Museums and their languages
Is interactivity different for fine art as opposed to design?

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ABSTRACT

The following paper argues that it is difficult to answer the question of differences between interactivity in institutions with different content without first considering the nature of museum interaction in greater depth. The paper discusses the contemporary use of the word interaction, and outlines a means whereby we can describe interaction in the museum setting more precisely by introducing the notion of the 'user-language' employed by the museum. By looking at museum labels which implement different user-languages, the paper argues that differences in interaction in fine arts museums and applied art museums derives not from differences in the material displayed, nor from limitations present in one museum setting and not the other, but from differences in the relationship proposed to the visitor by means of the user-language.

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INTRODUCTION

I have been invited to speak about whether interactivity is different for fine art as opposed to design – a topic which has already been addressed in part by many of today’s speakers. Surely it is assumed that there is a difference, and that this difference derives in large measure from the nature of the material a museum is called upon to interpret. Some content is seen to be more adapted to an interactive approach than others. I remember vividly the reactions from museum colleagues to our work at newMetropolis, Amsterdam’s science centre when confronted with the statistics that showed the average visit to the science centre lasted almost four hours. ‘That’s easy for you’ they would say ‘you don’t have objects to interpret’. This reaction is what spurred me to accept the position I currently hold as Director of Frankfurt’s Museum of Applied Art – I wanted to prove that engagement with content is not a question of
the nature of the content, but with how we interpret it in the museum setting. But this is to jump too far ahead in the story. First of all, it is commonly assumed that it is the exhibit that is interactive. We speak of ‘interactive exhibits’, ‘interactive experiences’ and even of ‘interactives’ as something that can be designed by specialists, tested and their outcomes measured. In all these cases it is the object that is assumed to be interactive – something that can be touched, felt or manipulated is claimed to be more ‘interactive’ than something that cannot.

Interactivity is normally used to mean physical interaction with an object or exhibit – a ‘hands-on’ experience. Most people, when they think of interactive exhibits at all, think of the experience of the Bernouilli blower, the ball bouncing gaily on a jet of air, or making soap bubbles, or making bridges out of blocks – all commonly found exhibits in today’s science centres. Limiting the notion of interaction to merely physical manipulation has been challenged for years, although most proponents still consider hands-on manipulation indispensable. Richard Gregory, founder of Britain’s first hands-on science centre the Bristol Exploratory, speaks of ‘minds-on’ exhibits\(^1\), and uses illusions to show the workings of the human mind. Jorge Wagensberg, Director of the Museu de la ciencia in Barcelona speaks of ‘heart-on’ exhibits, which he uses to describe exhibits with a large affective dimension. In all three cases, interaction seems to indicate a particularly tangible engagement with the exhibit. Even so, the notion of interaction itself – whether hands, minds, or hearts-on – does not give any real indication of the quality of the experience. Interaction is too vague a term to use precisely enough to be helpful.

Physical interaction is not a prerequisite for interaction, nor, as Josie Appleton claims, is the visitor obliged to publicly interact. For instance, in my office is a vitrine, specially designed for the Richard Meier monument of which I am steward\(^2\). In the vitrine is a selection of beautiful glasses, from a 16\(^{th}\) century Venetian masterpiece to a set of Boris Sipek glasses. I often use the vitrine to test new text panels – after all; we are not an interactive science centre! I have one text panel with the title ‘Glasses through the century’. It is amusing, informative, and written in a popular style. Visitors to my office often stop to read it, and chuckle at the humour. I also have another text panel, with another title. This title reads ‘One of these glasses is a fake’.
The difference in behaviour is striking – often visitors stand for ages closely inspecting the glasses. Nor is the question trivial – after all, what is a fake glass anyway? The exhibit, by virtue of its user-language, confers the property of interactivity on the user with significant gains in the amount of time the visitors engage with the objects – even behind the daunting glass of the showcase. Surely this too is interaction?

It is however no co-incidence that interactive exhibits and the corresponding educational theories that place interactivity at their core stemmed from the science centre movement. Bereft of objects, science centres had as their challenge to render phenomena visible, which almost by definition involved inviting the visitor to participate in the process of creating rainbows, making waves and mixing colours. Moreover, the cultural discourse that would have us believe that the experience of art is unmediated is conspicuously absent in the world of science and technology – no-one pretends that a steam engine explains itself, or that a chemical reaction can be appreciated without some small understanding of what is going on. The applied arts find themselves as always in the middle, but as the new British Galleries amply demonstrate, this makes it easier for them to exploit the tactile properties of much of their content to create a wide variety of interactive experiences.

It is therefore widely believed that science centres – and with the example of the V&A increasingly applied art museums – are themselves more interactive than their fine arts counterparts. On the one hand, a visit to the science centre would seem to confirm this belief. Children run, shout, babble and bellow with abandon, and the scene at Launchpad or its many cousins is one of unbridled activity. The visitors pull this, push that, peer down microscope and shout down tubes. On the other hand, in the traditional fine arts museum one is struck by the listless lack of engagement with the works of art. At best a visitor will remain a few minutes in front of a piece of art, and then only in the museums that still have few enough visitors to preserve the calm and quiet needed for thoughtful reflection. At worst, a visitor is caught in the ‘Vermeer Shuffle’ that characterises the blockbuster exhibition, squeezed relentlessly past a selection of masterpieces in a peristaltic procession towards the inevitable shop at the exit.
But is all as it seems? A closer look at the science centre gives quite another
impression. On closer inspection, the much-vaunted interactivity often masks
experiences which in fact close down the visitor’s ability to explore, and limit the
ways in which they can direct their own discovery. For decades now it has been clear
to many science centre professionals that all was not well in the world of hands-on. In
a study conducted at Canada’s largest science centre in 1987, Drew Ann Wake and her
colleagues recorded the following startling findings: visitors tended to use hands-on
exhibits for an average of under two minutes, and rarely completed them\(^3\). On the basis
of these statistics the art museum comes out quite well! Curiously, the same visitors
were often prepared to spend over ten times as long with simple wooden puzzles.
Moreover, while working on puzzles, visitors tended to talk with each other, share
experiences and strategies, and use the opportunity for exchanging information. As
informal educators, we were reluctant to throw away all our claims to being an
educational environment, but it seemed to us that if a visitor spent no longer than 40
seconds with an exhibit, it was unlikely whether any serious learning had occurred.
On the other hand, while we could not say with conviction that learning had occurred
if the visitor spent twenty minutes, it certainly seemed more probable. Apparently not
all interactive exhibits are created equal. We therefore started to look at exhibits in a
different light, and posed different kinds of questions.

INTERACTIVITY AS A PROPERTY OF USERS, NOT EXHIBITS

What if we started to look at interactivity as a property of the visitor, and not of the
exhibit? What if we looked at the exhibit as a tool that if properly conceived, conferred
the property of interactivity on its user? What would this interactivity look like?

The trouble with the word interaction is that it can refer to an extremely wide variety
of visitor activities, some trivial, some satisfying. These can include pushing a button
to set an exhibit in motion without waiting to see it begin, to twenty minutes spent
trying to fit three wooden blocks together into a pattern. This range of behaviour
seems to be independent of the type of museum – intense concentration can be seen in
a fine art museum as readily as an interactive science centre. It also seems to be
largely independent of the technique employed – many ‘hands-on exhibits hold
visitors for less than a minute, while a provocative text can keep them engaged for
twenty minutes or longer. What does seem to matter, however, is the way in which the
interaction is structured by the museum. What is missing, however, is a way to talk
about critical differences in the way we as museum professionals invite our visitors to
interact in the museum setting, and to describe the kinds of interaction we want to
elicit. Many attempts have been made, certainly. In a recent conference on evaluating
informal learning, Eileen Hooper-Greenhill listed the following outcomes as being
important indicators of engagement: persistence, asking questions, creativity, asking
other’s support, making own definitions, and show & tell – all highly desirable.

Some years ago, in an attempt to answer these questions for ourselves, the design
team at newMetropolis established several criteria by which we could assess whether
we had improved the informal learning environment. In this we followed the work of
the American psychologist of creativity, Mikhail Cziksentmihalyi, who described in
1990 what he called the ‘flow’ experience, which he argued characterises most
intrinsically rewarding human activities from sport, to music, to art appreciation.
Activities that manifest ‘flow’ are self-initiated, self-sustaining, and often self-
structuring. Cziksentmihalyi defines flow as "a subjective state that people report
when they are completely involved in something to the point of losing track of time
and of being unaware of fatigue and of everything else but the activity itself." [italics in
original] The experience should ensure that the opportunities for action are more or
less matched by the visitor’s ability to act at any given time. In order for this
experience to be self-sustaining, it must also create the possibility for increasing
complexity, to differentiate new challenges in the environment, to integrate new
abilities into our repertoire of skills." In order to continue the ‘flow’ experience, the
visitor should want to return, to try the exhibit again, to do it better a second, third, or
fourth time.

Following this line of reasoning, the question is how could we create informal learning
environments that became self-structuring and self-sustaining? How could we support
the conditions for the ‘flow’ experience? How could we shift the focus from the
exhibit as end-in-itself, to the exhibit as a support for human activity - discussion,
dialogue, debate? How could we develop exhibits that registered the activity of the user, and made it available to other users? Finally, how could we develop exhibits that genuinely changed as a consequence of the user’s activity and intentions?

Another way of looking at the challenge is to examine the tension between variety and coherence. This tension can be described in several ways. Fundamentally it is a tension born of the desire to support the greatest number of coherent experiences for the greatest variety of users. However, traditionally coherence has been purchased at the price of a loss of variety - the scientist’s taxonomy, the curator’s schema, the designer’s storyline all mitigate against the user’s freedom to shape the experience of the museum himself according to his own needs. Conversely, an increase in variety often comes with a corresponding loss of coherence - the user is left to her own devices to create an infinite variety of confusing and incoherent experiences. When we hear the science centre is under attack, and watch its attendance drop sharply, we can see the consequence of neither delivering the variety nor the coherence demanded by the late 20th century user. Given the proliferation of media that seem to promise both in abundance, the institution must take a critical look at the opportunities it offers.

At the exhibit level, the tension can be seen by taking two examples. One has the visitor construct a catenary arch out of carefully shaped blocks that illustrate the principle perfectly - but in only one way. The other is an open-ended play area where the visitor can use a variety of blocks to make a variety of bridges that all stand - but why? Neither exhibit is sufficient to create the conditions for the self-structuring, self-sustaining activity that characterises what Cziksentmihalyi calls ‘flow’ - nor what would characterise user-driven learning. Neither exhibit fully supports its user. What kind of activity would we look for in an effective support to informal learning, a support that maximised both variety and coherence at the same time? Two familiar examples allow us to describe such supports - language, and games. Both are self-sustaining, self-organising, and tend towards maximum variety at the same time as maximum coherence. Both constrain the user, but at the same time unlock an infinite variety of structured activity. Both rely on the user’s ability to decode ‘patterns of intention’ latent in the structuring of the environment, and use that information to
structure new activity. Both can be used as models for the design of successful exhibits.

If simultaneously maximising variety and coherence is seen to be important, the question is how can we create learning environments that show some of the positive characteristics of language, or of games? How can we create and support experiences that are self-organising and self-sustaining?

In her book ‘Reading Frames in Modern Fiction’ literary critic Mary Ann Caws examines the fact that post-structuralism notwithstanding, many readers remember the same passage in a book. This suggests that despite the putative death of the author, and the uncontested constructive agency of the reader, authors ‘do’ something with text to create framing devices independent of the individual reader. What if we looked more closely at our work as museum professionals to discover the ways in which we confer properties on our visitors by means of our interpretation? What follows is an attempt to look more precisely at how we create interpretive tools that confer the property of interactivity on our visitors.

SHAPING INTERACTION WITH USER-LANGUAGES

In order to develop a more precise way in which to discuss these questions, I would provisionally suggest that we put aside the word ‘interaction’ for a moment. Instead I suggest we ask ourselves what kind of activity – or if you wish, what kind of interactivity – do we want to observe in the museum? The first is sustained engagement – with the emphasis on the word ‘sustained’ – whereby the user engages in the self-initiated, self-directed, self-sustaining activity, described by Csikszentmihalyi as ‘flow’. The second is ‘variety’, by which I mean that the visitor herself generates new ideas and new directions. We define ‘variety’ as the degree to which the visitor is directly shaping the course of her own experience. With these two criteria in mind, we are in a position to better define what we want to see in the museum setting – a self-directed visitor engaged in control of meaning making in the museum. The ideal we are looking for is self-sustaining, but it is more than a gerbil on
a treadmill – it is self-absorbed concentration in which the user helps control the activity. Coincidentally perhaps, this is the behaviour that characterises puzzle solving, working in an interactive laboratory, playing an enjoyable game or reading a murder mystery. Self-initiated, self-directed self-sustaining engagement is a hallmark of experiences whereby we learn, in Jonathan Miller’s words, that ‘the life of the mind is a pleasure’.

In order to speak of differences of quality in engagement, however, I need to introduce a new term, borrowed from systems research, that of a ‘user-language’. As defined by Dutch theorist Gerard De Zeeuw, a user-language is the ‘collection of constraints that helps shape the variation generated by an actor into patterned behaviour’⁴. The exhibit’s user-language is defined by the constraints it places on the visitor’s interaction – the exhibit ‘implements’ the user-language by imposing constraints on the visitor’s experience.

From the moment a visitor arrives, the museum (its designers, its educators, its staff) is constantly placing constraints on the visitor’s experience. Contrary to some opinions, there are relatively few unconstructed and unmediated moments in a museum setting – the museum, wittingly or unwittingly, shapes virtually every aspect of the visit. It does this by presenting some things and not others, in a particular order and not another, in short, by constraining the visitor. These constraints could be directional text, they could be the choice of colours, they could be the deliberate placement of objects in a room. For instance we may decide to put a Picasso painting beside an African mask. We have deliberately made meaning, and are inviting the visitor to explore that meaning. This interpretation is a large part of what we do as museum professionals. We often think that what we are communicating is purely content. We write texts and we tell ourselves it is only about content – and all that matters is using the active voice, writing short sentences, avoiding difficult words in order to communicate the content clearly. But the meaning we want the user to construct is not just about the relationship between Picasso and his sources – it is also about the relationship between the museum and the visitor/user. Who is in control? Who makes the meaning? Who gets to say which features were important to Picasso and which weren’t? I would argue it is very important to see that no label is just a label, no juxtaposition of objects
just two objects together. Everything we do in the museum is intended to create meaning for the unknown and by definition unknowable user, and proposes a specific role for the visitor in her own exploration of the museum environment – her own meaning making. In this respect, it is not only what we say that matters, but more importantly, the invitation we make to the user to enter into a certain relationship with the museum. The way in which we structure a specific relationship to the visitor by means of our exhibits is its user-language.

The exhibit’s user-language describes what counts - what can be included, and what is made invisible. The user-language constrains interaction with the exhibit, and in so doing confers specific properties on the user. In the museum, the most significant user-languages are ‘textual authority’, ‘observation’, ‘variables’, ‘problems’, and ‘games’, insofar as these user-languages impose constraints that confer certain desirable properties in the museum setting. The notion of a user-language allows us to describe and analyse the museum label in terms of both its content and its intent. For instance, a text about a given subject written in the first person could use any of a number of different user-languages - it could cite canonical texts, recount observations, weigh different possibilities, propose a murder mystery, or suggest a game.

What do I mean when I say that a user-language can confer a property? A loaded gun, lying on a table in an empty room, has certain properties in terms of which it can be described - its weight, size, calibre etc. If this loaded gun is given to a person in a crowded railway station, the gun confers the property of being dangerous. A ‘new’ entity is created - a person with a loaded gun.

Neither the person with the gun, nor the gun, remain the same. The person has become dangerous, certainly, but the gun too has a new property - its trigger can now be pulled. The properties conferred, both to the gun, and to the person, are largely independent of the individual character of either. The person need not be a psychotic to be dangerous. The gun need not be a particular calibre in order to be fired. Moreover, these properties are only conferred in a specific kind of setting. If the gun is handed to a person at the bottom of a swimming pool, the property of being dangerous
is presumably not conferred, nor even, perhaps, the gun the property of being able to be fired.

What is true in the example above is true of all support systems, which is what gives the notion its strength. Supports convey properties independent of the specific particularities of the user. All the user has to do is to choose to use the support. The person could refuse to accept the gun, of course, just as a user can refuse to accept a support.

As in the example of the gun cited above, interpretation can be studied by looking at the user-languages it employs, the properties these user-languages confer on the user, and the properties the user confers on the means of interpretation. It should be possible to consistently develop exhibits that confer desired properties on the user, and that these properties are largely the consequence of the choice of user-language of the exhibit, insofar as particular user-languages are more effective at conferring certain properties.

For the our purposes, user-languages can be ordered in terms of the ways in which they support variety generated by actors - from the user-language of authority at one end of the scale, to the user-language of infinite games at the other. In the user-language of authority, effectively the interpretation has only one dimension - that of the voice of somebody else as an authority. In the user-language of ‘observation’, the user is addressed as an observer and hence conferred the property of being her own authority. The user-language of ‘variables’, an extension of the user-language of ‘observation’, marks the emergence of the modern museum, as it confers the ability to see, not only the visible, but also invisible relationships among things. The user-language of ‘problems’ confers actorship on the user, while the user-language of ‘games’ makes this actorship an indispensable condition of the experience, and confers the additional property of other players - with only one player, there is no game.

Let’s take some examples to illustrate different user-languages in action.
Most conventional museum texts are written in the third person – dispassionate, the voice of authority, the voice of God. If not God, perhaps a Nobel Prize winner or a distinguished scientist. For example, a text written by Robert Bakker:

Maintaining high body temperature is very expensive. In fact, dinosaurs could enjoy the advantages of high and constant body temperature ‘on the cheap’. Because of their enormous bulk dinosaurs retained the heat generated by normal, everyday activity, such as walking. They did not have to add to it by processes that required additional food, as birds and mammals do. Perhaps this is why so few kinds of dinosaurs were small.

So when I read this text, it is not just about palaeontology – the manifest content of the text - it is about the palaeontologist as well – the authority of the text writer. More importantly it is about the reader’s relationship to this authority. The implicit message of the text seems to suggest ‘I know more than you do’. At very best it suggests that the user is to be a listener, the museum a storyteller. The text not only gives information; it proposes a relationship between the text writer and the text reader. Such texts propose a relationship based on authority – the ‘currency’ of the text is the authority of the writer. Most museums rely heavily on their curatorial staff to write their texts, and on what we can call the user-language of authority to communicate their messages. Authority is not the only user-language, although it is perhaps the most common one found in museums of all kinds.

Some museums, particularly science museums, use the user-language that in fact characterises science itself – the user-language of observations. ‘Look at this, what do you see, what does that tell us?’ In the user-language of observations, the currency is shared observations – things are true if observations can be reproduced and shared. A science centre exhibit label may say to the visitor, ‘Do this, turn a handle and something will happen – what happens if you turn the handle faster, or slower?’ For example, a text accompanying the tornado exhibit in the Palais de la Découverte (1993):

Look at the tornado. Three coils heat the water in the basin, and the steam is thus put into motion with the help of a fan at the top of the cylinder. The vapour condenses into fine droplets of water to give a
thick mist. If you press on the button, the fan stops. What do you notice?

The exhibit has made a certain observation available for sharing and confirmation. This user-language actually offers the visitor a role to play – albeit a minor one. Science centres also often make use of the user-language of variables, a mainstay of science itself, which is really a way of grouping a several different observations.

However, in all of these three commonly used user-languages – the user-language of textual authority, the user-language of observation, and the user-language of variables – we instruct the visitor, and we decide which role she has to play. The visitor might well say, ‘Look - I saw that’ and endorse the observation. However, it is an endorsement of the observation we wanted her to make. We expect our visitors to see what we have put there for them to see.

With the user-language of problems, the user is in the driver’s seat, and the user sets the agenda, not the institution – the role of the museum is to support the user. In the user-language of problems, the activity is structured according to a constellation of solvable challenges. For example, a text by Drew Ann for the exhibition ‘Beyond the Naked Eye’ (1991):

#3 Be a Brain Surgeon!
You’ve always thought you’d make a great brain surgeon. Cool hand. Quick mind. Patience of a saint. Well, now is your chance to try your hand at it.

a. If doctors suspect a tumour within the brain, they will use CT scans to help find out where it is located and how big it is. But, they will also want to make as few scans as possible. Take an apple (or a potato) out of the jar and put it on the cutting board. Imagine it is a brain. Your challenge is to find a ‘tumour’ hidden inside.

Or in the event that you think that only science centres are in the position to use the user-language of problems, take the following example from the Walters Art Gallery by Joaneath Spicer (1992):
A Renaissance Puzzle: Heemskerck’s *Abduction of Helen*

Panoramic Fantasy with the Abduction of Helen, painted in Rome in 1535 by the Dutch artist Maerten van Heemskerck, is one of the most famous northern landscapes of the 16th century. Its fascination rests not only on the visual appeal of its haunting luminosity, but also on the intriguing insights it offers into the Renaissance mind: to begin with, the search by Heemskerck and his contemporaries for a new pictorial language derived from antiquity. [...] Heemskerck with his Netherlandish love of appealing detail, has created an amazing picture-puzzle, offering an intriguing and humorous challenge to the educated 16th-century viewer who could locate and identify the pieces. We hope that in this exhibition you experience again the delight in this challenge. Many clues will be offered, including surprising ones as to Heemskerck’s intentions found even in his choice of materials.

But it is for you to put the pieces together!

The next level of text is more specific, and supports the visitor to think like an art historian:

Theories as to what the painting really means

I
A discourse on the transience of life, taking its cue from the eventual decay of Helen's beauty and examples of once-great civilizations. This moral consciousness is found in Heemskerck's later engravings in the Netherlands, but such moralizing is uncommon in Rome.

II
A romantic, light-hearted celebration of the excitement of sexual love that takes its cue from Paris and Helen's mutual infatuation and his abduction of her (more an elopement). This is amusingly amplified by the aroused pigs and the statue of Priapus, Roman god of sensuality and regeneration. Italian society was not bothered by moral ambiguities, and the subject is found on many contemporary marriage chests, where allusions to the sexual pleasures of marriage are traditional. The cityscape is then a pretext for a splendid array of marvels as evidence of the greatness of the ancient world - a romantic setting on an epic scale.

If a celebration of love and if a commission, the marriage would be a celebration of a specific marriage or engagement, probably signaled by the arms on the Trojan galley shields. Only the first three from the right are now clearly legible:
France, Holy Roman Empire (Habsburgs), the Farnese, (a blank), Austria and Savoy, (illegible). Among these families there are many ties of allegiance and possible weddings, one being that of Alexander de Medici, Duke of Florence, and Margaret of Austria, daughter of the Emperor and god-daughter of Margaret of Savoy, in 1536 (Paris was called Alexander by some writers).

See which solution you prefer!

Heemskerck's Allegory on the Triumph of Time/Shields on the Trojan war galley

Key 4,5,6

In terms of engagement, the most interesting – and the most challenging – user-language is the user-language of games. A true game structures play and provides goals and closure rules. Most importantly, a game provides a measure of improvement, and is open to infinite variation on behalf of the players, who voluntarily play. In most games, such as football, hockey, tennis, cricket, called finite games by Carse\(^7\), there must be a way to win. In other games, far fewer in number but not as rare as you would imagine, such as tag, the goals is not to win, but to sustain play, these games are called by Carse infinite games. In a finite game the rules must stay fixed by conventional and inviolable by the players in order that closure is achieved. In an infinite game, the rules must be plastic in order that the players can sustain play as long as they desire.

Consider the following example taken from newMetropolis (1997)\(^8\):

Welcome to a special factory - a BALL factory.

This factory sorts and codes SIX different balls. Both the YELLOW balls and the BLUE balls come in two sizes. The small RED balls come in two weights. Your assignment is posted on the computer screens. Sort orders of SIX BALLS - by weight and by size - then send them away to be coded!

How fast can you make up the right order?
In the case of this user-language, science centres have a certain advantage over other museum types, although it is not impossible to imagine games being developed effectively in an applied art, or even a fine art museum.

CONCLUSIONS

To conclude, the user-language of ‘textual authority’ always constrains the amount of variety a visitor can generate. The constraints of the user-language of ‘textual authority’ privilege the authority cited, and make acceptance of the authority of the authority a ‘take it or leave it’ affair. The user-language of ‘observation’, which exploded like a bomb under the foundations of centuries of intellectual discourse based on the exfoliation of texts, grants an important role to the observer, but is obliged to constrain both the observations and the conditions of observing. The user-language of ‘variables’, which is, in effect, a prolongation of the user-language of ‘observation’, confers the property of control on the visitor. The visitor can experiment, test, compare, and classify observations. Nevertheless, both the observing and the conditions of observation remain constrained.

The user-language of ‘problems’ supports the visitor to define, analyse, and solve, and to compare the merits of different formulations. The solution to one problem may in fact lie in redefining it as another. Here the property of agency is conferred on the visitor, and acceptance encouraged by identifying problems relates to and derived from human experience. Finally, the user-language of ‘games’ creates the conditions for enormous variety, by conferring the property of other players, with other, competing interests. Some games come to an end after an agreed upon point (the expiration of time, the reaching of a certain score, the accomplishment of an action), others (what Carse calls infinite games), only end when the players decide to stop. The goal of an infinite game is to keep playing. Infinite games remain open to new rules and new information to achieve this end. It is important to note that only the latter two user-languages, that is those of ‘problems’ and ‘games’, confer the property of actorship on the user. That is to say, they allow user’s to structure their experience in
terms of time rather than in terms of some kind of infinite timelessness - as for example happens in the case of the language of ‘textual authority’.

This last conclusion has striking consequences for the future of museum. User-languages that do not confer the property of actorship are, in a sense, ‘exhausted’ by their use. They support the user while they are being used, but the properties they confer disappear when the user stops. However, if one of the goals of a museum can be said to support repeat use, and perhaps more ambitiously, to support the acquisition of new skills, it can no longer rely on user-languages that do not confer the property of actorship. It cannot rely on user-languages that are limited to conferring certain properties to the user only while she is using the support - in order to support acquiring new competence, the properties conferred must be sustained over time. This possibility of support over time is only possible with user-languages which confer the properties of actorship and other players - the user-languages of ‘problems’ and ‘games’, and presumably languages that still have to be designed\(^9\).

To finally return to the question posed at the outset, is interaction different in museums of fine art and those of applied art or design, I would have to answer, no. The nature of the engagement in any informal setting is potentially the same, subject to the way in which the museum chooses the user-languages it employs, and the degree to which the museum reduces the barriers that prevent the user from engaging with the material. Where museums do differ, however, is in their deliberate use – or avoidance – of specific user-languages. Science centres were among the first to be forced to explore the user-languages of observation and variables, as both are proper to the natural sciences. Given their history, they were also among the first to explore the user-languages of problems and games. This is not to say, however, that fine art museums cannot make equally good use of these user-languages. Joaneath Spicer at the Walters Art gallery in Baltimore turned her entire museum into a resource to solve an art historical puzzle, and the new British Galleries at the V&A are rich in exhibits which employ the user-languages of puzzles and even games.

What is important, I believe, is not the nature of the museum’s content, but the degree to which we make explicit use of particular user-languages in order to actively engage
our visitors in the pleasure that comes from actively exploring and constructing the world in which we live in all its variety.


2 Since January 1999 I have been Director of the Museum für Angewandte Kunst (formerly Museum für Kunsthandwerk) in Frankfurt am Main

3 Wake, D.A. and Mitchell, J. An informal study of visitor behaviour at two exhibits, unpublished research paper, Toronto: Ontario Science Centre; 1987

4 in de Zeeuw, G. and Robinson, M. Support, Survival, and Culture Amsterdam: UVA/OOC; 1988

5 Thomas Monmaney, The Dinosaur Heretic. The New Yorker, May 1993

6 Text written by Drew Ann Wake, transcribed by the author

7 Carse, James, Games and Infinite Games. New York: Ballantyne; 1986
