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Mu.SA: Museum Sector Alliance

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WO7.4.2A ETHICAL ISSUES IN THE MUSEUM SECTOR

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Module:	Integrity/ethical
Unit:	Ethical issues in the museum sector
Learning Object:	Ethical issues in the museum sector
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Abstract:	This learning object explores examples that illustrate the broad scope of current ethical issues in the museum sector, including ethical challenges that may arise from the digital environment.
Keywords:	Access, code of ethics, control of content, copyright, deaccessioning, ethics, ICOM Code of Ethics, museum ethics, museum ethics and the digital, museum values, Museums Association Code of Ethics, open access, privacy, professionalism, repatriation, social media, standards, sustainability – funding, sponsorship and fundraising



Unit: W07.4.2 - Ethical issues in the museum

sector

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More information about the project:







Unit: W07.4.2 - Ethical issues in the museum

sector

Learning Object: W07.4.2a - Ethical issues in

the museum sector

Aim and objectives

The aim is to explore examples that illustrate the broad scope of current ethical issues in the museum sector, including ethical challenges that may arise from the digital environment.

Learning outcomes

After studying this resource, you will be able to: select at least three ethical issues in the museum sector; and indicate at least two ethical challenges for museums in the digital environment.

Keywords

Access, code of ethics, control of content, copyright, deaccessioning, ethics, ICOM Code of Ethics, museum ethics, museum ethics and the digital, museum values, Museums Association Code of Ethics, open access, privacy, professionalism, repatriation, social media, standards, sustainability – funding, sponsorship and fundraising





Unit: W07.4.2 - Ethical issues in the museum

sector

Learning Object: W07.4.2a - Ethical issues in

the museum sector

Contents

1.	Introduction	6
2.	Ethical issues in the museum sector	8
2	.1. Current challenges	8
	2.1.1 Museums, sustainability and ethical challenges	10
3.	The digital and related ethical challenges for museums	13
3	.1. Access: sharing data and digital content	14
	3.1.1 Protection of personal data and privacy	14
	3.1.2 Privacy: the right to be forgotten	15
	3.1.3 Balancing access with copyright restraints	16
	3.1.4 Open access vs loss of income?	17
	3.1.5 Loss of control?	18
	3.1.6 Social media	19
4.	Synopsis	. 22
5.	List of references	. 23
6.	Glossary	25

List of figures

All photos by Ana Carvalho

Photo 1 (p. 6): Museum of Kyoto, exhibition detail, Japan, 2019

Photo 2 (p. 8): Garden sculpture, José Malhoa Museum, Portugal, 2016

Photo 3 (p. 13): Garden sculpture, José Malhoa Museum, Portugal, 2016





Unit: W07.4.2 - Ethical issues in the museum

sector

Learning Object: W07.4.2a - Ethical issues in

the museum sector



1. Introduction

In this module we address the competence **integrity/ethical**, arguing that ethics is embedded in most daily museum activities, including activities and communication in the digital environment.

In a time of many transformations and rapid changes, museum ethics is a very hot topic. **Museum professionals** not only have to carry out their work in a competent way, but also have to be aware of the broader ethical and social implications of their work. And, of course, be able to reflect on them.

An ethical practice is a shared concern among every museum professional and job profile. Gaining awareness about the meaning and relevance of **museum ethics** is a first step to critically inform and build your practice, knowing the limits and consequences of what we do.





Unit: W07.4.2 - Ethical issues in the museum

sector

Learning Object: W07.4.2a - Ethical issues in

the museum sector

In the first part of this module you have learned why ethics is important for museum professionals, how codes have been built, why do we need codes, and why learning about their value and guidelines are important in our museum practice.

In this last part of the module we will look more closely to some examples of current ethical issues in the museum sector, including ethical challenges that arise from the digital environment.

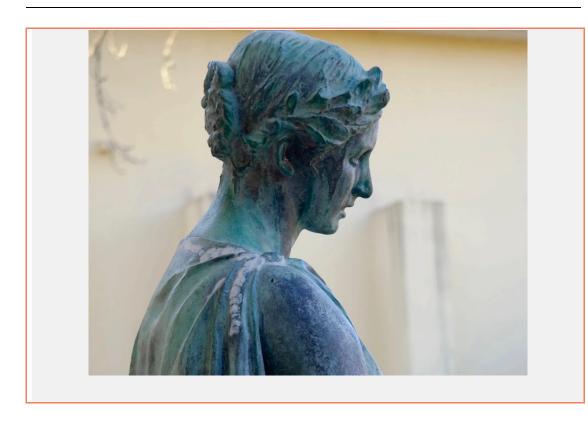


Unit: W07.4.2 - Ethical issues in the museum

sector

Learning Object: W07.4.2a - Ethical issues in

the museum sector



2. Ethical issues in the museum sector

We will start by looking more closely to current ethical issues in the museum sector.

2.1. Current challenges

As you have learned in the first unit of this module, code of ethics have also evolved in response to changing conditions in society, values and ideas.

Also, the way **museums** operate grows more complex, expanding boundaries, with consequences on how we operate and, thus, making us rethink our ethical practice. As Gary Edson reminds us: "the temptation to unethical practice becomes greater as the challenges for museums increase" (Edson, 2016, p. 133).





Unit: W07.4.2 - Ethical issues in the museum

sector

Learning Object: W07.4.2a - Ethical issues in

the museum sector

A combination of factors, whether related to internal development of museums, whether external (from society) have been influencing museums work and posing new ethical issues and discussions.

Current ethical issues in the museum sector have a broad scope, as large as the diversity of museums operations; they are multiple and intertwined, and cross all museum functions and areas, from funding and management, to politics of display, communication, technology, conservation, collections management (including deaccessioning, repatriation, provenance, open access), cooperation and partnerships, leadership and personnel conduct... the list could go on.

Furthermore, a number of current ethical issues are also interconnected to the museums commitment to serving people, both present and future generations. This brings issues such as participation, transparency, accountability, and social responsibility, among other values, to the forefront.

This commitment to society entails the respect for different stakeholders (audiences, communities, donors, funders, partners, etc.) with diverse interests, agendas and interactions with the museum, and consequently negotiation processes and conflict zones due occur. This means that the interests of museums have to be negotiated with the interests of other stakeholders, addressing potentially conflicting agendas.

While many current ethical issues are not new, there has been, however, an increasing interest by public media worldwide in ethical issues and museums, and more scrutiny from the public. As Bernice L. Murphy points out:

Ethical issues are no longer subjects for confined discussion in professional gatherings, academic teaching of museum studies, or seminars for those who work in museums. The professional conduct of museums has become mainstream news. (Murphy, 2016, p. 19)





Unit: W07.4.2 - Ethical issues in the museum

sector

Learning Object: W07.4.2a - Ethical issues in

the museum sector

In fact, it is easy to find new news in the public media about contentious or contested issues regarding museums. This happens because of a number of reasons. One is the growth of audiences in most museums, strengthening the museums high profile position in society and in the public realm. Another reason is what seems to be an increasing interest in society about issues of governance and transparency regarding the cultural sector. Also, a growing interest from the public media in covering international topics, such as illicit trafficking, looted cultural property during armed conflicts, restitutions of expropriated property seized during the holocaust. But also, the coverage of diverse repatriation claims from former colonized countries (Murphy, 2016), which have been more visible in recent years.

Repatriation, for example, not being a new issue, has been in the spotlight, generating new focus and debate on it, after the release of the French <u>report Savoy-Sarr</u> in November 2018. Commissioned by President Macron, the report recommended the restitution of looted African artworks. The report also calls for transparency in order to identify the conditions in which objects were obtained during colonization.

We will now turn to a more practical view, looking at ethical aspects that have been emerging, for example, from the context of sustainability.

2.1.1 Museums, sustainability and ethical challenges

Although not exclusively, a number of ethical issues are related to museums sustainability, as we will further explore.

One of the problems affecting the sector is the scarce funding underpinned by the retraction of public funding in recent years, where most museums are under-resourced and facing difficulties to maintain their operations in a desired manner. Thus, pushing museums to find alternative or complementary funding and





Unit: W07.4.2 - Ethical issues in the museum

sector

Learning Object: W07.4.2a - Ethical issues in

the museum sector

support, and to increase income-generating activities, while trying to balance the financial pressure with museum responsibilities to society. That balance, however, is not always achieved, compromising and infringing ethical principles.

Financial difficulties have, in some cases, caused museums to start deaccessioning processes and sell important objects from their collections (especially in the USA). The high costs of collections maintenance have led some museums to destroy important natural history collections. Moreover, concessions in museum activities (e.g. exhibitions or other museum programs) have been made to get corporate funding, to satisfy potential donors or get political support (Edson, 2016).

This is not an exhaustive list. On the other hand, it does not mean that every museum has been going through the same dilemmas. But it exemplifies some of the issues that have come up.

Next, we will briefly introduce you to ethical challenges from two real cases that recently got into the spotlight news. They point out ethical issues related to sponsorship and fundraising, and considering the increasing scrutiny and questioning from the public.

Story 1

Warren Kanders resigned from his position as vice chairman of the Whitney Museum of American Art's board of trustees

In July 2019, news highlighted: after months of protests, Warren Kanders was forced to leave the Whitney Museum of American Art's board of trustees (USA).

Warren Kanders joined the Whitney board in 2006, donating more than \$10 million. At stake was the fact that he was the owner of Safariland (a company that produces "law enforcement products" – meaning, weapons, including the tear gas used against immigrants at the US border). The protests expressed the inherent ethical





Unit: W07.4.2 - Ethical issues in the museum

sector

Learning Object: W07.4.2a - Ethical issues in

the museum sector

issue of making money out of producing weapons and then philanthropically investing that money in culture.

Source: Small, Z. (2019). "Warren Kanders Resigns from Whitney Museum Board After Months of Controversy and Protest [Updated]". *Hyperallergic*, 25-7-2019, from: http://bit.ly/2Jr8del

Story 2

The Guggenheim Museum, the Metropolitan Museum, Tate, National Portrait Gallery and Serpentine Gallery announced that they will not be taking any more money from the Sackler family

In May 2019, news highlighted: after protests, the Metropolitan Museum of Art (USA) announced that it will stop accepting gifts from members of the Sackler family. Other museums had followed the same decision (e.g. Guggenheim Museum - USA, and in Britain: the Tate art group, the National Portrait gallery and the Serpentine gallery.

At stake was the fact that the Sackler family is owner of the company Purdue Pharma – and its product OxyContin is considered responsible for the opioid epidemic in the USA. Lawsuits are currently in place to hold the company accountable for the rise of addiction and drug overdose deaths to the spread of opioids such as OxyContin in the last 20 years.

The protests expressed the inherent ethical issue of making money out of earning from opioids addiction and then philanthropically investing that money in culture.

Source: Walters, Joanna. (2019). "The Met Museum to Reject Donations from Sackler Family over Opioid Crisis". *The Guardian*, 15-5-2019, from: http://bit.ly/2WjrfIP



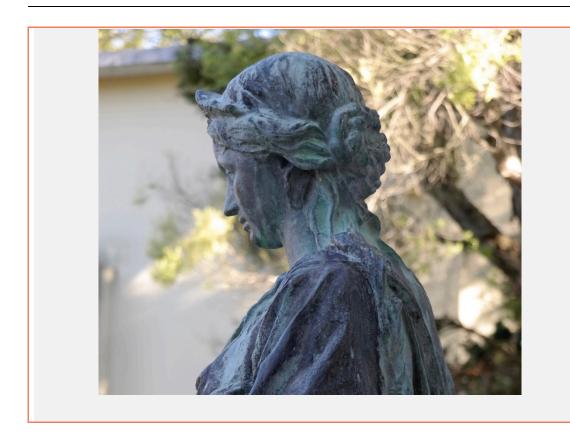


Unit: W07.4.2 - Ethical issues in the museum

sector

Learning Object: W07.4.2a - Ethical issues in

the museum sector



3. The digital and related ethical challenges for museums

The **digital technologies** are becoming increasingly incorporated in contemporary museum practices. This opens new opportunities, as well as new ethical challenges to be aware of. Next we will look at some of those challenges and concerns, keeping in mind the guidelines and advices offered by the ICOM Code of Ethics and other professional codes.

Before proceeding, keep in mind that the ethical challenges that arise in the digital environment "are far from simple, probably not all yet apparent", as Ross Parry reminds us (Parry, 2011, p. 319). Here, we will explore only some of those challenges.





Unit: W07.4.2 - Ethical issues in the museum

sector

Learning Object: W07.4.2a - Ethical issues in

the museum sector

3.1. Access: sharing data and digital content

The ease of sharing data, collections or **digital content** at large, in the **digital environment** also entails a correct understanding and application of "Protecting personal data and privacy", but also "Copyright and licenses", two areas already approached in other specific modules in this specialization course. We will briefly mention them in relation to ethical challenges in the digital environment.

Under the umbrella of access, sharing data and digital content we will also discuss issues around the balance between access and copyright constraints, the balance between open access and financial demands (e.g. income-generating activities), and the issue of control over what happens after the online availability of images of museum objects or other museum digital content.

Finally, we will also address some of the ethical challenges that come along with the use of social media in a relevant and responsible manner towards audience engagement.

3.1.1 Protection of personal data and privacy

Privacy issues sometimes conflicts with the goal of providing full access to digital collections and data, namely in the case of personal data associated with collections. For example, ethnographic objects or materials, which often relate to sensitive information, intimate details, or references to other persons (or events) made by informants. In some cases, online access was not originally anticipated, and therefore the required negotiation of different levels of confidentiality with informants (or with donors) of such materials.

As you will learn, this is not a new topic, but it requires careful attention when considering what content and data can be made available or not in the digital environment. In this regard, the ICOM Code of Ethics clarifies:





Unit: W07.4.2 - Ethical issues in the museum

sector

Learning Object: W07.4.2a - Ethical issues in

the museum sector

The museum should exercise control to avoid disclosing sensitive personal or related information and other confidential matters when collection data is made available to the public." (ICOM, 2004, 2.22 Security of Collection and Associated Data)

Moreover, the Code states: "Museums have a particular responsibility for making collections and all relevant information available as freely as possible, having regard to restraints arising for reasons of confidentiality and security" (ICOM, 2004, 3.2 Availability of collections). In sum, while the Code does not specify the management of these issues in the digital environment, these guidelines remain applicable.

3.1.2 Privacy: the right to be forgotten

There is another dimension of privacy to consider - the right to be forgotten. This concept was introduced by the European Union General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) in 2016 (become law on 25 May 2018). It allows the possibility of a person to withdraw information from the Internet or make that information anonymous, and thus the ability to control its personal information online.

This brings another complexity to ethical privacy issues. Since the measure applies to any organization in society, museums also have to comply, by establishing public policies declaring how they collect personal data from any interaction with people. This interaction can occur in a variety of forms, from membership, marketing, fundraising, ticketing, financial operations, events, visiting the museum, and so on.

This means that a museum must disclose what kind of information is collected, how is stored, how this information is used, and so on. About his issue, have a look, for example, at the <u>British Museum Privacy Policy</u> (2018).





Unit: W07.4.2 - Ethical issues in the museum

sector

Learning Object: W07.4.2a - Ethical issues in

the museum sector

If, at this point of your learning journey, you are still unfamiliar with privacy policy issues learn more from the practical manual <u>Success Guide: Successfully Managing Privacy and Data Regulations in Small Museums</u> (AIM, 2017).

3.1.3 Balancing access with copyright restraints

Providing access to collections and knowledge in the digital environment is a compelling and strong argument for museums to expand their reach and increase their visibility. Several museums have leaded the way in pursing **open access** for their collections, meaning the online availability of images of museum objects in the public domain, in good resolution, for unrestricted use and for free.

The <u>Rijksmuseum</u> (Netherlands), for instance, has released online (since 2011) around 150,000 images of **public domain**, with the highest resolution possible and without any copyright restrictions.

Several other museums have been taking the same direction, designing new open access policies: the <u>National Gallery of Denmark</u>, the <u>J. Paul Getty Museum</u>, the <u>National Gallery of Art</u> (Washington D.C.), the <u>Smithsonian Institution</u>, the <u>Metropolitan Museum of Art</u> (MET), just no name of few (Vlachou, 2017). Although, this continues to be a very debated issue and is far from being embraced by a large portion of museums.

From a more operative point of view, the point here is to highlight that any initiative of this kind, implies a careful assessment of which items in your museum collections are in public domain and those that have legal constraints, such as their copyright status, that may limit its usability in open access policies. This is also related to national copyrights laws, and the inherent negotiation processes that are implied when museums pursue rights clearance with copyrights holders (including time-consuming and resources).

In relation to this matter, from the ICOM Code of Ethics the only principle applicable, although in a broad sense, is the one that





Unit: W07.4.2 - Ethical issues in the museum

sector

Learning Object: W07.4.2a - Ethical issues in

the museum sector

states: "Museums must conform to international, regional, national and local legislation and treaty obligations. In addition, the governing body should comply with any legally binding trusts or conditions relating to any aspect of the museum, its collections and operations." (ICOM, 2004, principle 7: Museums operate in a legal manner). On the other hand, the Code also specifies the responsibility of every museum professional to be familiar with relevant legislation (local, national, etc.) and the "conditions of their employment" (ICOM, 2004, 8.1).

Nevertheless, in the case of those images of objects of public domain, the underlining question is that those images "belong to everyone and that the museum that holds them in trust does not have the right to condition their use" (Vlachou 2017, n.p.), an argument that is acknowledged in many of the open access policies of the museums mentioned earlier. Also, as already mentioned, it falls, again, on the ICOM Code of Ethics standards: "Museums have a particular responsibility for making collections and all relevant information available as freely as possible [...]" (ICOM, 2004, 3.2 Availability of collections).

3.1.4 Open access vs loss of income?

An interconnected aspect to the latter point is the argument that museums may potentially loose income by not charging for the images (e.g. high-resolution reproductions), as they usually do, if they are releasing them freely and openly. Not ignoring also the fact that **digitization** of museum collections are not free of costs.

However, if we look at the case of the Rijksmuseum it seems there is potential for a compromise around access and sustainability issues. By releasing images of good quality for free, the museum did not ignore the possibility of extra charged services, which are currently available. In fact, in 2011, following the availability of a first set of images without restrictions, there was an increase in





Unit: W07.4.2 - Ethical issues in the museum

sector

Learning Object: W07.4.2a - Ethical issues in

the museum sector

revenue in the museum that continued in 2012 with a significant increase in sales (Pekel, 2014).

While not exploring here the whole level of complexity that the issue involves, it seems clear that navigating around issues of sustainability and open access from an ethical standpoint are not as straightforward as they might appear at first glance. While from museums are expected responsibilities on the availability of collections as freely as possible, other standards also reminds us that "income-generating activities should not comprise the standards of the institution or its public" (ICOM, 2004, 1.10 Income-generating policy).

3.1.5 Loss of control?

Another issue unfolds regarding the above discussions, the issue of control over what happens after the availability of images of museum objects or other museum digital content in the Internet. These resources can be easily shared, combined, and aggregated online; they can also be easily modified or manipulated.

The arguments that drive a more open approach to the availability of these resources in the Internet rely on its potential benefits: that they can promote knowledge, fuel creativity, and spark other interpretations and creative works. However, another argument is that they can also be used for many other purposes, including abusive appropriation.

Do museum professionals want to control what happens after? Should they? Can they do it? In the words of the museologist Maria Vlachou:

¹ Barranha (2018), for instance, makes strong arguments around a more "open culture", emphasizing the importance of this vision towards the stimulation of different interpretations of the artworks, considering museum art collections.





Unit: W07.4.2 - Ethical issues in the museum

sector

Learning Object: W07.4.2a - Ethical issues in

the museum sector

[...] how do we know what people are going to do with these freely accessible images? This is, perhaps, the hardest thing for some museum professionals, who feel they have a responsibility to "protect" the works of art and their reproductions. The hard, truth, though, is that they do not. Objects in the public domain belong to everyone and no one has appointed museum professionals as arbiters of taste. (Vlachou, 2017, n.p.)

Generally speaking, it would be very difficult for museums to follow up on every use of images reproduction after they are in the digital environment, to ensure that its use respects integrity or accuracy. But there seems no doubt that the issues over power, authority and control do spark anxiety within the museum sector, including tensions and legal disputes when abusive appropriation occurs (Fouseki & Vacharopoulou, 2013). There seems not to be additional guidelines on acting ethically on this regard, other than to act when the law is breached (e.g. illicit use). Also, not ignoring the primary responsibilities of museums in maintaining collections towards the benefit of society and its development.

Nevertheless, it remains a challenging and divisive issue since museum professionals and audiences alike are both in the process experimentation and learning how to navigate and deal with it.

3.1.6 Social media

Social media (e.g. blogs, Twitter, Facebook, LinkedIn, YouTube, among others) has challenged the cultural landscape, and museums have embraced it with considerable enthusiasm when faced with the opportunity to expand access to collections and museum activities. One highlighted advantage is the possibility of interaction with users, allowing comments, sharing, and re-using content. To some extent, it can potentiate a more participatory, inclusive and engaging communication between museums and their audiences.





Unit: W07.4.2 - Ethical issues in the museum

sector

Learning Object: W07.4.2a - Ethical issues in

the museum sector

However, if social media engagement offers potential, it also offers areas of tension, as it revisits issues of control, authority, ownership, voice and responsibilities that are expanded into the digital environment. In that sense, it may not pose new ethical dilemmas, since it revisits old ones (Wong, 2013).

Let us consider the issue of control, from the perspective of social media commentary, and how it also resonates ethical challenges. One of the questions is: how do museums envisage moderation when faced with the abusive, hating comments, mocking comments or virulent expressions of racism and anti-Semitism?

As you have learned in the module about **netiquette** (Mu.SA MOOC course, week 3) there are general guidelines that should be addressed while communication in digital environments, namely the respect for different points of view and opinions.

You also learn that profanity, racist, sexist, ageist and religious comments are not acceptable. While this seems clear and straightforward, the practice is quite more complex, blurred and subjective when reconciling the diversity of opinions with freedom of speech. Can a museum allow any comment in the name of freedom of speech?

For example, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (Washington D.C.), being faced more often than not with virulent expressions of anti-Semitism and racism felt the need to draw an internal set of criteria to help navigating issues of moderation in social media, including the option of deleting comments in the interest of preventing misinformation (Wong, 2013).

Amelia S. Wong, at the time managing social media at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, also reminds us:

As with the physical gallery, choices about what gest displayed, how it gets displayed, and what interactions might be encouraged must be considered on a case-by-case basis with regard to museum goals and their ethical obligations to constituencies (Wong, 2013, 35).





Unit: W07.4.2 - Ethical issues in the museum

sector

Learning Object: W07.4.2a - Ethical issues in

the museum sector

As for the ICOM Code of Ethics, there are no specific standards that address these issues. On the other hand, the Museums Association (UK) Code of Ethics for Museums recognizes: "Museums and those who work in and with them should support freedom of speech and debate" (Museums Association, 2015a, Public engagement & public benefit, p. 6). Moreover, it underlines the need to "respect the right of all to express different views within the museum unless illegal to do so or inconsistent with the purpose of the museum as in inclusive public space" (Museums Association, 2015a, 1.3, p. 10).

About overall guidelines concerning the use of social media for audience engagement, the Museums Association Code of Ethics for Museums also reminds us:

Be aware of both the potential and the risks of social media, paper and other forms of digital engagement as tools to access and promote collections and museum activities. Consider publishing a digital media policy and ensure that staff and volunteers receive adequate training in the correct use of the media platforms used by the museum. (Museums Association, 2015b, 1.3, Digital and Online Engagement, p. 5)

Moreover, the Code also emphasizes the need for content integrity and expresses concerns related to content moderation, as follows:

Digital media is a fast changing area; innovations are often accompanied by new pitfalls and the museum should balance the need to engage audiences via digital and online activities with its professional and legal responsibilities. Ensure that staff are aware of their responsibilities in this regard, and ensure the museum is able to adequately moderate user-generated content hosted on online platforms directly managed by the museum. (Museums Association, 2015b, 1.3, Digital and Online Engagement, p. 5).





Unit: W07.4.2 - Ethical issues in the museum

sector

Learning Object: W07.4.2a - Ethical issues in

the museum sector

In sum, as you have learned, there is a need to be aware of the ethical challenges that emerge from the use of social media. From a phase of experimentation with social media engagement, museums may need to face more professionalized approaches, not ignoring the need to understand its potentials as well as the risks or limitations.

Of course, this is not a straightforward process and many blurred areas may emerge. Nonetheless, note that any ethical practice must me grounded within the museum mission and goals.

Also, museums should consider developing a digital media policy to ensure that personnel involved understand how to use social media in a relevant and responsible manner towards audience engagement. In this context, there is a need to define: "parameters of how to observe, how to moderate, when (and how) to react and intervene and where the limits of responsibility might be. It is here where the ethics of social media are still absent, or at best, only emergent" (Parry, 2011, p. 321).

4. Synopsis

We started by looking at current ethical issues in the museum sector (e.g. deaccessioning, repatriation, sustainability – funding, sponsorship and fundraising).

Next, we approached some of the ethical challenges that arise from the digital environment. Under the scope of "access, sharing data and digital content" we discussed issues related to the protection of personal data and privacy. Regarding privacy, we also looked at the ethical and practical implications introduced by the European Union General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR).

We also examined intertwined issues, such as the balance between open access and copyright constraints, the balance between open access and financial demands (e.g. income-generating activities), and the issue of museums control over open access repercussions.





Unit: W07.4.2 - Ethical issues in the museum

sector

Learning Object: W07.4.2a - Ethical issues in

the museum sector

Finally, we addressed some of the ethical challenges that come along with the use of social media when considering it in a relevant and responsible manner towards audience engagement.

We have come to the end of our module "Integrity/ethical".

Have a think about some of the questions approached and share your thoughts with us in the forum.

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Unit: W07.4.2 - Ethical issues in the museum

sector

Learning Object: W07.4.2a - Ethical issues in

the museum sector

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6. Glossary

Access: usually understood in terms of identifying barriers that prevent participation and developing strategies to dismantle them. Barriers come in many forms and may be physical, sensory, intellectual, attitudinal, social, cultural or financial. (Adapted from Museums Association, 2015a, glossary)

Audience: individuals and groups who make use of the museum's resources or facilities. (Adapted from Museums Association, 2015a, glossary)

Collection: relates to a body of cultural and heritage material. Collections may be physical, intangible or digital. (Adapted from Museums Association, 2015a, glossary)

Community: can be described as a group of individuals who share a particular characteristic, set of beliefs or attitudes. (Adapted from Museums Association, 2015a, glossary)

Deaccessioning: relates to the process of removing an object or specimen from a museum collection. (Adapted from ICOM, 2004)

Digital content: is about any type of content that exists in the form of digital data that are encoded in a machine-readable format, and can be created, viewed, distributed, modified and stored using





Unit: W07.4.2 - Ethical issues in the museum

sector

Learning Object: W07.4.2a - Ethical issues in

the museum sector

computers and digital technologies, e.g. the internet. Examples of digital content include web pages and websites, social media, data and databases, digital audio, such as mp3s, and e-books, digital images, digital video, video games, computer programmes and software. (Adapted from the DigComp – Digital Competence Framework for Citizens - glossary of new terms)

Digital environment: a context, or a "place", that is enabled by technology and digital devices, often transmitted over the internet, or other digital means, e.g. mobile phone network. Records and evidence of an individual's interaction with a digital environment constitute their digital footprint. The term digital environment is used here as a backdrop for digital actions without naming a specific technology or tool. (Adapted from the DigComp – Digital Competence Framework for Citizens - glossary of new terms)

Digital technologies: refer to any product that can be used to create, view, distribute, modify, store, retrieve, transmit and receive information electronically in a digital form. For example, personal computers and devices (e.g. a desktop, laptop, netbook, tablet computer, smart phones, PDA with mobile phone facilities, games consoles, media players, e-book readers), digital television, robots. (Adapted from the DigComp – Digital Competence Framework for Citizens - glossary of new terms)

Digitization: is the creation of digital objects from physical, analogue originals by means of a scanner, camera or other electronic device. It is undertaken as part of a process that includes selection, assessment, including of needs, prioritization, preparation of originals for digitization, metadata collection and creation, digitization and creation of data collections, submission of digital resources to delivery systems and repositories. This process is accompanied along the way by management, including intellectual property rights management and quality control, and evaluation at the end. (From UNESCO, n.d., Fundamental Principles of Digitization of Documentary Heritage)





Unit: W07.4.2 - Ethical issues in the museum

sector

Learning Object: W07.4.2a - Ethical issues in

the museum sector

Integrity/ethical: is the ability to apply ethical principles.

Museum ethics: can be described as the discussion process aimed at identifying the basic values and principles on which the work of the museum relies. (From Desvallées & Mairesse, 2010, p. 33)

Museum professionals: include all staff of the museums and institutions qualifying as museums [...] and persons who, in a professional capacity, have as their main activity to provide services, knowledge and expertise for museums and the museum community (ICOM Statutes, 2017, article 3, section 3, p. 3).

Museum: is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment (ICOM, 2007).

Netiquette: is the abbreviation of Network Etiquette or Internet Netiquette. Consists in guidelines of behaviour norms and knowhow while using digital technologies and interacting in digital environments. It is based on a common ground of adequate behaviour while communicating for different and diverse audiences.

Open access: in the case of online availability of images of museum objects, it means images in the public domain, in good resolution, for unrestricted use and for free.

Provenance: is the full history and ownership of an item from the time of its discovery or creation to the present day, through which authenticity and ownership are determined. (Adapted from ICOM 2004, glossary)

Public domain: generally speaking, it comprises all the knowledge and information that does not have copyright protection and can be used without restriction. This includes books, pictures and audiovisual works. Generally, an artwork protected by copyright falls in the public domain 70 years after the artist death (Adapted from Pekel, 2014)





Unit: W07.4.2 - Ethical issues in the museum

sector

Learning Object: W07.4.2a - Ethical issues in

the museum sector

Repatriation: term used in the sense of restitution of cultural property; when a country or people of origin seeks the restitution of an object or specimen that can be demonstrated to have been exported or otherwise transferred in violation of the principles of international and national conventions, and shown to be part of that country's or people's cultural or natural heritage (Adapted from ICOM 2004, glossary).

Social media: media channels or platforms, which can be categorized by content into four main groups: blogs (e.g. Blogger, Wordpress), micro-blogs (e.g. Twitter, Tumblr), networking (e.g. Facebook, LinkedIn) and photo/video (e.g. YouTube, Instagram). (Adapted from ICOM, 2019)