Corporate museums in Japan: institutionalising a culture of industry and technology

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Biography of the authors

Kim Lehman's particular research interest is marketing strategies in the museum, cultural and not for profit sectors. He is also interested in how firms use corporate museums as part of a brand strategy or as a resource for other corporate purposes. Kim has a strong background in the arts and as a writer has published both short stories and social commentary.

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Abstract

Corporate museums are situated at a complex juncture between the profit-oriented business world and the more traditional realm of the public museum. Corporate museums are taken here as referring to museums with managed collections which are situated within for-profit organisations. In this paper, the nature of the corporate museum in Japan is explored through the use of observation techniques in five such establishments on the main island of Honshū. The museums chosen operated across different industrial sectors and differed markedly in their scale, collections and focus. A major theme emerging from the data related to how the museums reflect and institutionalise aspects of industry and technology. This is considered at three scales: that of the firm, the industry, and broader Japanese society. In summary, further research into the corporate museum phenomenon is recommended, both in Japan and in other national contexts.

Keywords

Communication, corporate museum, industry, Japan, organisation.

Introduction

Corporate museums occupy a difficult and little-understood position, straddling both the cultural and traditional world of the public museum and the profit-motivated and ever-changing business world. Nonetheless, they have become an increasingly prevalent feature of the organisational landscape, with a number of firms having established their own collections. There are many well-known examples around the world: the Guinness museum in Dublin; the BMW museum in Munich; and the Wells Fargo History Museum in San Francisco, for instance. To date, studies of the corporate museum have yet to feature strongly in the arts management or museology literatures. This is despite the fact that such museums have been in existence for over a century (Lane, 1993) and have become a favoured destination for visitors

(Buchanan, 2000). They frequently reflect not only elements of the firm in question, including both product-related collections and aspects of the 'corporate memory' (Nissley and Casey, 2002), but also the broader industry sector of which they are a part (Danilov, 1991).

The focus in this paper is on corporate museums in Japan, a subject which does not appear to have been considered at all in the English-language literature to date. The topic of Japanese museums per se has received some academic attention from those writing in English, however. In terms of prevalence, for example, it has been estimated that there are now over 3500 museums in Japan (Fukuda, 2003). As well as museums with collections of art and other artefacts, the public sector includes university museums (Kinoshita and Yasui, 2000), museums focused on the subject of peace (Duffy, 1997), ecomuseums which have strong community involvement (Davis, 2004) and science and technology museums established by regional governments (Matsumoto, 1999). The last of these bear witness to a major surge in economic growth that Japan experienced following World War II. Alongside this has been the development of home-grown firms which have become household names both domestically and in the West, including Toyota, Mitsubishi, Sony and others. With growth comes a desire to document aspects of the firm, both for posterity and as a means of communicating aspects of the firm's heritage and current operations, hence the emergence in Japan of the corporate museum phenomenon. With such museums featuring in various guidebooks to the region (see, for example, Richmond and Dodd, 2005; Rowthorn et al., 2005), yet not in the popular or academic press, an exploratory investigation would appear to be apposite.

The aim of this research, therefore, is to explore the nature of the Japanese corporate museum and, specifically, to ascertain how such museums institutionalise and reflect the industrial and technological aspects of that society. In the next section, the concept of the corporate museum is considered. The methodology employed in the current research is then detailed: this involved observation in five museums. Following this, the findings are presented, and in the final section, conclusions are drawn and an agenda for future research into the phenomenon is set out.

The corporate museum

As has been noted, corporate museums have been little-explored in the general academic management and marketing literatures, with Nissley and Casey's (2002) paper being one of the few works in this area. This is despite the fact that corporate or company museums have a long pedigree, with Lane (1993) pointing to the United Shoe Machinery Company Museum having been in existence in Boston, Massachusetts as early as 1901 (see also Skramstad, 2000). The topic appears to have not been explored at all in the English-language museum management literature. What literature there exists is either in the form of articles in professional journals and magazines (Buchanan, 2000; Griffiths, 1999), how-to guides for practitioners (Danilov, 1992) or directories or guides for persons wishing to visit corporate museums (Danilov, 1991; Quintanilla, 1998). As such there has been little analysis of the concept of a corporate museum, or what its role might be.

Danilov (1991; 1992) provided an overview of corporate museums which has been the only in-depth analysis until recently. Nissley and Casey (2002), though concentrating on the corporate museum as a repository of organisational memory, as a strategic asset, and while considering the concept of the politics of the exhibition, did offer a general definition. They consider corporate museums to be:

exhibition-based facilities that are owned and operated by publicly traded or privately held companies, often serving roles such as public relations and marketing (Nissley and Casey, 2002: 536).

Not only is this the extent of the consideration of the taxonomy of a corporate museum, it is primarily from a generalist perspective. Consequently, it is one of the aims of this paper to set out a more detailed analysis of the corporate museum here.

The nature of a private collection

In common with public museums, corporate museums hold a collection. However, in the first instance, a significant part of the collection relates directly to the for-profit firm that owns and manages it. That is, there may be company historical memorabilia (perhaps board meeting minutes, wage books or purchasing records), machinery now out of service, and examples of past packaging and advertising campaigns. Similarly, there could also be historical documents and portraits of the founders of the firm or other important stakeholders. The collection may not be solely historical, however. In addition, corporate museums can also showcase the development of product lines, emphasising new products, with the aim of "creating a buying atmosphere for such products" (Danilov, 1991: 19). Corporate museums also promote the industry within which the firm operates. Public industrial and technical museums, in particular, see themselves as custodians of corporate knowledge in their industry (Hopkins, 2001). Corporate museums, though privately owned, commonly also view their purpose as, at least partially, to further the public's understanding of science, technology and the industry in which the firm operates (Danilov, 1991). This frequently takes the form of historical exhibitions and displays but can also include demonstrations of current technologies.

In terms of delineating the corporate museum phenomenon, for McLean, museums are essentially "object-based", with their existence depending "on their possession of a collection": heritage centres, and historical homes are ruled out, as "the material evidence is not documented or interpreted" (1994: 191). Whilst this rather narrow view of 'heritage' might reflect the poor reputation of independent museums in the UK, sometimes disparagingly referred to as the "heritage industry" (Merriman, 1991: 3), that the collection needs to be, in some way, documented or interpreted is relevant in the case of corporate museums. In the context of the corporate museum then, its collection must be presented to the public in such a way as to illustrate its relevance to either the firm or related industry.

A focus on the visit

The concept of a corporate museum being a significant tourist destination is embraced by many firms (Quintanilla, 1998). Museums such as Coca-Cola World in Atlanta, Georgia and farm machinery manufacturer Deere & Co's museum in Moline, Illinois attract hundreds of thousands of visitors each year. Many well known firms in Europe also have a long history of involvement with the corporate museum. For example, German car manufacturers BMW, Mercedes-Benz and Porsche all have museums that are visited by a considerable number of people each year, with the museums actively promoted as tourist destinations. Indeed, Mercedes-Benz have recently re-modelled their museum on the outskirts of Stuttgart to create a new 16,500 square metre site displaying some 1,500 objects including 185 vehicles and aircraft (del Carpio, 2006).

These museums are, as Buchanan describes, "tourist bait", providing a mix of education and entertainment that results in consumers achieving an "unprecedented intimacy with cherished brands" (2000: 119). The tone here is negative, which is perhaps related to the tensions between commerce and the collection which is in itself linked to disagreement about the purpose of museums generally. In recent times the recreational purpose of museums has become further asserted (Foley and McPherson, 2000). As social institutions, they have multiple, and competing, functions: to inform, to educate, to entertain, to preserve, to research; as well as to conserve (Kotler and Kotler, 1998). Reflecting this, in the museum sector generally the visitor has moved from the periphery to the centre of museum practice (Schubert, 2000). Consequently, marketing strategies to encourage visitors are now commonplace in the museum sector. But there is an important distinction. In essence, public museums seek to make their collections available to the *general public*. Indeed, it is a requirement of many of their funding and regulatory regimes that they do so. With corporate museums the aim is much more closely linked to their purpose, and definition. In contrast, corporate museums seek to make their collections available to both current, and potential, *consumers*.

Methodology

Using observation techniques, this paper sought to establish the current nature of the Japanese corporate museum. According to Bryman and Bell (2003: 178), observation as a business research method can be manifested in seven different ways: structured observation, systematic observation, participant observation, non-participant observation, unstructured observation, simple observation and contrived observation. In this study, the observation technique is essentially unstructured, as the study looked "to record in as much detail as possible ... with the aim of developing a narrative account" (Bryman and Bell, 2003: 178). Observation has become an established technique in studies of museums, with researchers adopting it to consider the role of space within the museum (Yannow, 1997) and the nature of the visitor experience (Goulding, 2000), for example.

Five privately-owned museums on Japan's main island, Honshū, were visited in the summer of 2006, as shown in Table 1. As can be seen, the museums are in diverse industry sectors, with two, those of Toyota and Mitsubishi, having business interests across various manufacturing and other business sectors. All museums included signage and collateral in English as well as Japanese, although in one case, that of the Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi UFJ Money Museum, this was generally rather limited. The visits involved a comprehensive tour of all parts of the museum that were open on the day in question. The researcher essentially assumed the role of a 'typical' museum visitor, with staff of the museum not aware that research was taking place. This was to ensure that the data gathered through the use of observation techniques were not tainted in any way, whilst also minimising the risk of introducing any kind of 'Hawthorne effect' into the research situation (Easterby-Smith et al., 2002). Camera and video footage was also taken on the visit in order to record in situ pertinent aspects of the museum experience. Thus 'human and mechanical means' of observation (Grove and Fisk, 1992, in Carson et al., 2001: 135) were combined. Detailed written memos were taken down: Goulding (2002) suggests that these have the benefit of assisting in the identification of relevant concepts which emerge from the use of observational techniques.

Table 1: Museums investigated

Museum name	Location	Industry sector
Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi UFJ Money Museum*	Nagoya	Banking
Beer Museum Yebisu	Tokyo	Brewing
Beet Museum Teolsu	TOKYO	Bicwing
Mazda Museum	Hiroshima	Automobile manufacturing
Mitsubishi Minatomirai Industrial Museum*	Yokohama	Industry conglomerate
		, ,
Toyota Commemorative Museum of Industry and	Nagoya	Industry conglomerate
Technology		

^{*}Although they share a common heritage, what was the banking arm of Mitsubishi is now completely separate from the rest of the Mitsubishi group.

Findings

From the observation studies that were carried out, a number of pertinent themes emerged, including the role of museums as corporate branding tools, their functions as leisure destinations, the specific collections that were held, the degree of modernisation, aspects of staffing and guiding within museum environments, and the associated endeavours which were linked to the museums' operations (which

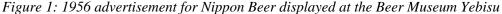
included arts-based activities such as music recitals and art exhibitions, as well as tours of the plant and the factory floor). However, the focus in this section is on how the museums studied reflected and institutionalised aspects of industry and technology prevalent within wider Japanese society. The discussion is divided into three parts: firstly, the ways in which the museums reflected aspects of the specific companies of which they are a part are detailed; secondly, the extent to which the museum related to the particular industry or industries of which the company is a part is noted; and finally, consideration is given to how the corporate museum might fit within a broader societal context.

Company focus

A specific company focus was apparent within all of the museums studied, but this varied considerably in terms of the prevalence of company logos, brand insignias, and products. At the Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi UFJ Money Museum, for example, it was hardly apparent that this was a corporate museum at all – the primary evidence for it being so was in the name and also in the flyers that were available to visitors on entry. Rather, the focus was on the nature of money, with banknotes and other coinage from early antiquity to the present day predominating. The collection was displayed in traditional glass cabinets, with very little evidence of contemporary exhibition practice, although there were limited interpretive panels illustrating various aspects of banking.

The Mitsubishi Minatomirai Industrial Museum included a few more references to its parent company, through the inclusion, for example, of various technologies that the company had developed. A working wind generator with the company name and logo was sited in the entrance hall, and it was also possible, by prior appointment, to travel in one of Mitsubishi's helicopter simulators. The main visitor market for this museum appeared to be school-aged children, which may also account for the relative lack of emphasis on the company, given that children do not provide a ready market for this firm's particular products (notwithstanding the fact that on museum visits, parents typically accompany their children). As with the Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi UFJ Money Museum, the primary focus of this museum appeared to be education; which might also perhaps account for there being less emphasis on 'selling' specific aspects of the company. Interestingly, there were few, if any, references to Mitsubishi's activities in automobile manufacturing; the business with which those in the West would, it could be argued, be most likely to associate the firm. This might also suggest that the market for such a museum is primarily domestic.

At the other extreme from the Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi UFJ Money Museum, the Beer Museum Yebisu was focused primarily on elements of the company's operations, chiefly the brewing of various well-known brands of beer, such as Sapporo; although aspects of the broader industry were also included, as shall be discussed below. At this museum, panels reflected the company's development over time, and a scale model of an early incarnation of the brewery on Japan's northern island of Hokkaido was also on display. Other references to the company's products were evident in panels which reproduced the company's various beer labels over time. Advertising posters from the latter half of the twentieth century, such as the one in Figure 1, were included in a museum gallery, thereby evincing the company's changing approaches to marketing. As is customary in other museums devoted to brewing (see, for example, Touring Club Italiano, 2003), a bar at the end of the tour retailed the company's products, providing further opportunity for reflection and reinforcement of the firm in the mind of the visitor. A well-stocked museum shop also lent weight to the notion that the principal concern of the museum's operation was communicating aspects of the firm itself.





The Mazda Museum was also focused primarily on the company and its particular approach to automobile manufacturing. Indeed, the museum was located in the heart of the company's plant, immediately adjacent to one of the production lines. It was only possible to tour the museum as part of a guided tour, which had to be booked in advance. The starting point for these tours was the main corporate reception of the organisation, which was furnished and laid out much like a car showroom, with current models on display and a futuristic discussion in the 'Zoom zoom gallery' of what that particular slogan apparently meant. In order to reach the museum, which was located around 10 minutes drive through the Mazda plant, visitors must take a bus. Once in the museum itself, there was further evidence that the principal focus is the firm itself, with particular reference to the development of the twin rotary engine, which Mazda had pioneered. A timeline illustrated the key milestones in the life of the organisation, and portraits of the firm's distinguished figures were also included. Interpretive panels detailed the meaning of Mazda's blue typeface and its current decal. This museum bore the closest resemblance to the company visitor centres which have become commonplace in many parts of the world. However, the presence of a managed collection, with evidence of curatorial activity having taken place, suggests that it does fit the definition of a corporate museum. The collection included a number of vintage Mazda cars, such as those shown in Figure 2, as well as futuristic prototypes of single-person hydrogen-powered vehicles and a trophy from the Le Mans 24-hour race that had been won by the company. Also included as part of the museum tour was a (compulsory) visit to the assembly line, in which the manufacture of cars could be viewed in real-time.



Figure 2: Vintage Mazda cars displayed at the Mazda Museum

Industry focus

All of the museums naturally included reference to the industry or industries of which they were a part; yet the emphasis was not uniform. The Beer Museum Yebisu, as well as focusing on the company, had an educative dimension apparent in its displays, some interactive, on the brewing process. Figure 3, for example, shows the different ingredients of beer, whilst other displays in the museum referred to the hop-making process, amongst others. A large copper vat, with associated explanatory detail, also provided a noteworthy feature of the museum environment. At the Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi UFJ Money Museum there were also references to the broader industry, with panels explaining, in English as well as Japanese in this case, the process of manufacturing banknotes.

Of all the museums studied, the Toyota Commemorative Museum of Industry and Technology was perhaps most adept at reflecting the development of its associated industries: textiles machinery and automobile manufacturing. The museum covers an area of 26,000 square metres, and as such, requires the best part of a day to truly do it justice. Although the work and assorted inventions of the firm's founder, Sakichi Toyoda, and his son Kiichiro, do feature in the museum, much attention is also paid to how, for example, textile machinery has improved over time, from the earliest 'primitive' looms to the modern colour-printing machines of today. Working demonstrations of such machinery are given in both Japanese and English. Figure 4 illustrates some of these machines, which are housed in a large room akin to the weaving sheds present in cotton mills of old. Also viewable in this part of the museum are demonstrations of various metal-working technologies. The automobile focus of this museum takes up the second half of the museum tour and is similarly comprehensive in its consideration of the growth of the industry throughout the last century. As with the Mazda Museum, vintage cars are on display, as is a timeline of the development of the automotive industry, which in this case dates back to the invention of the wheel.

Figure 3: Interpretive panels on the ingredients of beer at the Beer Museum Yebisu



Figure 4: Textile machinery dating from the early twentieth century at the Toyota Commemorative

Museum of Industry and Technology



Broader societal focus

The third and final way in which the corporate museums that were observed reflect a culture of industry and technology pertains to the attention paid to Japanese society and its economy as a whole. Of the three levels identified in this paper, this was probably the hardest to 'tease out', largely because the museums' corporate foci lent themselves more naturally to concentration on the firm in question and/or the specific industry. Nevertheless, there was still evidence for a broader focus within the museums studied. The collection of the Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi UFJ Money Museum provided some evidence of how the Japanese economy had grown over time and moved away from its feudal roots. Evidence of these earlier times was apparent, for example, in the mock-up of an old Japanese bank, as shown in Figure 5.



Figure 5: Old Japanese bank display at the Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi UFJ Money Museum

The Japanese association with innovative management practices, which is held to have been crucial to the development of the country's economy, was also evident at the Toyota Commemorative Museum of Industry and Technology. The management practices of Toyota, with their emphasis on lean production (Liker, 2004), whilst specific to that firm, are indicative of approaches to manufacturing and business in general which differ markedly from those in the West. Practices such as those of Toyota, it could be argued, helped to grow the Japanese economy throughout the twentieth century, leading to Japan's position as a leading economic power. There was evidence of this in the museums studied, as shown, for example, through the attention paid to innovative technologies that the companies had developed. On occasions these were tied back to specific features of the Japanese environment which had facilitated them, or, as at the Toyota Commemorative Museum of Industry and Technology, to particularly enterprising individuals, such as Kiichiro Toyoda. The Mitsubishi Minatomirai Industrial Museum perhaps provided most examples of the former: Figure 6, for example shows how the harnessing of hydroelectricity by Mitsubishi, who manufacture the technology, is linked directly to Japan's natural resources. This museum presented various other technological elements of contemporary Japanese life in

particular 'zones', including oceans, transportation, energy, etc. The approach was strongly interactive in fashion; something that appeared to work well with the core target audience, school-aged children. Hence it was possible for the visitor to simulate the driving of a tram, assume the role of an astronaut walking in space, and 'manage' the port operations of various ships. Whilst the link with the company itself was apparent, albeit not in a manner that was too overt, as mentioned above, the museum's broader societal focus emphasised the central role of complex technologies to contemporary life.

In all five museums there were reminders of the part that particular company played in the developments within the given industry, and by extension the role the firm played in the growth of the Japanese economy, of which the Japanese are justly proud. Visitors to the museums were, subtly at times, reminded of the firm's innovations, inventions, and the breakthroughs in technology it had made. It could be said that within a culture where hard work, continual innovation and the wellbeing of the group is highly prized, it is not surprising that the museums under consideration here reflect a broader societal focus. It has been a criticism of museums generally that they can be shapers of national identity, sometimes without any conscious strategy and against prevailing social mores (Anderson and Reeves, 1994). Here, the museum, though located within a firm, clearly supports and reinforces a national identity. However, with Japanese corporate museums, the matter may well not be quite so straightforward, given the integral role industry and technology have played in Japanese society. Who has shaped who might be a more appropriate question.

Figure 6: Interpretive panel detailing the generation of hydroelectricity at the Mitsubishi Minatomirai Industrial Museum



Conclusions

This paper has taken an exploratory look at the role of corporate museums within Japan. Using observation techniques, the various ways in which a culture of industry and technology has been manifested within them has been discussed. It is suggested that further research should be undertaken within Japanese corporate museums to ascertain the reasons behind their establishment, to provide further evidence of the incidence and nature of the phenomenon and to determine how corporate museums fit into the wider Japanese museum environment. Other qualitative approaches, including case study research and interviewing would be most effective for this, it is believed. However, for this to be effected, it is likely that research partners from institutions in Japan would have to be recruited. It is further suggested that future research in the area of corporate museums should also be carried out in other national contexts. There is the potential to develop a fuller picture of the management of such facilities, including questions as to their establishment, funding, staffing, and their place in the organisational structure. Such research should be concerned with facilities within smaller organisations, as well as the more 'iconic' examples from sectors such as brewing and automobile manufacturing. The paucity of research in this area also means that investigations amongst consumers would be appropriate. For example, studies into what motivates consumers to visit a corporate museum would be of particular value.

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