.e. USHMM)? Why?

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