MUSEUMS, IDENTITY AND FAMILY PRACTICES

Theano Moussouri

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Museums, Identity and Family Practices locates museum participation and meaning making in the realm of everyday family practices, which are central to understanding the role museums play in family social life.

Drawing on a substantial amount of data from a wide range of sources, Moussouri discusses the importance of understanding how family practices are enacted across settings and how the arena of the museum can facilitate certain family practices and impede others. Developing and theorising key concepts, the book elucidates the key research themes, including everyday family practice; meaning making; and the structural characteristics of museums as arenas for the family visit activity. The analysis is rooted in a dialectical theoretical framework specifically developed to bridge the macrolevel (social order or the arena of the museum) and microlevel (family practices).

Museums, Identity and Family Practices offers a novel and holistic approach to studying contemporary families and, as such, is key reading for scholars and students of museum and heritage studies, family studies, visitor studies, cultural studies, education, sociology and anthropology. Museum and heritage professionals working with families in different communities around the world will also find this book relevant to their practice.

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Museums, Identity and Family Practices

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For George and Katerina

Contents

Acknowledgements

Heidi Lowther and Heeranshi Sharma at Routledge, I owe you thanks for your unwavering support and your patience throughout the development of this book.

To my family, thank you for all your help. I could not have done it without you. This book is dedicated to you.

1 Framing the family-museum relation

This book examines the interface between families[1] and museums,[2] drawing on empirical research studies that I have designed and carried out over the last 30 years. It shares the findings of my family studies research but it also traces the development of my research agenda. As each research study fed into the next one, they shaped my research questions as well as my theoretical and methodological approach. I designed my first family research study in the mid-1990s and spent the second half of that decade collecting and poring over data that spoke to the reasons why families decide to visit museums, in what seemed to me at the time to be huge numbers. As a doctoral student, I found seeing scenes of families queueing outside museums rather intriguing. This is where the seeds of my first family research project, which is included in this book, were sown. This initial interest in what motivated families to visit museums was further strengthened by my exploration of the museum studies bibliography and its preoccupation with the role museums play in society. In the 1990s, there was a heated debate about whether they have an educational or an entertaining role and, if the latter, what that would mean for the quality of the content museums were sharing through exhibitions. Thankfully, the debate has moved on and become more nuanced since then. However, the issue of the role museums play is still a matter of considerable debate. So, while I was considering possible directions for my family research project, this debate helped me link family motivation for visiting museums with the role these play in their social life and also how family members make sense of their visit experience. The idea being that if families cared enough about spending time in a museum, it was an indication that it had some value for them. I continued exploring the idea of the value of museums and meaning making as articulated in family visitors' motivations and expectations of what their visit would hold, as well as in their plans for the visit. Findings from these studies as well as an interest in issues of access, representation and family identity gradually turned my attention to examining family discourse and practice[3] across different types of contexts and to working with different types of family groupings, beyond the frequent museum visitors coming predominantly from dominant communities. This gradual shift of my research interests reflects a wider shift within the museum studies field and the sector, where an audience-centred approach to research, professional practice and policy was advocated, even though this has not

always been realised. Hence, across several family studies, my research has engaged with issues of significant theoretical, professional, social and political relevance. Although I have drawn on other audience research, my research is quite distinct and original in that it approaches museum visiting and meaning as part of everyday family life, as detailed below. Before I present the book's aims, I would like to briefly review key characteristics of existing audience research and the gaps in knowledge. This will help put my work in the context of existing scholarship and highlight its contribution. I then present my methodological approach and research questions, followed by a discussion of my positionality and the transferability and limitations of my research. I close this chapter by providing an overview of the book structure.

Existing applied and basic research that examines the relations between museums and potential, actual or imagined audiences has concentrated on museum participation perceived as an activity that takes place primarily in people's leisure time. From the museum policy and practice perspective, audience research tends to concentrate on patterns of participation, identifying different types of groups and communities – based on certain characteristics – that choose to visit or stay away and why that might be the case. This research is often used to identify gaps in attendance and develop strategies for closing these gaps by attracting new potential audiences from nondominant communities. However, their participation patterns are less predictable and dependent on several factors that many museums have not managed to get a handle on, especially as far as particular groups are concerned. Organised (educational) groups have traditionally had a closer relationship with museums in the UK, and they often represent the most diverse type of visitor groups. Yet, this cannot be said for family groups. From an academic research perspective, museum audiences have been perceived and studied in more complex and in-depth manner, often using qualitative methodological approaches. Too often, however, our understandings and perceptions of museum audiences are entangled with institutional and cultural policy priorities. These make certain assumptions, for example, about family structures and configurations, what motivates them to visit or what keeps them away, how family members negotiate and construct knowledge and the meaning they assign to their experience. Indeed, most of the applied audience research and some basic research would typically take a structural/institutional perspective. Some of that research groups families – and other types of audiences – based on certain characteristics ascribed to them, such as social status, cultural background or genetic kinship relationships. These family audience groupings would then be used to study their (intended, reported or actual) behaviour and patterns of participation from which inferences about what motivates these behaviours and their underlying values would be made. A common finding across all types of audience research is that university-educated predominantly white middle-class families tend to visit museums in their free time, while families from working class and other ethnic backgrounds do not (e.g. DiMaggio and Ostrower, 1992; Sullivan and Katz-Gerro, 2007). Some studies have inferred that the cultural values of those groupings are aligned with the museum values, while the values of groupings from nondominant communities are

not (e.g. Hood, 1989; McManus, 1992). Although these studies go some way towards highlighting the obvious gap in participation across different dimensions of stratification such as education, gender or class, its underlying mechanisms remain unspecified and/or open to different interpretations. Further, they do not take into account the agency of the individuals, their resilience and ability to employ strategies of resistance against oppressive situations in which they find themselves. Therefore, the sociohistorical and political aspects of museum visiting are often rendered invisible.

What is needed, instead, are more nuanced and culturally responsive approaches to studying families – particularly those from nondominant communities – which bring to the fore different ways of knowing, being and constructing the social world around them. Approaches that 'shift the boundaries' of human activity 'to persons acting with the world for a variety of "reasons"' (Lave, 1988, p. 17–18). Indeed, a core ingredient of this book is to advance an interpretation of family museum experiences as a constituent of everyday family practices where the 'reasons' for acting and their significance in relation to their 'location in wider systems of meaning' (Morgan, 1996, p. 190) are addressed. I discuss these issues in chapter 3 in more detail. However, it would be useful to present the definition of family practice that I have adopted from Cheal (2002, p. 12) who noted that 'family practices consist of all the ordinary, everyday actions that people do, insofar as they are intended to have some effect on another family member.' Thus, shifting our focus on family practices allows us not only to recognise the fluidity of everyday life practices but also to examine 'family' as a contextualised set of activities that constitute the entirety of life experiences. In other words, the focus is on 'doing' and 'displaying' family as these can be discerned from the family activities and the meanings made by family members who participate in the set of activities that make up family social practices. Participation in family practices plays an important role in developing interest in and motivating the pursuit of certain activities over others and, in the case of museums, in creating expectations of what might happen during the visit. Additionally, it shapes family members' self-concept and makes future identities – e.g. as a museum goer or knowledgeable about the implicit norms and symbols underlying museum rules – possible, which in turn shapes vitiation patterns. Once again, this is particularly important for families from nondominant communities, or those who perceive that there is a social distance between their family, their community and museums.

This book takes a different approach from existing family museum research. It presents a theoretically informed and empirically grounded analysis of the role museums play in family life through an analysis of the family social practices which motivate activity such as museum visiting and the meaning families make of their visit. This necessitates taking a multilevel critical theoretical approach which bridges the macrolevel and microlevel through an examination of the social order, where the museum as a social organisation is situated, and family agency, which is rendered visible through family everyday social practices. In other words, the critical theoretical approach developed in this book examines the interrelation of social order and practice. By doing that, it deepens our understanding of the association

between museum visiting patterns and meanings, on the one hand, and family so-cial practice, on the other. This has rarely been addressed fully before. It also raises a discussion of the importance of understanding the everyday family practices in settings outside the symbolic boundaries of museums and how the arena of the mu-seum can facilitate certain family practices and impede others. I draw on empirical research carried out with families across different museum types and everyday settings over the last three decades. Together, these studies touch on both the mac-rolevel and the microlevel; on the cultural capital of families from dominant com-munities situated within the museum capital; on the wealth of cultural resources of families from nondominant communities situated within everyday practices; and on dominant epistemic knowledge embedded in museum exhibitions and everyday knowledge practices embedded and enacted in the family setting. The theoretical considerations involved in the examination of the relationship between families and museums through a family practice perspective suggest the development of a dialectical framework of social order of which family practice is part. To help me examine how family practice is constrained by social structure as well as the role that agency plays in reproducing, resisting and/or transforming structure, I draw on theories and concepts coming from critical theoretical perspectives that have examined human activity in micro social life or everyday life as co-constitutive of wider structures and processes of social worlds. In this context of enquiry, I draw mainly from practice theory and, in particular, (Bourdieu's 1962; 1980/1990; 1984; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990) interpretation and his concepts of capital, habitus and field and Yosso's (2005) concept of Community Cultural Wealth, which ren-ders visible the cultural capital of nondominant communities. I use Lave's (1988) concepts of arena, setting and gap closing to analyse family visit activity in the mu-seum setting. I also use Leinhardt and Knutson's (2004) approach to the analysis of family discourse. Since my focus is on families, I combine the above concepts with the concepts of family practice, 'doing family' (Morgan, 1996; 1999; 2004; 2011) and 'displaying family' (Finch, 2007). These concepts also help me move away from monolithic conceptualisations of 'family' as a structure or social institution to which its members belong and 'towards understanding families as sets of activi-ties which take on a particular meaning, associated with family, at a given point in time' (Finch, 2007, p. 66). In other words, the focus is on family members and their agency in constituting their social world in the backdrop of the fluidity of family life. As such, families are constituted by 'practices, identities and relationships' (Smart and Neale, 1999, p. 85).

Methodology and research questions

To explore these issues, I developed a qualitative methodology and methods[4] to guide the research I carried out with a wide range of family groups across different types of museums in the UK as well as everyday family settings, such as homes, libraries, schools and parks. The questions my research posed address elements of the macrolevel and the microlevel. Starting with the macrolevel in chapters 4 and 5, I pose questions about: what motivates families to visit museums; what motivates

them to recognise museum visiting as a worthwhile family activity; what expectations do they have about how their visit will proceed; how do previous museum visits affect family members expectations; what type of visit paths the family visit activity generates in the setting which is specifically designed to support it? On a micro or everyday level, since both family discourse and practices comprise the procedures, conditions and resources through which reality is apprehended, organised, represented and acted out, it is important to examine what forms family discourse and everyday practices take across settings. These issues are examined in chapters 6 through to 8. Starting with chapter 6, I examine family discourse during and soon after the museum visit. I ask how does the family discourse produce and organise meaning in the museum setting? Specifically, how are these meanings resourced; and how do they emerge and shape the family activity during the visit? Chapter 7 examines the family practices of four groups from nondominant communities and how these are enacted across several everyday contexts where family life takes place. It poses the following questions: who constitutes 'my family'; how is doing and displaying family done; what is the importance of doing and displaying family practices; and who are the audiences of the display of 'my family relationships'? Finally, in chapter 8, I follow the same families on an accompanied museum visit and ask to what extent are the families able to apply their highly contextualised yet transferable family practices in the decontextualised setting of the museum; and to draw on the repertoire of their family practices to make meaning from the exhibits and other resources they engage with?

Positionality, transferability and limitations of the research

A key element of qualitative research is the commitment to reflexivity and situating one's research in the wider sociohistorical context and biography, all of which shape the research process (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Madison, 2005; Noblit, Flores and Murillo, 2004). My own background would have inevitably shaped how I related to the families and vice versa, as well as data collection, analysis and interpretation. I would describe myself as a white woman who grew up in a working-class Greek family, although the latter has a different meaning and form to the very well defined the UK class stratification system. However, my identity has changed over the last 30 or so years. The first few years after I came to study in the UK, I would have been described as a white ('other') non-British (Greek) working-class university-educated woman. Following my higher education studies and work in museums and academia, as well as my dual Greek/British citizenship, I would now be described as a middle-class Greek-British woman. Throughout my research, my background was different from my participants' background, mainly in terms of ethnic background and often social class. With a few families, I shared a migration background, social class and linguistic background different from the dominant one. The latter was rather helpful in that people could not make assumptions about my social class. Beyond those points of possible connection and differences from the families that participated in my studies, I employed strategies of self-questioning and understanding to critically engage with the data and

interrogate my interpretations (Burr, 2003; Kawulich, 2005). These are evident in the way I account for and interpret my findings in chapters 4 through 8.

Like all qualitative research studies, my research focuses on specific family groups and case study museums which are located in the UK. The resulting findings are inevitably situated in that context. Most of the case study museums represent different museum types but they all consider families as one of their primary audiences and design exhibitions accordingly. The number of participating families is relatively small. However, taken together, the number of participants and data sets are rather substantial for qualitative research. I would also argue that the studies presented in this book – examined either separately or taken together – offer findings and critical theoretical arguments that are transferable and can be applied in international contexts within and beyond Western cultures. Transferability is addressed in two main ways. Firstly, by providing detailed descriptions of the families and the case study museums and exhibitions or programmes, with the aim to enable researchers and practitioners to identify the findings that are relevant to their own contexts. Secondly, by developing a critical theoretical framework that addresses the interrelation of social order (macrolevel) and family practice (microlevel). Situating everyday family practices and meanings in the wider context of social structure helps highlight the social processes that constitute family life. Although the specifics of family life would be different in other cultures, they would be influenced by similar social processes that my critical theoretical formation has identified. Specifically, the concepts I have drawn on to formulate my dialectical theoretical framework enable interpretations for empirical data that address wider patterns and themes (macrolevel) and family activity and meaning (microlevel), taking into account common issues around social class, inequality and racial discrimination, as well as differences associated with different world views and values. Finally, it is worth mentioning that the research presented in chapters 6 and 7 is based on a very small number of families, all coming from different backgrounds. While the intention was not to select them as representatives of their 'community,' nor did I interpret the data in that way, the small number of participating families living in an urban environment is a limitation of this study. I, therefore, made every attempt to counterbalance that by providing family vignettes and thick descriptions of the data. Having said that, one of the main advantages of this study is that the data were collected over a long period of time (more than a year), during which the research team was able to collect data from various sources, many iterations and, progressively, concentrate on particular issues of interest.

Book structure

Part I

Chapter 2 presents the critical theoretical framework I developed, drawing on concepts from different theoretical approaches, as noted above. The aim is to present key aspects of concepts developed by compatible theories that provide a grounding to the chapters that discuss the empirical research. Everyday social practice and,

in particular, family practice is at the centre of this book. As such, I use concepts from family studies and I also draw on theories that examine people in action in the lived-in world. Bourdieu's theory of practice is relevant in this discussion, particularly the role of habitus and the generation of cultural capital. Bourdieu's approach to cultural capital fits well with a key purpose of this book, namely to look at broader social structures and examine the type of dispositions and tastes that are valued in society as a whole and how these are used as means of inclusion or exclusion in hierarchical social relations. Similarly, Jean Lave's and Yosso's work have influenced the development of my theoretical framework. In particular, being mindful of the limitations of Bourdieu's definition and operationalisation of the concept of cultural capital, I use Yosso's concept of Community Cultural Wealth to highlight the wealth of cultural capital nurtured within families from nondominant communities.

Chapter 3 situates my work in the museum context. Here, I explore current approaches to conceptualising, understanding and engaging with family audiences and present some of the key research themes that have emerged from family museum research, focusing on the work that is directly relevant to the key research areas in this book. I also discuss how deficit thinking has seeped into audience research through segmentation models and how the museum can reverse this by repositioning itself in a space of conviviality.

Part II

Chapters 4 and 5 present findings from three family studies, all of which examine the role museums play in the life of families from dominant communities. Chapter 4 examines museums as arenas or lists and the family list, using as case studies three museums in the North of England – the Museum of Science and Industry in Manchester, Eureka! The Children's Museum in Halifax and the Archaeological Recourse Centre in York – and two museums located in London – the London Zoo and the Natural History Museum. Chapter 5 follows the same families across the case study museums and examines family members' expectations of how their visit would unfold, their visit plan and the paths they followed. It also discusses the meaning family members made of their museum visits.

In chapter 6, 7 and 8 I shift my focus on families from nondominant communities. In chapter 6, I present the stories of families from an African-Caribbean background who talk about personal experiences of the front room of their childhood as they grapple with questions about home, immigration, racism, identity and their future in the UK. The West-Indian Front Room exhibition at the Museum of the Home was used as a focal point to assemble the experiences of their families, friends and community into themes and construct narratives that helped them make sense of their common experiences, their past, present and future lives. These narratives reflect how they used the exhibition on their own terms – through weaving elements of the exhibition into their own familial and community stories – as well as their perceived notions of change and continuity in the course of the life of their family as well as of their community in the UK context.

Chapters 7 and 8 present work carried out with four families who had one child participate in the Building Bridges project ran by the Science Museum in collaboration with the children's schools. Chapter 7 introduces the families, their identities and their family practices. These include doing and displaying family but also family *paideia*, which emerged from my analysis of the data. In chapter 8, I follow the same group of families as they prepare for and then go on an accompanied visit to the Science Museum. This chapter analyses their visit experience, specifically the extent to which they were able to draw on the museum resources as well as on the cultural wealth of their family, as illustrated in the analysis in chapter 7, to make meaning.

Finally, chapter 9 moves beyond the analysis to a broader discussion about the political nature of culture and how it supports and reproduces dominantly valued capital, which is associated with social organisations like museums. It discusses how the museum can support the cultural wealth of families from nondominant communities not just through exhibitions like the West Indian Front Room but through radically transforming their relation with families by nurturing their family *paideia* and repositioning itself in a space of conviviality.

Notes

1 The term 'family' and the theoretical underpinnings of contemporary understandings of it are discussed in the first part of chapter 2, which concludes with the definition I have adopted in this book.
2 The term 'museum' is used in the book to refer art museums and galleries, museums of science, history, social history, natural history, anthropology, archaeology as well as science centres, children's museums, zoos, aquaria, etc.
3 The term family practice in singular is used to refer to the concept, while the term family practices in plural refers to the repertoire of everyday actions members of a family do with the intention 'to have some effect on another family member' (Cheal 2002, p. 12).
4 Details of methodology and methods used in each of the empirical studies presented in this book were published in separate papers which are included in the reference list of each chapter. Please see papers for more information. The profile of the families who participated in the studies is presented in this book.

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Part I

Locating family practices vis-a-vis the museum

2   Situating family social practice

In this chapter, I present the theoretical framework which addresses my three key research themes (i.e. everyday family practice, social structure and meaning making) and underpins the empirical research presented in chapters 4 though to 8. The theoretical framework performs three functions; firstly, it situates my research at the intersection of existing scholarship in relevant fields of study associated with the three research areas identified above; secondly, it identifies and defines the key concepts I draw from theory of practice, family studies, situated theory and critical race theory to build my theoretical framework; and thirdly, it discusses wider social, historical and political contexts which inform this book, especially through the set of research questions that address the role museums play in the social life of families at macrolevel.

The theories which I draw on view human activity (practice) as embedded in a system of human relations and individuals as agents who actively participate in the formation, reproduction and/or transformation of their social world. They shed light on the processes through which culture and cognition situated in everyday practice create each other. Bourdieu's theory of practice (1962; 1984; 1986; 1998; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) alongside Yosso's (2005) critical race theory of cultural wealth and Lave's (1988; 2019) theory of cognition in practice, have strongly influenced the theoretical premise of my work and so has the work of researchers who examine contemporary family relationships in all their diversity and fluidity (Cheal, 2002; Finch, 2007; Gubrium and Holstein, 1990; Holstein and Gubrium, 1999; Morgan, 1996; 1999; 2004; 2011).

The three sections of this chapter focus on elements of the theories and specific concepts that I use to develop a dialectical theoretical framework of social order, of which family practice is part. I start by outlining current approaches to conceptualising and studying contemporary families as well as biological and fictive kinship in the backdrop of social, economic and cultural transformations. The next section focuses on some of the key concepts used to theorise and analyse families and the relationships of their members through which family identity is formed and maintained. Here I introduce and explain the concepts of family practice, 'doing family' and 'displaying family.' The third section turns to the theory of practice and situates everyday family practices and meanings in the wider context of social structure.

I close by synthesising the key elements that make up my dialectical theoretical framework, which I take into account in my analysis of the role of museums in family social life and the meanings families make in/from them.

Family configurations and transformations

Families have undergone major changes – both visible and invisible – as a response to dramatic transformations in the spheres of culture, education, technology, social policy and economy in the second part of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century. These changes require different approaches to studying contemporary families. In the family studies field, there exist three levels of analysis when considering 'the family'. There is the microlevel or experiential approach, which focuses on the interpersonal relationships of the people who constitute the small group called 'family'. On the other end of the spectrum, the macrolevel or structural approach examines the family as a social institution. Traditionally, these two levels of analysis have dominated sociological accounts of family studies. However, there is an appreciation that these two levels of analysis are interdependent since human interactions and experiences are formed in the context of institutions. Subsequently, a growing number of researchers from across disciplinary perspectives such as social psychology, anthropology and sociology have contributed to the development of multilevel theoretical approaches which aim to build bridges between the micro and macrolevel of analysis. In family studies, for example, this could mean examining family members' individual action as an interaction of internal states within the situated context as well as the larger structural context where the action takes place. Before exploring key theoretical concepts, let us examine how the term 'family' is defined and its relation to the term 'kinship.'

Definitions of 'the family'

As alluded to above, there is not a universally agreed definition of the family among scholars conducting family studies across different contexts. In fact, one of the central questions of the argument is 'what is family?' (Anyan and Pryor, 2002 Gubrium and Holstein, 1990; Holstein and Gubrium, 1999; Schmeeckle *et al.*, 2006). The answer to this question has led to a variety of perspectives on how family should be understood and studied (Bernardes, 1986; 1988; 1999; Fox and Murry, 2000; Strong, DeVault and Cohen, 2011). Central to the definition debate is the link between family and marriage, which historically is what establishes a family. Segal (1983, p. 13) claims that definitions of family are founded on the conventional family model of the married heterosexual couple with children and are constructed on the sexual division of labour. The foundation of this model is in normative notions of the family known as the 'nuclear family,' which served as the primary paradigm in Western European scholarship and policy for the best part of the 20th century. The term nuclear family was typically used to refer to social groups the members of which share common residence and are characterised by economic cooperation and reproduction (Murdock, 1949, p. 1). It includes adults

of both sexes who are in a socially acceptable sexual relationship and one or more unmarried young children. It was contrasted to the term 'kinship'[1], which was commonly used to refer to extended family members who live outside the household.

Family historians have argued since the 1960s that the acceptance of the argument regarding the uniformity of the 'modern nuclear family' size and composition of family arrangements in different parts of Europe in the 20th century has its roots in a powerful 'master narrative' (Sovič, Thane and Viazzo, 2016; Viazzo, 2010). However, it was a hugely influential argument among family researchers, practitioners and policy makers throughout the 20th century. The assumption behind this master narrative was that modernisation was the driving force behind the transition from more traditional expended family forms to the conjugal family form. The difference in the rate of this transformation across parts of Europe was explained by cultural and economic lags in East and South Europe as compared to North West Europe (Macfarlane, 1980) and took an overall macro-regional comparative approach. Apart from the obvious value judgment embedded in the assumption that East and South European families lag behind in terms of culture and there is an implicit assumption of the homogeneity of culture across large geographical regions. This indicates particular notions of family and/or kinship culture (Bengtson, 2001) as well as culture more generally. It is clear that there is a link here between conceptualisations of family and kinship and ongoing negotiations of family and kinship identity across categories of class, gender and ethnicity. This is expressed by Stone's (2000, p. 5–6) definition of kinship as 'an ideology of human relationships; it involves cultural ideas about how humans are created and the nature and meaning of their biological and moral connections with others.'

The disconnect between the normative nuclear family model and the diversity of family forms became abundantly apparent in the last quarter of the 20th century. Diverse family configurations coincided with a number of significant changes in social patterns, significant alterations in the demographic makeup of the family. These changes were accelerated by social and political movements such as human rights and equality, and feminism (Allan and Crow, 2001; Peters, 1999) and gave rise to diverse family structures, including: (1) stepfamilies consisting of adults in new marriage or relationship with children from previous relationships (Ganong and Coleman, 2017; Sanner and Jensen, 2021; Stykes and Guzzo, 2015); (2) LGBTQAI+ parents or family members with children (Goldberg and Allen, 2013; Reczek, 2020); (3) single-parent families and cohabiting families (Sassler and Lichter, 2020); and (4) adoptive families (Jones and Hackett, 2011). These changes have been recorded in national statistics data. For example, looking at the 2021 census data for England and Wales almost four out of 10 adults (37.9%) have never married or been in a civil partnership, which shows an increase of 10% from the beginning of the century and a steady increase over recent decades (Office for National Statistics, 2021). Of those adults who never married or been in a civil partnership, the highest proportion comes from the black, black British, black Welsh, Caribbean or African and mixed and multiple ethnic groups. On the other end of the spectrum, the lowest proportion of adults who have never married or been in a civil partnership come from Asian, Asian British or Asian Welsh

groups. The proportion of divorced adults was 9.1%, similar to the 2011 census and up from 6.2% in 2001. Same-sex married couples and couples in same-sex civil partnerships made up 0.42% of the population.

These changes brought about a paradigm shift in how 'the family' was conceptualised and studied across all academic disciplines. Research in family studies endorsed more inclusive forms of family theorising that acknowledged the pluralism and diversity of family structures and configurations (Baber and Allen, 1992; Baca Zinn, 1992a; Baca Zinn, 1992b; Gubrium and Holstein, 1993a; 1993b; 1997; Holstein and Gubrium, 1999; Stacey, 1990; Walker, 1993). The term family designates a group of people bound together by family discourse[2] and everyday practices. In other words, this theorising views the family form as a social construct, brought into being through the social process of family discourse (Gubrium and Holstein, 1993a; 1993b; 1997; Holstein and Gubrium, 1999) and everyday practices (Cheal, 2002; Morgan, 1999). It places emphasis on agency, the process through which individuals become active agents, producing and organising domestic order through interpretive practice and everyday activity. Family discourse and family interactions and practices comprise the procedures, conditions and resources through which reality is apprehended, organised and represented (Holstein and Gubrium, 1999, p. 5) and embodied in everyday actions 'intended to have some effect on another family member' (Cheal, 2002, p. 12). These diverse and emergent family structures, often situated within culturally diverse communities and cross-cultural local and national contexts, go hand in hand with personal and family identities which are in flux. Family and individual identities are constructed, confined and disrupted by the multiple locations and positionings that family members experience in their everyday life. This has led researchers such as Hall (1996) and Cohen (1994) to prefer the use of the term 'identification' – instead of identity – as it better denotes the circumstantial positions we assume ourselves and in which others position us.

Definitions of kinship

This shift of focus towards 'doing' and 'displaying' family brings to the fore the issue of definitions and conceptualisations of *kinship*. As mentioned above, traditional approaches to family studies took for granted that the 'nuclear family' is the dominant family form and used the term *kinship* to refer to extended family members who live outside the household. For the best part of the 20th century, family sociologists gave very little weight to the role extended family members play in the life of the 'nuclear family,' mainly because too much emphasis was placed on the importance of the later (Goode, 1964; Murdock, 1949; Parsons and Bales, 1955). Some of the early studies that shed light on factors that shape people's experiences of families and contributed to the conceptualisation of families as fluid had focused on gender, ethnicity, wealth or poverty, age, race and class (Afshar, 1987; Bernardes, 1997; Young and Willmott, 1957). Young and Willmott (1957) conducted the first UK study that demonstrated the existence of a variety of kinship networks among traditional working-class families in East London. Specifically,

it showed that kinship played a central role in providing assistance with child-care, finding jobs and housing as well as emotional support. Almost 50 years later, Clarke and Roberts's (2004) study of grandparenthood highlighted the key role the vast majority of the grandparents in their study played in providing childcare and/or financial support to their grandchildren. Other sociological studies as well as evidence from anthropological research into kinship verify the notion that kin ties have always played an important part in family life and wellbeing. Of particular relevance to this discussion are studies that examine different types of kinship, beyond the biological or genetic, including kinship networks developed by sexual minority individuals (Tasker and Delvoye, 2018; Weeks, Heaphy and Donovan, 2001; Weston, 1991) and those that include other family of choice members such as fictive kinship found among adoptive families (Nelson, 2020), or the ritual or spiritual type of fictive kinships (Marino, 2020; Marino and Chiro, 2014; Simone, 2020). Interestingly, Caneva's (2015) study that focused on immigrant children's interpretation of their mothers' migration and the family reunification at a later stage demonstrated that social kinship constructed in everyday practices with their mother was more important than biological kinship for the reunited children.

The family practice shift

As mentioned in the previous sections, multilevel approaches have led to the emergence of the concepts of 'family practice' (Cheal, 2002; Morgan, 1996; 1999; 2004; 2011) and the 'doing family' (Morgan, 1996) and 'displaying family' (Finch, 2007) activities. In this perspective, family is not a static institution or structure. Instead, it is produced and reproduced by its members. Finch (2007, p. 66) extended the concept of family practice by arguing that 'families need to be "displayed" as well as "done"' (see Figure 2.1). 'Doing' and 'displaying' refer to activities that
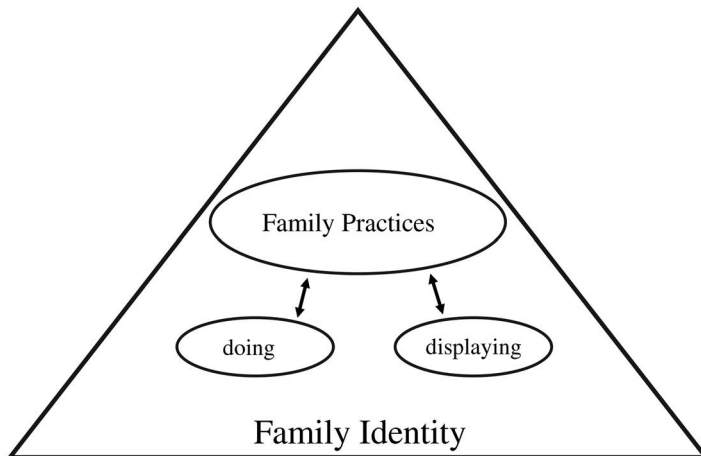
Figure 2.1 Conceptual map of family practices consisting of 'doing family' and 'displaying family' set in the context of family identity.

characterise contemporary families and have been used to explain the social processes through which families are constituted. Finch (2007, p. 66) defines 'doing family' as the 'routine, regular actions and interactions, which are so embedded in daily life, or in regular cycles of activity, that there is no need to establish that they carry a meaning which makes them "family" activities.' While she used the 'displaying family' to refer to 'the fundamentally social nature of family practices, where the meaning of one's actions has to be both conveyed to and understood by relevant others if those actions are to be effective as constituting "family" practices.' (Finch, 2007, p. 66).

The concept of 'display family' emphasises the changeability of family relationships and that family members have to continuously exhibit to each other (and to external audiences) that they are a family. As such, it helps bring attention to the distinctly social nature of family practices and how they need to be both conveyed and understood by relevant others as characteristic of a family. Tools for 'display' include physical objects such as photographs, objects or gifts, and narratives such as family stories or family 'talk.' The latter may include negative stories about other families as a way of communicating that this is not how 'my family' behaves. As Finch (2007, p. 78) notes, family stories represent an 'attempt to connect their own experiences, and their understanding of those experiences, to a more generalized pattern of social meanings about kinship' and to situate them within an accepted repertoire of what 'family means.'

'Display family' is also an important concept in the context of the construction and maintenance of family identity and its relation to individual identities as these are closely connected with family relationships. As Finch (2007, p. 71) explains, '*all* [emphasis in the original] relationships require an element of display to sustain them as family relationships.' Established family practices, 'archetypal' family events such as family gatherings and activities during holidays, or family weddings and child naming ceremonies as well as family activities that emerge from changing circumstances (e.g. transition to adolescence or parents' separation) all contribute to the ongoing process of building family identity (Morgan, 1996).

What emerges from this discussion is that 'to be family' does not denote a '"given" relationship between family and representation'; it is ordinary people who define and construct the familial as they enact practices oriented towards other family members in the course of their everyday lives (Holstein and Gubrium, 1999, p. 17; Cheal, 2002; Morgan, 1996; 2004; 2011). Shifting the emphasis from 'being' a family to 'doing' and 'displaying family' establishes and restates family relationships and membership. In other words, family practices and relationships are closely related to each other, are emergent and take on particular meaning associated in 'family.' Family members seek out and have interactions and conversations with both close members of their family (e.g. parents) as well as members of their extended family (e.g. grandparents, aunts or uncles) across a range of settings.

Family practices in my research

This multilevel analysis offers new insights into how 'my family,' its characteristics and family relationships are constructed. It is through this theoretical lens that

this book conceptualises families and their interactions with the museum. Placing the emphasis on the cultural construction of 'family' highlights the need to use family practices as a lens through which family museum visitors can be theorised and marks a turn to the approach used by most of the existing literature in this area. Previous accounts of family museum experiences have been mostly developed with a focus on the family as an institution to which individuals belong and which plays different functions, including how it interacts with other institutions to educate and socialise its members. Consequently, existing research tends to conceptualise families from a predominantly institutional: they can be either visitors or non-visitors/ potential visitors and have certain rather fixed characteristics that conform to the institution's definition of a family. My research applies the doing and displaying concepts to family practices enacted in both everyday family settings as well as in the museum. Therefore, it adds innovative new perspectives to family museum research by locating museum experiences and cultural encounters in the realm of everyday family practice, where families are constituted and through which social meanings are conveyed to family members.

The family practice perspective has influenced how I define and select families in my research. It has also shaped the type of research questions I ask, the analytic scheme I use and the interpretation of the findings. In this book, family designates a group of people bound together by everyday family practices, characterised by their distinct social nature where family relationships and membership are (re)established as they are displayed and conveyed to family members and to others and are often accompanied by family talk. As such, I examine diverse intergenerational families that consist of both children and adults and are members of a biological and/or fictive kinship network. My research focuses on social and physical settings where family activity takes place, which includes but is not limited to museums. As public institutions, museums are places where families engage in intentional activity and verbal interactions that involve other members of the group, and that are on display to different audiences – both family members, other visitors and museum staff. As such, they are setting where 'doing' and 'display family' is enacted alongside 'family talk,' some of which at least is targeted towards exhibitions and activities and aims at collaborative sense making of the museum experience. Families also engage in 'talk' directly related to their family practices.

Developing a dialectical theory of social order and family practice

This section brings together everyday family practices, presented above and illustrated in Figure 2.1, with the contexts where family activity takes place and the wider social structure within which families act. The aim is to build a theoretical framework that highlights the dialectical relation between these three component elements and reveals the process through which they are mutually constitutive. Hence, my theoretical framework underlies the analysis of the constitutive relations between family practices and settings, which in turn are constituted within 'a higher-order institutional framework' (Lave, 1988, p. 151) like the museum. Theory of practice has been very influential in the way I perceive this dialectic relation. The reason behind this choice is that, as Lave (1988, p. 193) noted, it

'treats macrostructural systems as fundamental, and focuses on relations between structure and action'; '[…] practice theory focuses on everyday activity in human-scale institutional realizations of sociocultural order. Principles of production and political organization are incorporated through the analysis of how they present themselves to the experience of the individuals in the arenas of everyday action in the world.' Very much like the theoretical approach to family practice discussed in the previous section, the starting point of the theory of practice more generally is the everyday practice constitutes the very fabric of social existence. Specifically, I draw on Bourdieu's (e.g. 1962; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) ideas about social structure and how it is reproduced, paying particular attention to the concepts of habitus, capital and field. I also use Yosso's reinterpretation of cultural capital through the concept of Community Cultural Wealth to highlight the agency of non-dominant communities. I also draw on Lave, Murtaugh and de la Rocha's (1984; 1988; 2019) idea of the dialectical character of social processes and her approach to examining setting and system together.

Inequality and the reproduction of social order

At the core of Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction is an attempt to explain how structural social disparities are passed down from one generation to the next (e.g. Bourdieu, 1984; 1993). Bourdieu primarily addressed the social reproduction of inequality in relation to social class, which he believed to be the primary cause of social structural inequalities. He debated the theory of social reproduction through the concepts of habitus, capital and field. He suggested that the values, attitudes and behaviours that individuals are socialised with (habitus), as well as the resources they have and are able to leverage (capital) and which have a socially defined value within a certain field, determine an individual's social progress. Bourdieu (1984, p. 101) argued that these three concepts shape and determine each other and depicted their interrelationship in the form of an 'equation': [(habitus) (capital)]+field = practice. In other words, he suggested that practice derives from the interactions between habitus and capital that take place inside a given field. These three concepts – together with the concept of family practice – aid in translating the family identity construction, adjustment and modification into the level of everyday family life.

Habitus

The concept of habitus lies at the heart of Bourdieu's theory of practice and refers to 'systems of durable, transposable dispositions' (Bourdieu, 1980/1990, p. 53). It is an attempt to explain how the culture of any given social group is internalised by its individual members through a process of socialisations beginning in early childhood. As such, it shapes the way we view, make sense and interpret the world around us and act in everyday life. As Bourdieu (1990, p. 63) puts it, habitus is 'society written into the body, into the biological individual.' In fact, Bourdieu (1980/1990; 2000) brings body and mind closer together by emphasising

the knowledgeability of the body, which underlies his concept of habitus and explains how the social world is internalised by the individual in a 'bodily' sense. This process is seen as 'acts of knowledge' and accounts for how countless acts of knowledge that people perform in the course of their everyday life determine or constitute the agent and, at the same time, how human agency determines social structure. In other words, the habitus produces an appropriate response to the world to which it is attuned (Bourdieu, 1984). Mead (2017, p. 629) points out that the implications of this bodily form of knowledge:

> The fact that social agents engage with the world primarily through knowledge now begins to take on its full significance, for one develops preference structures on the basis of knowledge acquired about the world and about what one is likely to be able to appropriate from it: 'I know confusedly what … is "for me" or "not for me" or "not for people like me"' (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 130). Social agents, the argument implies, come to 'know their place'. In other words, this type of knowledge 'does not, then, simply function to inform or elucidate [..], but to actively orient and motivate' and it is 'fundamental to their [individual's] sense of orientation
>
> (Mead, 2017, p. 630).

Elsewhere, habitus is defined as 'the habitus – embodied history, internalized as a second nature and so forgotten as history – is the active presence of the whole past which is the product' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 56). Indeed, an important aspect of habitus is that it operates below the level of consciousness, it generates action and conveys a 'a sense of place' in a social world. It operates as a type of 'sedimented' dispositions, which become apparent in a person's behaviour, body postures and social practices such as ways of eating and our tastes for particular foods, our bodily postures, such as how we walk, stand and speak, but also ways of feeling, thinking, acting upon and making sense of the world (Bourdieu, 1977; May and Powell, 2008; Swarts, 1997). The concept has also been used to stress not only the bodily but also the cognitive basis of action and to emphasise the inventive as well as habituated forms of action (Swarts, 1997). Habitus is understood as a set of dispositions acquired through early socialisation that shape both embodied and cognitive actions (Swarts, 1997). Habitus, therefore, can be understood as representing a 'deep-structuring cultural matrix that generates self-fulfilling prophecies according to different class opportunities' (Swarts, 1997, p. 104). For example, Bourdieu's work with French working-class youth in the 1960s demonstrated that their lack of aspiration to achieve high levels of educational attainment could be explained by their having internalised the limited opportunities for academic success among working-class families. In other words, habitus also conveys 'a sense of place' in a social world. As Bourdieu (1984, p. 471) put it: 'objective limits become a sense of limit, a practical anticipation of objective limits acquired by experience of objective limits, a "sense of one's place" which leads one to exclude oneself from the goods, persons, place and so forth from which one is excluded.'

Yet, despite its durable quality, habitus is not eternal or fixed. Bourdieu's writing on the concept highlights its permeability as well as its ability to capture continuity and change. Indeed, as a product of history, it remains open, subjected to experiences and affected by them in a way that reinforces or modifies its structures (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 133). Habitus, therefore, becomes capable of generating thoughts, assessments, perceptions and actions, while at the same time it is confined to the historically and socially situated conditions of its own production (Feng-Bing, 2005). It entails how individuals internalise habituated past experiences and externalise into action while confronting the opportunities and constraints presented by particular situations. Some of the critique of Bourdieu's work has also commented and expanded on the idea of the rather fluid nature of habitus associated with a particular class. Specifically, they challenge the idea of a set of unifying dispositions that are shared among individuals from similar social classes and are manifested in similar tastes and lifestyles across various domains, including the cultural domain. Critiques suggest that 'the dissonant taste profile shows a divided rather than a unified habitus. "Cultural omnivore" or the cross over of cultural taste and practices that do not necessarily associate with a particular social group should be considered' (Bennett *et al*., 2009, p. 28). Similar critiques were directed towards Bourdieu (1996–1997; 2001) use the concept of habitus to address the social aspects of bodies and its gendered formation. He asserted that the social inscription of gender starts very early in the socialisation process with the assignment of a gendered 'essence' and leading to a gendered collective habitus which enables the gender binary gender classification and starts the process of becoming what one is destined to be (Bourdieu, 1996–1997; 2001). Although the concept of gendered collective habitus goes some way towards addressing how deep-rooted gender differentiation can be, Skeggs's (1997) work demonstrated that habitus is the product of intersecting positions and that ways of 'doing gender' vary according to class position. Once again, the critique points away from a generalised form of gender habitus.

As mentioned above, there is a very close link between habitus and capital, in particular cultural capital. In fact, habitus has been viewed as a form of embodied cultural capital which I examine in the next section.

Cultural capital

Bourdieu (1986; 1993) identified different types of capital, namely political, economic, social and cultural/symbolic, which refer to financial and non-financial assets and can be acquired from one's family and/or through formal education. These refer to dominantly valued capital which individuals can combine to achieve their goals. Cultural capital is of particular interest for the purposes of this book. However, since they are interrelated, I start with a very brief introduction to the other three types of capital and then I discuss cultural capital in more detail below.

Economic capital refers to material wealth and is the most independent form of capital, while political capital refers to one's ability to influence political decisions. Bourdieu (1986, p. 247) described social capital as the aggregate of collectively

owned actual or potential resources that a group provides its members. It includes groups such as families but also wider networks in which family members are members such as friends and acquaintances. These groups and networks develop mutually beneficial ties as their members employ investment strategies with the aim of converting contingent relationships into usable ones. These relationships define the group while, at the same time, produce and sustain obligations, which may be subjectively felt or institutionally guaranteed. The reproduction of social capital presupposes 'an unceasing effort of sociability' (Bourdieu, 1986, 250). Through this process, group members enact, maintain and reinforce their network connections through a series of material and/or symbolic exchanges in combination with social institutions, where mutual knowledge and recognition is affirmed and reaffirmed. In other words, individuals can use these connections to achieve their goals, such as getting findings a job or establishing their career.

Cultural capital concerns dominantly valued taste and consumption patterns including forms of knowledge or cognitive acquisitions, all of which equip individuals with the ability to decipher cultural relations and artefacts (Bourdieu, 1986). Cultural capital is understood as cultivated dispositions, cultural competence, or familiarity with culture, which are acquired in family and through schooling. According to Bourdieu (1984, p. 66),

> The ideology of natural taste contrasts two modalities of cultural competence and its use, and behind them, two modes of acquisition of culture. Total, early, imperceptible learning, performed within family from the earliest days of life and extended by scholastic learning which presupposes and completes it, differs from belated, methodical learning not so much in the depth and durability of its effects (…) as in the modality of the relationship to language and culture which it simultaneously tends to inculcate.

Swarts (1997) notes that cultural capital exists in three forms: (1) an embodied form which includes the ensemble of cultivated dispositions one internalises through socialisation that constitutes one's appreciation and understanding of culture; (2) an objectified form which refers to objects such as books, works of art and scientific instruments that require specialised cultural ability to use; and 3) an institutionalised form which refers to educational credentials and leads to access to desirable positions in the job market.

Owing to the implicit manner of acquiring cultural capital, it is internalised and permeates into choices individuals make in everyday life that implies one's taste and lifestyle, including preferences in dress, sport, food, music, literature, film and other forms of cultural production. All judgments of taste, including the aesthetic, are governed by the habitus, as Bourdieu's 'equation' suggests (1984, p. 101). Cultural capital can be understood as the advantage of those schooled in forms of legitimate culture. Consequently, the educated middle classes of the dominant communities are physically as well as intellectually socialised into appreciating legitimate culture, which is institutionalised through being venerated in the educational system and the cultural apparatus associated with museums (Bennett *et al.*,

2009, p. 11). Class habitus derives from an individual's position in a particular family form with its corresponding economic, cultural and symbolic capital, becoming 'a factor of social difference' (Fiske, 1992, p. 163).

The value of cultural knowledge rests on its capacity to produce and perpetuate demarcation – the sense of distinction is based on social closure, where groups optimise the accumulation of their cultural capital by excluding other groups (Codd, 1990). Hence, the family becomes the site of providing individuals with the highest form of cultural capital, which signifies the manner of choosing 'high-value' cultural products (Bourdieu, 1984). When consuming cultural products, the value of such products selected is determined by the value of the chooser, that is in turn defined by the manner of choosing. In this process, family becomes the connection between class trajectory and individual trajectory as, for those borne into the ruling class, its habitus is like a second nature to them, while for those newly arrived, the cultural capital is something they continuously need to strive for and work at (Wilkes, 1990).

The concept of cultural capital refers to a form of power and can be mobilised as capital, covering a broad range of resources such as verbal facility, cultural awareness, aesthetic preferences and educational credentials (Swarts, 1997). It is embodied, socialised and institutionalised, and is experienced as forms of taste, manner and style that map individuals of different social positions into distinct social spaces of lifestyle. The concept of habitus explains how individuals habituate themselves to certain routines through operations of inheritance and reproduction (Bennett *et al*., 2009). Habitus conceptualises culture as a practice, associating practice with habituated and internalised past experiences and opportunities and/or constraints presented by any given situation in which people find themselves (Swarts, 1997). Cultural practices, such as museum visits, are closely linked to educational level and social origin (Bourdieu, 1984) and are mediated by an individual's habitus and cultural capital.

The concept of capital has often been used as a shorthand to explain how 'the past becomes carried forward, flexibly but inexorably, into the future' (Wetherell, 2012, p. 105) and as such it is useful as it can highlight some of the factors that shape patterns of museum participation in particular leisure and cultural heritage practices. It has less explanatory value in explaining the plurality of ways of 'doing' and 'displaying family,' or the myriad of individual actions and forms of subjectivity examined in the context of family practices. As Nash (1990) pointed out Bourdieu's socialisation theory was not designed to explain individual actions and this is where other theoretical lenses like family practice come in.

Although Bourdieu's theory was mainly developed to explain how the education system reproduces inequalities mostly in relation to social class, some of his work (e.g. Bourdieu, 1962) considered 'race.' Feng-Bing (2005, p. 39) argues that Bourdieu's theory can be 'equally powerful' in treating discourses on ethnicity given its emphasis on 'individual history, genetic mode of thought linked to that history and conditionings of an individual's lived experiences.' Wallace (2017, p. 907) agrees and states that 'Bourdieu's conceptual toolkit (habitus, field and capital) offers tools for unearthing the complexities of, and contributions to, social (dis) advantage, including their racialised dimensions (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).'

In this book, I use Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, cultural capital and field as a lens for discussing the role of social class in the engagement of families from dominant communities with museums as a cultural leisure activity. In other words, Bourdieu's theory is used to explore the social forces that affect families and the role that societal structures of discrimination have on families. As mentioned above, a number of researchers have also extended Bourdieu's work on social class to include the influence of gender, ethnic and migration background. Both ethnicity and migration history and the capital or resources related to families' ethnic background can mediate classed trajectories and as such are useful for analysing and explaining patterns of participation in museums. However, despite the professed elasticity of the concept of cultural capital, it has been criticised for not taking into account the cultural capital of nondominant communities, to which I turn in the next section.

Cultural capital and nondominant communities

Several scholars have examined the diversity of cultural recourses that people from nondominant communities, particularly in the context of formal education with the aim to bridge the gap between family culture and school culture. Productive alternative approaches include the 'communal bonds' (Foley, 1997; Morris, 1999), 'funds of knowledge' (Vélez-Ibáñez and Greenberg, 1992; Moll *et al*., 1992; Moll and González, 1994), 'pedagogies of the home' (Delgado Bernal, 2002), 'everyday resistance' (Pacheco, 2012) and 'Community Cultural Wealth' (Yosso, 2005). I chose to use Yosso's (2005) concept of 'Community Cultural Wealth' (CCW) in my analysis for two main reasons. Firstly, it directly addresses cultural capital in a systematic way by identifying and organising different types of capital that are developed and shared among members of nondominant communities in a theoretical model which aligns with my theoretical framework. Secondly, it draws together in her model the work of the scholars who addressed the 'communal bonds,' 'funds of knowledge' and 'pedagogies of the home.' Taking a critical race theoretical approach, Yosso (2005, p. 70) challenges deficit thinking assumptions that 'Students of Color come to classroom with cultural deficiencies' leading to educational performance and subsequently income gap. She shifts the focus from narrowly defined measures such as white middle-class values represented in traditional views of cultural capital, or income to the wealth of the accumulated assets and resources individuals have. Using this as a lens, she developed CCW which refers to 'the array of knowledge, skills, abilities and contacts possessed and utilized by Communities of Color to survive and resist macro and micro-forms of oppression' (Yosso, 2005, p. 77). Yosso identified six forms of cultural capital, namely aspirational, linguistic, familial, social, navigational and resistant capital. All forms of capital identified shed light on how Communities of Colour nurture their cultural wealth and challenge deficit thinking based on cultural attributes and behaviours, drawing on relevant scholarship and research.

'Aspirational capital refers to the ability to maintain hopes and dreams for the future, even in the face of real and perceived barriers' (ibid, p. 77). It signifies

the ambition and aspirations families have as evidenced by their ability to imagine infinite future possibilities, despite the lack of means to turn them into reality. At the core of aspirational capital lies resilience – the tenacity to persist despite all the challenges people face – and a 'culture of possibility.' Linguistic capital comprises the intellectual and social skills which family members acquire through communication experiences they have in different languages and styles. Drawing on bilingual education research, Yosso comments that when Students of Colour start school, they are often equipped with diverse language and communication abilities and can draw on a rich repertoire of storytelling skills developed through their active participation in storytelling traditions centred on listening to and sharing oral histories, family and community stories, or proverbs. In addition, 'Linguistic capital also refers to the ability to communicate via visual art, music or poetry' (ibid, p. 79). Familial capital encompasses the cultural knowledges that are nurtured within kinship networks, which include biological and fictive kinship, such as aunts, uncles, grandparents and friends who become part of the extended or elective family. These kinships are part of a wider network of communal ties across and within communities who are connected to each other through issues of common interests or common problems. This form of capital draws on research that has examined the funds of knowledge in Mexican American communities, the communal bonds in African American communities, as well as the pedagogies of the home available to Students of Colour more generally, as mentioned above. This work demonstrated the abundance of cultural resources available in these communities and the role these play in supporting its members and informing their 'emotional, moral, educational and occupational consciousness. Familial capital thrives within families and extends to sports, schools, religious gatherings and other community settings' (ibid, p. 79). Social capital refers to the aforementioned networks of people and communities, as well as community resources. Both of these are instrumental in providing emotional support during the pursuit of one's goals (e.g. going to higher education) and practical assistance with navigating the social institutions. For example, one can draw on social contact which may help with gaining financial support or completing university applications. Navigational capital refers to the strategies and skills that members of Communities of Colour employ to deftly navigate social institutions which have been designed by monocultural societies with dominant communities in mind. The underlying assumption is that students can successfully traverse university campuses and placements. Navigational capital recognises individual agency while also leveraging networks to navigate through various spaces and places. It recognises individual agency while also leveraging networks to support individuals to navigate social organisation, such as the education and health care system. Finally, resistant capital encompasses knowledge and skills cultivated 'through oppositional behaviour that challenges inequality' (ibid, p. 80) and it is deeply rooted in the historical legacy of resistance to subordination demonstrated by Communities of Colour. Types of oppositional behaviour include verbal and embodied strategies for resistance that can range from self-defeating and conformist to directly challenging the status quo. Yosso (2005, p. 80) points out that 'maintaining and passing on the multiple dimensions of Community Cultural Wealth is also part of the knowledge base of resistant capital.'

This discussion highlights that the forms of capital, the CCW, available to non-dominant communities places them in a social position of disadvantage in that their cultural wealth is not deemed as valuable and beneficial. In other words, it has limited use and exchange value in what Bourdieu termed the 'field.' In the next section, I turn to the concept of field and its relation to habitus and cultural capital.

Field

The concept of field relates to those of habitus and capital in that field determines their value. For habitus and capital to exist, they need a set of rules, regularities and relations; these are provided by a field (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Fields are not perceived as a physical setting. Instead, they are systems of power, social positions – which can be 'occupied by either individuals or institutions' (Jenkins, 1992, p. 85) – and social relations which may include educational, cultural and religious (Navarro, 2006, p. 18). Fields can be understood as areas of struggle, where class formations materialise as groups seek to maximise their assets for power and privilege within a social space and the acquisition of a particular habitus. Individuals' social positions in different fields are 'determined by the allocation of specific capital, i.e. inherited assets' (Mahar, Harker and Wilkes, 1990). As a person's position in different fields alters over time, so do the corresponding dispositions that constitute habitus. Capital functions in relation to a field, and for a field to acquire meaning capital must exist within it.

A concept close to that of field is that of arena (Lave, Murtaugh and de la Rocha, 1984; Lave, 1988) in that fields can be perceived as social and institutional arenas. However, I find Lave's conceptualisation of arenas in relation to the concept of setting as mutually constitutive particularly relevant in the analysis of how the family visit or activity can generate a setting and at the same time generate the activity within the arena of the museum. She also analysed the relation between activity and setting in dialectical terms using the concept of gap-closing (Lave, Murtaugh and de la Rocha, 1984; Lave, 1988). Before I discuss these concepts in the next section, I would like to note that the concept of field is useful in that it helps situate museums in the field of cultural production and, particularly, its role in selecting and collecting specific objects associated with the development and formalisation of Wester European disciplines[3] and in sanctioning disciplinary knowledge. I return to this concept in the conclusion chapter, where I discuss how to decentre the role of the museum which has traditionally played the role of 'the pubic museum, with its collections, act[ing] as guarantor of the value that is accumulated in the form of knowledge' about the disciplines its collections are associated with (Fyfe, 2004, p. 49).

Everyday engagements in practice

Lave's theoretical account of 'everyday life' and its implication for learning is a central element of my theoretical framework. She (Lave, 1988, p. 15) defines 'everyday' as 'what people do in daily, weekly, monthly, ordinary cycles of activity'

and advocates for a conceptualisation of learning as situated in everyday life – as 'moving into and through engagements in everyday practice' – where 'culture in a small "c" – anthropological – sense' (Lave, 2019, p. 115). That led her to propose a social practice theoretical approach that sees the everyday 'as the fabric of social existence and the landscape of possibility for changing participation in changing practice' (ibid, p. 120).

Central to Lave's work is the idea that people do not think outside of context. Her research focuses on how to examine ongoing social practices, with learning being only a part of such practices, across different settings where a person participates in such practices. She often examined varied long-term practices of apprenticeship, among other settings of cultural practice, where conditions of possibility of learning come into existence. In her seminal ethnographic research on everyday mathematics practices, Lave (1988) examined how ordinary people resolved quantitative problems or dilemmas they encountered in the course of their everyday life. Her work begins by critiquing traditional academic cognitive sciences' decontextualised approaches to learning, view of culture as mere content to be learned and attempt to locate 'relations between culture and cognition within the mind of the experiencing individual' (Lave, 1988, p. 87–88). By extension, she critiqued traditional educational practices for making the same assumptions about learning. Contrary to these disciplinary theories and educational practices, her empirical research, based on the Adult Math Project, provides ample evidence of ordinary people who are able to use a wide variety of strategies for resolving quantitative dilemmas while shopping and preparing and cooking food in the arenas of the supermarket and the kitchen respectively.

In this context, Lave (1988, p. 148–152) makes a distinction between the 'arena' within which activity takes place and the 'setting' for a person's activity. She used the example of the supermarket and the grocery-shopping activity of individual shoppers to illustrate how these concepts can be applied:

> The supermarket [..] is in some respects a public and durable entity. It is a physically, economically, politically, and socially organized space-in-time. [..] The supermarket as arena is the product of patterns of capital formation and political economy. It is not negotiable directly by the individual. It is outside of, yet encompasses the individual, providing a higher-order institutional framework within which setting is constituted. At the same time, for individual shoppers, the supermarket is a repeatedly experienced, personally ordered and edited version of the arena. In this aspect it may be termed a "setting" for activity. Some aisles in the supermarket do not exist for a given shopper as part of her setting, while other aisles are rich in detailed possibilities.
>
> (Lave, 1988, p. 150–151)

This conceptualisation makes it possible to make a link between the social order – in the case of my research, examine the constraints imposed by the museum as arena – and the experience of family visitors whose visiting activity generates

the museum as a setting while simultaneously the setting generates the visiting activity. In other words, the museum as arena and the experience of it mutually entail one another, and at the same time, the setting and the visiting activity can only 'exist in realized form [..] in relations with the other' (Lave, 1988, p. 151)

Lave (1988, p. 152) explains that the arena can be conceived of as a 'list' and, in the case of the supermarket, 'as an icon of the ultimate grocery list' filled with thousands of 'partially ordered sequences of objects' that are laid out in the physical space. However, shoppers would typically neither progress through the entire supermarket nor would they search for the items in the order in which these are displayed. They would use their own shopping list to navigate the arena of the supermarket and create their own routes through parts of the store. 'Part of what makes personal navigation of the arena feasible is the ordered arrangement of items in the market and the structured nature of shoppers' expectations about the process of shopping and what they will buy' (ibid, p. 152).

The concept of list is also prominent in Vygotsky's work. Vygotsky (1978) and other's after him (e.g. Cole, 1996; Goody 1977; Wertsch, 1998) believed that cultural tools, such as lists, guide human action and organise the human mind in culturally specific ways. They explain how cultural tool and the meaning associated with them are internalised and used by individuals through their participation in the activities of the community in which they live. Through the gradual incorporation of culturally constructed tools over the course of mental development, culture becomes part of each individual's nature. At the same time, people are also active agents in the continuation of their 'symbolic and material inheritance.' It follows that learning to use cultural tools is dynamic, since, although people learn them in relation to their use in specific contexts, how they deploy these tools later in life is not predetermined but constructed by people to meet new contextual demands.

Finally, the concept of gap closing, which emerged from the analysis of arena, setting and activity (i.e. the analysis of both the context of activity and the activity in context), is particularly apt and can be applied in the museum context. The process of gap closing applies in situations where a problem interrupts an activity and, hence, a solution is warranted to ensure the continuation and smooth sequencing of activity (Lave, Murtaugh and de la Rocha, 1984; Lave, 1988). Lave, Murtaugh and de la Rocha (1984, p. 83) perceived problem solving as an iterative process involving, 'on the one hand, what the shopper knows and what the setting holds that might help and, on the other hand, what the solution looks like. The activity of finding something problematic subsumes a good deal of knowledge about what would constitute a solution.' They also clarify that for types of activities that are assigned the character of 'routine activity' by certain people, any problems that may arise 'impinge on [their] consciousness […] as small snags to be repaired.' (ibid, p. 93)

In summary, the concept of setting for activity is a useful one for conceptualising the relations of the museum as 'list' and the visitors' list and how their resulting complementarity constitute its character. Further, the concept of gap closing can be used to analyse how families perceive and resolve (or are not able to resolve) problems that interrupt their sequence of museum visiting activity. I come back to these

concepts in chapter 4, where I examine the relation between the museum as 'list' and family visitors' list, which shapes museum visiting as a family activity and in chapters 6 and 8, where I examine gap closing processes in the museum setting.

Synthesis

I conclude this chapter with a synthesis of my dialectical theoretical framework, which addresses the interrelation of social order and family practice. The first part of this chapter focused on approaches to conceptualising and studying families and kinship, tracing the changes in family structures that were triggered by social, economic and cultural transformations in the second part of the 20th century and the impact that these changes had on contemporary family configurations as well as on how families were conceptualised and studied. The second section discussed the shift away from conceptualisation of 'the family' as a static institution towards everyday family practice, where families are constituted and through which social meanings are conveyed to family members and identities are constructed. This has directly influenced how I also conceptualise families and I introduced and explained the two key concepts I borrowed to analyse family relationships: 'doing family' and 'displaying family.' I also explained how these theoretical concepts influenced my definition of families and selection criteria for my studies. The first two sections provide the background to and inform my research questions that refer to family practices (microlevel of analysis) which are explored in chapter 6, 7 and 8. The third section turns to the theory of practice and situates everyday family practices and meanings in the wider context of social structure. It draws on the concepts of habitus, cultural capital, Community Cultural Wealth, field, arena, setting and list, all of which situate family practices in the wider context of social order/structure. This part informs the remainder of this book, particularly through the research questions posed around cultural lists, on one hand, and family lists and expectations, on the other. These refer to the macrolevel of analysis which is addressed mainly in chapters 4, 5 and also, partly, in chapter 6. Taken together, these elements are used to develop my dialectical theoretical framework.

Figure 2.2 presents the schematic depiction of my conceptualisation of the interrelations between them and how they fit together into my theoretical framework. The arrows demonstrate how different types of capital generate family practices. I pay particular attention to the cultural resources available to families, either in the form of tradition interpretations of cultural capital or the Community Cultural Wealth and how these are converted through the habitus into dispositions and preferences that generate particular family practices. Family practices, in turn, are perceived as the fragments of everyday life where family members constitute certain actions and activities, namely 'doing' and 'displaying family,' as 'family' practices. Here, the double arrows suggest that this is an ongoing and changing process taking place over the family life cycle through which family members creatively (re)constitute their understanding of 'my family' and is deeply rooted in family identity. The outer circle of this figure identifies the arena of the museum – one of
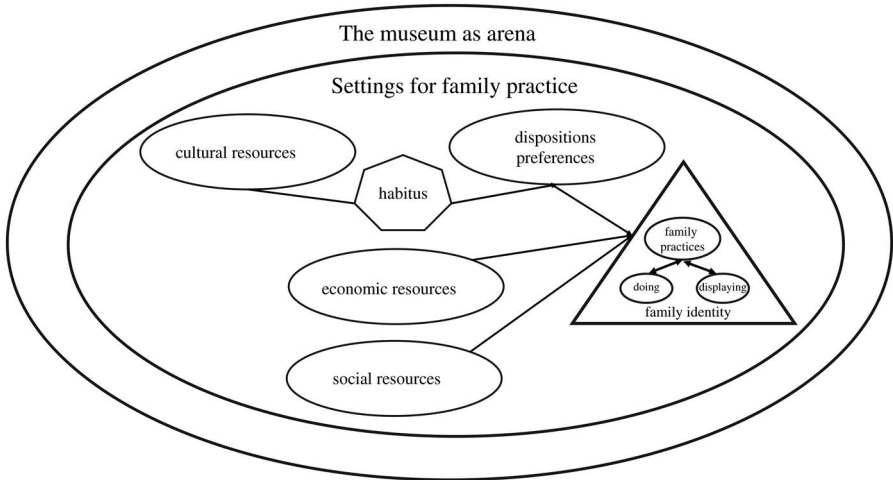
Figure 2.2 Conceptual map of my dialectical theoretical framework showing the interrelations between cultural, economic and social capital habitus and family practices in the context of the museum arena.

the main foci of my research – in relation to which family activity takes place and which constitutes the other focus of my research. This figure also serves to visually demonstrate the originality of my research which lies in that it highlights and analyses the dialectical character of the relation between social order and family practices and using that to analyse the content of family social practices across settings, including the museum, and the ways in which families participate in ongoing and changing social practices. In the next chapter, I discuss the role that contemporary museums play in society, drawing on relevant scholarship and, in particular, how this role is perceived by a range of actual and potential family audiences as evidenced by empirical research.

Notes

1 This concept of kinship has been contested, particularly in the context of adoptive families where a new type of kinship has emerged: a kinship network which includes both adoptive and birth relatives (for example, see Jones and Hackett 2010). This is also the case with queer families in reference to the role of the social parent, in particular (for example, see Mizielińska, 2021); and fictive kinship such as spiritual kinship (e.g. Marino, 2020)

2 As Gubrium and Holstein (1993b, pp. 661) note, the focus of family discourse is not linguistic, but is centred on language use' and is what they call 'descriptive practice.' It refers to the use of language as a way to 'produce and organise the meaning of family living,' and to 'make our world concrete and meaningful through everyday talk and interaction.'

3 For a discussion on the development of and differentiation between classical archaeology and art and the development of anthropology as disciplines, see for example Beard (2003), Dyson (2006) and Pearce (1995) respectively.

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3 Conceptualising and studying families in the museum context

The previous chapter presented my dialectical theoretical framework of social order, of which family practice is part. Key concepts from the theory of practice, such as cultural capital and Community Cultural Wealth (CCW), that I drew on highlight the pivotal role families alongside formal education play in cultivating dispositions, cultural competence or familiarity with dominantly valued elite knowledge and culture or with everyday knowledge and culture. This element of my framework illuminates how cultural capital and CCW are associated with cultural preferences which, in turn, shape certain cultural participation patterns and are linked with the reproduction of inequalities. This realisation has generated a large amount of research into the role schools play in the reproduction of inequality and how to reduce it. Yet, relatively little research has focused on family capital and CCW in relation to museum participation patterns. Further, the work that has examined the family museum experience tends to focus on family learning in terms of how it moves from the ordinary everyday family experiences and knowledge to the extraordinary normative ways of knowing and disciplinary knowledges embedded in museum exhibitions. Indeed, family everyday practices per sé have not been given the importance they deserve in museum audience research. This book argues that studying families in everyday contexts can add an important element to the way we conceptualise families and family practices in museums. Yet, I would like to acknowledge the wealth of family audience research and the contribution that it has made to audience research and the museum studies field more generally. It has profoundly influenced and shaped my own research and my identity as a researcher.

The aim of this chapter is to foreground some of the issues regarding current approaches to conceptualising, understanding and engaging with families in museums before I discuss the relation between museums or social order and family agency (Part II) and the multiplicity and texture of family practices and identities (Part III) as evidenced by my research. Thus, I start by situating family research in the context of museums and audience research. I then present some of the existing family museum research, focusing on the work that is directly relevant to the key research areas in this book. Another consideration of this chapter is to identify entry points that can make a different family-museum relation possible. To do that, I discuss theoretical perspectives on audiences and inclusion, and the possibilities of

understanding changing family practices and identities. I consider how antideficit thinking (e.g. Foley, 1997; Valencia and Pearl, 1997), ideas about democratic cross-cultural education (e.g. Aikenhead, 1996; 2006) and, in particular, repositioning the museum in a space of conviviality (Back and Sinha, 2016; Gilroy, 2005; 2006; Wise and Velayutham, 2014) can be used to envisage alternative analyses for how museums can become settings for action and meaning for families from nondominant communities. I come back to the idea of entry points in the conclusion chapter, where I also discuss how these enhance the transferability of my research findings; suggest a fruitful research area for the study of family practice – as well as the everyday social practice of other groupings – in museum audience research; and can enable readers to apply these on their own context. I close this chapter by revisiting the key concept of conviviality and situating it in my theoretical framework.

Museums and their audiences

Museums in the UK operate within a predominantly impact-driven political climate and the need to demonstrate accountability and economic, social, educational as well as health and wellbeing value (Belfiore, 2004; 2015; 2022; Holden, 2004; 2015; Mirza, 2012; Reeves, 2002; Scott, 2013). Faced with changing demographics, participation patterns and inequality, they are required to promote work and policy that reflects the diversity of the wider population. Several participation reports[1] and large-scale studies show that the museums do not offer opportunities for all sectors of the society to participate and engage with their collections and other resources equally. Visitors to museums tend to be from better educated and more affluent backgrounds, while people from minority backgrounds, those with no formal qualification, from a working-class background and people with disabilities do not see museums as places they would visit. However, research around public trust in different cultural organisations seems to indicate that even those who do not visit museums frequently do value them. For example, public attitudes towards museums in the UK[2] show that there is a positive emotional attachment to museums, and that museums' educational work and their role as economic assets to their communities are appreciated and recognised by frequent visitors as well as those who visit less frequently or not at all and who come from a wide range of different backgrounds. Museums seem to be pulled between their moral obligation to be accessible to all and their historical/structural position in the fields of production of elite disciplinary knowledge and the epistemology of the latter. This is a very brief overview of the social, historical and political context within which museums have developed their relationship with their audiences. In the discussion that follows, I start by presenting how audiences have been conceptualised and trace its theoretical underpinnings. I then discuss the family audience research and its thematic priorities.

Constructing the actual, imagined and invisible family audiences

Audience segmentation is used to establish the priorities of policymakers and practitioners, for understanding museum audiences, for commissioning audience

research and for developing exhibitions, programmes and other resources that target different audience segments. For the interested reader, there exist several approaches to audience segmentation (e.g. Kolb, 2013; Stylianou-Lambert, 2009) and critiques that go to the core of the issues with the current audience segmentation approaches (e.g. Dawson and Jensen, 2011; Huntington, 2007), which I do not intend to rehash here. However, I use them as the basis to argue that no matter what approach to segmentation is used, even the more nuanced ones cannot escape the fact that they both describe actual audiences, while at the same time they construct imagined audiences. This has implications regarding who is excluded[3] or rendered invisible even within specific audience segments such as 'family groups.' For example, homeschooling[4], extended or transnational families and their practices are often not considered when designing family spaces or experiences. More importantly, existing segmentation approaches do not account for the multiplicities of family practices and identities and the complexities of aligning these with the 'family group' segment. This appears to be a container for the otherwise unspecified category of 'the family' (e.g. Arts Council England, 2011D), or those of 'families basics' and 'alpha families,' which are grouped based exclusively on their access to economic capital (e.g. Cowley and Cooke, 2021). Both segmentation approaches focus on what families 'lack' (i.e. economic capital which restricts their access to cultural capital) and, hence, cannot afford and/or access 'elite culture' as well as the values associated with it. This line of thinking is deeply rooted in cultural and accumulated environmental deficit models (Pearl, 1997, p. 132). In the case of families from nondominant communities, in particular, where culture is used to segment audiences based on cultural archetypes, it also has its roots in Western normative assumptions about inherent ethnic characteristics and dispositions, often referred to as 'ethnic absolutism' (Gilroy, 1987) or 'cultural essentialism' (Hall, 1992), and which promote representations of them having estranged relations with the nation, further contributing to their exclusion. Using an archetype of 'the family' not only ignores the diversity of contemporary families and family formations; it is also used to drive decisions for the development of family provision and to determine its use by all families. This approach can lead to 'othering' families that fall outside the description of 'the family' segment. There is also a rather obvious issue with that approach in that it perpetuates 'the myth that behaviour is equated with values' (Valencia and Solórzano, 1997, p. 185). As Valencia and Solórzano explain, this is a common approach across different types of 'deficit thinking' research where 'values inferred from behavior are used to explain behavior.' (1997, p. 185) which in the case of museum visiting includes patterns of participation.

Theoretical thinking springing from an array of disciplines has added to the criticism of conventional perceptions of culture and the separation of 'elite' and 'mass culture,' which has been used to marginalise and render invisible the historical and social trajectories of women (Hein, 2010; Mayo, 2003; Vinitzky-Seroussi and Dekel, 2019), people with disabilities (Sandell, Dodd and Garland Thomson, 2010; Sandell *et al.*, 2005), indigenous communities (Muyambo *et al.*, 2022), ethnic (Gard'ner, 2004), gay and lesbian groups (Levin, 2010; Sandell, 2016) and working classes (Fyfe and Ross, 1995; Wedgwood, 2009). Furthermore, the prevalence

of 'materiality' (Smith, 2006, p. 109), a central notion in Eurocentric museum and heritage discourse, has privileged the tangible at the expense of the intangible and has subsequently excluded values, meanings, emotions and cultural knowledge featuring prominently in the cultural experiences of groups from nondominant communities which are typically rendered invisible in museum collections and exhibitions. Meanwhile, in the field of museum studies, critical theoretical approaches made visible the way Western theoretical and methodological approaches rely on a priori normative models of thought that are hierarchical and are based on colonial and post-colonial power structures, which have led to certain types of representations, accepted narratives and norms of behaviour (e.g. Bennett, 1995; 2015; Harrison, Byrne and Clarke, 2013; Hetherington, 2015; Hooper-Greenhill, 1989; 1992; Whitehead, 2009). This theoretical tradition took its lead from the development of the new museology (Vergo, 1989) and drew mainly on the work of Bourdieu, as detailed in chapter 2, along with that of Foucault (e.g. 1991).

At this point, it would be useful to consider the disconnection between this line of thought, which is largely grounded on critical theoretical perspectives, and the theoretical tradition underpinning audience segmentation and its impact on museum audience research.

Theoretical roots of the relation between museums and their audiences

Much of the early research with museum audiences and the type of provision (e.g. exhibitions, events, resources) it informed were based on theoretical approaches developed within the disciplinary bounds of psychology, particularly cognitive, environmental and developmental psychology (Balling, Falk and Aronson, 1980; Bitgood and Loomis 1993; Bitgood, 1997; Black, 1990; Hood, 1989; Dierking, 1987; Falk, 1991; Miles, 1997; Screven, 1990; Shettel, 1991; 1996). Further, it used (and still uses) segmentation approaches developed by business marketing models, leading to exclusion and discrimination (Huntington, 2007). In the UK, this approach was exemplified by the work of Roger Miles and his audience research and interpretation team at the Natural History Museum in London (e.g. Miles, 1986; 1988; 1993). It was also reflected in the way audiences were – and in some cases still are – conceptualised, key concepts (such as learning and knowledge) were defined, and the relations between cognition and culture were configured. Jean Lave's (1988, p. 87) analysis of the epistemology of this type of functional or positivistic studies, common both in cognitive anthropology and psychology, renders visible its central features where, in order to function, social order needs to be 'in equilibrium, and individuals moulded and shaped through socialisation into performers of normatively governed social roles and practices. Society is perceived as external to the individual […],' while culture is perceived as the accumulation of factual knowledge, which is stored in the short- and long-term memory and is retrieved by the individual on demand. Lave (1988, p. 8) noted that socialisation processes were seen as 'passive, and culture as a pool of information transmitted from one generation to then next, accurately, with verisimilitude […].' A series of assumptions are also made about cognition and culture/knowledge, which are perceived

as 'context-free, value-free, body-free and factual' consisting 'of hierarchically organised discrete chunks' (ibid, p. 88). Inherent in this view is the duality of the person, where thinking is seen as having an emotional and a cognitive component, is that the emotional component has social origins and is manifested in collective beliefs, culture and the body, while the cognitive one is rational, individual and is exemplified by scientific thought. Hence, the focus of positivistic cognitive studies is on specific knowledge domains, those corresponding to professional occupations and the 'professional mind,' and cognition is perceived as the chunks of knowledge an individual in a professional role has and goes hand in hand with technical language. The use of technical language, as Mehan's (1993) work demonstrated, is a source of power and authority in professional settings (such as schools or museums) and has the effect of delegitimising the situated understanding of students and their parents in a school setting or family visitors in museums. This type of knowledge together with its specialised language, represents the 'elite' knowledge and 'high' culture (Lave, 2019) associated with the fields of production of disciplinary knowledge – where museums are situated (Bourdieu, 1993) – which is particularly valued in Western cultures, and which aligns with the cultural capital of families from dominant communities.

Lave (1988) highlights how the absence of sociocultural context of cognitive activity in positivistic cognitive studies has led to taking for granted that cognitive processes are separate from the everyday settings and activities of which they are part. She also criticises the treatment of culture in cognitive research as uniform, for it transforms what is seen as culturally everyday or common place into natural. In other words, this is a process through which the commonplace is naturalised and biologised. This is the basis of one of the earliest forms of deficit thinking (Valencia, 1997). Consequently, rational general (Western) knowledge becomes useful and rational to the exclusion of other types of culture/knowledge. Inter- and cross-cultural variations were not only not considered, but they were deemed as inferior. These views about cognition and culture/knowledge were diffused across disciplines and institutional contexts, including museums. In museums, they were used both to select and represent culture/knowledge collections catalogues as well as exhibition interpretation. They were also used as the norm against which visitors' understanding was measured and, hence, used to demarcate and perpetuate social distinction. Foucault's (1991; 1998) 'disciplinary power' concept is relevant to this discussion as it explains how institutions such as schools, through their system of assessment and managing behaviour, people learned to discipline themselves and behave in expected, conventional or 'normal' ways. Drawing on Foucault's work, museum theorists have argued that museums were enlisted as instruments of social management, employing techniques of behaviour management, enshrined in their architecture (e.g. Bennett, 1995). Further, Hill's (2005, p. 36–37) study of Victorian municipal museums in the Midlands and north England demonstrated that, although museums were developed 'as a cultural asset for the improvement of the working class,' they equally 'allowed the middle class to demonstrate authority, stamp their own values onto culture, and provide suitable leisure for themselves.' The working classes initially made their own use of the

museums but, as attempts to control their behaviour increased, came to reject them entirely. Consequently, the museums' primary audience became the middle classes, the members of which had the normative modes of thought and behaviour expected in the museum environment.

Another element which is of relevance to this discussion is the functionalist theory of learning. Lave (1988) explains how the functionalist position affected schooling, however, her analysis is relevant for museums. The key elements of this approach are that students were taught cognitive skills such as reading, writing or mathematics that were decontextualised. The idea was that knowledge could only be made 'available for general application in all situations' if it was extracted from the context of its original use and 'the particulars of experience' (ibid, p. 8). She continued by describing how 'schooling reflects these ideas at a broad organizational level, as it separates children from the contexts of their own and their families' daily lives. At a more specific level, classroom tests put the principle to work: they serve as the measure of individual, "out of context" success, for the test-taker must rely on memory alone and may not use books, classmates or other resources for information.' (ibid, p. 9).

This is useful context, since like schools, museums have traditionally displayed their objects outside their original context. This has its origins in the modern European notions that the material world (e.g. artefacts) constitutes knowledge (Pearce, 1995, p. 301). Within this framework, artefacts were selected and classified using a typological system adapted from the Linnaean/Darwin system which, in turn, informed the 'scientifically categorising principles' to organise their collections. As Pearce noted (1995, p. 301), this created 'a privileged system of understanding through distinction and similarity'; 'a social system with a deeply rooted tendency to view objects as a particularly important way of creating social position' and 'which shares the apparently universal human desire to create cosmological systems into which all experience phenomena can be fitted.' In other words, this taxonomical system structured culture in dichotomous terms differentiating between 'civilised' and 'primitive,' 'upper' and 'lower' classed and modes of thought associated with each class (Lave, 1988). The outcome of this process was the creation of a class system which 'has deeply marked the distribution of knowledge within society' (Bernstein, 1971, p. 135). Parallel with that, more recently, ran business marketing models of audience segmentation that helped cement the hierarchical structure of the social position associated with 'elite' versus everyday knowledge and culture that different audience segments were perceived to have. Since traditional Eurocentric approaches to knowledge see it as something that an individual own, a commodified type of intellection possession, which resides in the mind of the individual and can be accessed through her memory at demand, exhibitions – the ultimate form of knowledge constituted through the material world – tended to target individual visitors, even when they were in groups, (Black, 2005; Falk and Dierking, 1992) and to assess the effectiveness of the visit based on visitor's ability to understand and/or recollect the content of an exhibition (Hein, 1998). Further, they made certain assumptions about prior knowledge (Hooper-Greenhill, 1994) and tended to explain visitor motivation and experience as deriving from leisure

needs as perceived by individual visitors (e.g. Hood, 1989), or from learning needs and expectations (e.g. Falk and Dierking, 2004). However, they provided no explanation as to why these needs occur in the first place and there was no attempt to place museum visiting in the context of social structure. Commenting on the limitations of this approach, Merriman (1991, p. 77) argued that 'although it identified socio-cultural factors as being important, it is unable to move beyond this observation to an understanding of how it is that these factors actually operate to bring about the patterns in cultural consumption continually detected by surveys.' Instead, Merriman along with other researchers used the cultural approach, drawing from sociological and anthropological theories which view museum visiting as a socially and historically situated cultural activity. For example, Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Darbel, 1991) carried out several studies in French and other European museums from this perspective. In the UK, Macdonald (1992; 1993; 1995), Merriman (1991) and Moussouri (1997; 2003; 2007) used ideas from the cultural framework to explain museum visiting and attitudes to participation in cultural activities. From this work, it becomes evident that there is a wide range of different reasons why people visit museums. Many of them may well be idiosyncratic but the fact that it is possible to find patterns in visitors' motivation illustrates that museum visiting is determined by wider sociocultural patterns. This assumption is further supported by the fact that patterns can be distinguished among attitudes to participation in cultural activities in general (e.g. Department of National Heritage, 1996).

Having set the context within which audience research has taken place, the next sections focus on the research with families as museum audiences. First, I provide a brief overview of the museum family research from its early beginnings in the mid-1980s to the present day. I then turn my attention to key directions of this research, paying particular attention to studies that directly relate to the focus and theoretical framework of this book.

Studying families as museum visitors

Families have traditionally comprised a substantial number of visitors to museums, as highlighted by a several studies (Anderson *et al.*, 2002; Falk, 1998; Kelly *et al.*, 2004; Kelly, 2011; Mason, Robinson and Coffield, 2017; McManus, 1994; Wu, Holmes and Tribe, 2010), and a significant and fast-growing audience for a wide range of leisure and other cultural experiences (Self and Zealey, 2007). As such, they have been the focus of several studies. One of the key contributions of the first studies of families in museums that were carried out in the mid-1980s was that they called attention to the social dimension of the family experience (Blud, 1990; Butler and Sussman, 1989; Diamond, 1986; Dierking, 1987; Falk, 1991; Hilke, 1989; Hood, 1989; McManus, 1987). Among these, Hood's study of family leisure values was particularly influential as it forced museum professionals to seriously consider the role of museums in people's lives. Using a combination of personality traits, attitudes and life styles (known as psychographic characteristics), Hood (1983; 1989) set out to examine why certain groups of people do not visit museums. She argued that families value leisure time experiences that involve social interaction,

active participation and entertainment. While frequent museum visitors associated museums with these values, 'non-museum' visitors did not. Using the above psychographic characteristics, one of the goals of the study was to help museums identify potential audience groups that are non-participants and remove the barriers to visiting that might exist. This study was also one of the first that linked motivation to visit to particular socioeconomic and cultural characteristics such as education, age, cultural background, occupation and income, connectedness and engagement with community and leisure activities. Specific audience groups that shared those characteristics were identified, including family groups. The importance of the social aspect of the visit was also highlighted by other studies carried out in museums around the UK at the same time (e.g. McManus, 1987; 1992). However, Hood's study is considered as a pivotal moment in museum research and practice because it clearly demonstrated that museums did not resonate with a large part of the US population. It also coincided with a time when US museums were undergoing a major transformation, which was best described by Weil (1999, p. 229) as the turn 'from being *about* something [i.e. objects] to being *for* somebody' [emphasis in the original].

As Ellenbogen, Luke and Dierking (2004) noted, this pioneering early family research was followed by more ground-breaking research looking at museum visiting within the larger socio-cultural context of the family life. Beginning in the early 1990s, these studies examined research-rich topics ranging from family dynamics, motivation and identity (Ellenbogen, 2002; Macdonald, 1993; Moussouri, 1997); to family-museum interface by looking at family interactions with exhibits and interactions among family members (Borun *et al*., 1997; Crowley and Callanan, 1997) and to the museum environment as a learning resource for families (Perry, 1993; Schauble and Bartlett, 1997). The aim in some case was to apply theoretical concepts from other disciplines (e.g. social phycology, cultural anthropology, learning sciences) in the study of families as museum visitors (e.g. Crowley and Callanan, 1997; Macdonald, 1993). In other cases, the aim was to generate rather modest, at the beginning, evidence grounded theories specific to the experience of families in museum context (e.g. Ellenbogen, 2002; Moussouri, 1997). Regardless of their focus and theoretical underpinnings, a key contribution of the family museum research to the field of audience research was that it highlighted the importance of the sociocultural context of the museum visit. The museum visit was seen as a predominantly group activity where what the members of the group bring with them to the experience is as – if not more – important as the physical (e.g. exhibitions) and social (e.g. other visitors and museum staff) content of the museum itself. This opened up the scope of the family, and more broadly audience, research carried out during the first quarter of the 21st century, focusing on family agendas, motivation, discourse, meaning making and identity and how they play out in the context of immigration, transnational families and those from nondominant communities more generally. This rich landscape of family research prompted Ellenbogen *et al*. (2004, p. 49) to postulate that family learning researchers were at the point of establishing ourselves 'as an emergent disciplinary matrix.' The concept of 'disciplinary matrix' was coined by Thomas Kuhn (1962/1970) to denote the

shared commitment a research community makes to theoretical, methodological and evaluative frameworks in order to progress normative science. Taken together, the elements of a disciplinary matrix constitute the shared beliefs or assumptions that are the basic tenets of scientific practice and are integrated with a specialised community, in this case the family learning research community. In other words, this refers to both the technical and communal elements of the practice of the family learning research community and the socialisation of its new members to their profession.

These emerging trends in family museum research mirrored changes in the family studies field in sociology during the same period. Doherty *et al*. (1993, p. 15–17) noted that this new era of family studies had some key characteristics: (1) 'family science' was influenced by feminists and ethnic minority perspectives, (2) the increased change of family forms, (3) 'trends towards greater professional inclusiveness,' with researchers from a wide range of disciplines beyond sociologists carrying out family research, (4) 'the trend towards more theoretical and methodological diversity,' (5) 'the trend towards more concern with language and meaning,' (6) a focus on constructivist and contextual approaches, (7) 'an increased concern with ethics, values, and religion,' (8) a movement away from the private/public family life and family social life/family interventions dichotomies, and (9) greater recognition of the situated nature of family theory and research knowledge.

Although family research – and audience research more generally – has employed and articulated different theoretical and methodological paradigms, it tends to come from a learning sciences and public engagement perspective. Very little research has situated museum participation in the wider social structure/order[5]. Still, it has been highly influential, and its many achievements include that it has challenged assumptions about the nature the museum visit and the role museums play in visitors' life; highlighted the need to consider the experience of groups rather than individual visitors; and took a holistic approach to studying the relevance and impact of the museum visit in the context of visitors' social life. More recently, it has addressed issues of access, inclusion and inequality. To do that, it drew on diverse theoretical and methodological frameworks and posed research questions that examine diverse experiences such as affective and embodied experience and the sociospacial dimension of the museum visit in a culturally responsive manner.

The following section presents some of the most fruitful themes family museum research has focused, drawing specifically on research which addresses theoretically and/or empirically aspects of the key research areas that this book addresses: everyday family practice and meaning making vis à vis the museum within which the former take place.

Family agenda and motivation

For several years, it was argued that family visitors not only have an agenda for the visit but that these agendas directly influence their museum experience (Falk

and Dierking, 1992; 2000; Hilke, 1989; Macdonald, 1993). Understanding the agenda for the visit can help gain insight into the role museum visits play in the family social and cultural life. In my early family research, I examined how family agendas (i.e. their plans or list of what they wanted to do/see and how they expected their visit to pan out) using as case studies interactive museums and/or exhibitions since these are specifically designed environments that aims to accommodate a range of family agendas (Moussouri, 1997; 2003; 2007). I approached the decision to visit and the family museum visit in terms of social practice and I drew on Jean Lave's concept of 'list.' Lave (1988, p. 152), whom I paraphrase here, refers to the 'structured nature' of families' expectations about their visit. In other words, what motivates families to visit museums appears to be part of a type of general set of cultural projects about museums that represent the role and value people assign to them. This is about the museums' perceived role in the family life from the point of view of its members. Museums appear in a type of cultural list or rather 'lists' which exist 'out there' in wider socio-cultural patterns and, at the same time, families draw on them to compile their own individual cultural lists (Lave, 1988; Macdonald, 1995; 2002). This particular way of viewing motivation acknowledges both culture's influence on shaping motivation as well as visitors' own strategies for compiling their own lists. What generates families' expectations about what the visit will hold are previous visits to museums and the ways these visits unfold as the family navigates the museum space (see chapter 5). To-date, my research has identified nine distinct lists – or categories of motivation – on which museums feature, as stated by family visitors specifically (Moussouri, 1997; 2003; 2007; Moussouri and Roussos, 2013). These include[6]: education/participation, social event, life cycle, place, entertainment, biophilia, introspection. political/participation and therapeutic (see chapter 4 for more detailed description). The identification of some of these categories of motivation were made possible through the use of new technology, which has led to different conceptualisations and ways of studying visit motivation (Moussouri and Roussos, 2013). Digital technology has made it possible to access museum visiting experiences in real time and to record 'how we do what we do' as well as to examine motivation to visit and emergent motivation to engage with the museum content and resources.

I come back to the issue of motivation when I discuss the relation between the museum lists and the family list in chapter 4. I also link this to the family expectations about how their museum visit would proceed in chapter 5.

Family discourse

Most of the family museum research has focused on what families do and say during their visit, drawing on a combination of observations and speech data before, during and/or after the visit. These data – and particularly family discourse – have typically been used to examine how family members engage in collaborative learning and meaning making. As Leinhardt and Knutson (2004) point out, the assumption that studies that use a sociocultural perspective make is that the way people

talk about and navigate an exhibition reflects their (joint) identities, which affect their conversations as much as the exhibits and the layout of the exhibition do. The conversations and movements of families in an exhibition, as well as their engagement with particular exhibits, can reveal their ideas and feelings about its subject matter and how they make meaning during their visit. Leinhardt and Knutson (2004, p. 18) argue that learning can be viewed 'as elaboration of meanings and details by a group around a set of thematically linked ideas that are prompted and supported by a specific museum experience.' Learning in a museum is influenced by and measured across several dimensions or factors: the identity of the visitor group in relation to the exhibition content; the 'explanatory engagement' of the members of a visitor group as they talk about objects, displays and their experiences of a particular exhibition; and the design features of the exhibition, which is seen as a learning environment while the type of discourse in which visitors engage during their visit is referred to as 'museum talk.'

'Museum talk' is a special type of conversational practice given that people spend a small amount of their time in museums or visiting exhibitions (e.g. Ash, 2003; Leinhardt and Crowley, 1998; Callanan *et al*., 2017). The term is based on a sociocultural approach to examining collaborative talk (i.e. the 'museum talk') as applied in the museum content 'Museum talk' refers to the 'talk that occurs within a group [..] both during and surrounding a museum visit. This kind of talk focuses on the meaning and experiential nature of the museum but excludes planning and management discussions' (Leinhardt and Crowley, 1998, p. 5). It is argued that, as social and physical settings, museums differ from settings where people spend most of their time (like at home or at work) and engage in conversations. The fact that groups of family and friends have a shared history and the nature of 'museum talk' could pose problems in interpreting museum learning has been documented and considered carefully in the visitor studies literature (Allen, 2002; Borun *et al.*, 1997; Crowley *et al*., 2001; Leinhardt and Knutson, 2004; Osborne, Erduran and Simon, 2004; Tunnicliffe, 1998). Further, as noted in chapter 2, family discourse is a particularly important element in my definition of 'family.' Recognising the constitutive nature of families and drawing on the concept of 'museum talk,' I coined the term 'family museum talk' to refer to a particular type of family discourse that is typical of the verbal interactions taking place in the three-dimensional visual context of the museum. This is a type of collaborative talk that is combined with family action in the museum setting and emerges as families fashion their route through the museum.

Building on the concept of 'museum talk,' I coined the term 'family museum talk' to refer to the type of discourse that is typical of the verbal interactions taking place among family members in the context of the three-dimensional and visual setting of the museum. The term 'family museum talk' is closely associated with my definition of 'family' (see chapter 2) and takes into account the use of language as a way to 'produce and organise the meaning of family living,' and to make the world the family creates and lives in 'concrete and meaningful through everyday talk and interaction' (Gubrium and Holstein, 1993, p. 661). It also takes into account a key element of the family practice, namely that it is 'intended to have some

effect on another family member' (Cheal, 2002, p. 12) and, as such, it incorporates both doing and displaying family practices. It also includes family practices associated with 'family *paideia*' (see chapter 7 and 9). In my analysis of the family conversations, I took into account critical features of language identified by and used in conversation analysis by Leinhardt and Knutson (2004, p. 81–83). Hence, the analysis focuses on two dimensions of conversations: content and structure. The content refers to the exhibits visitors talk about and the exhibition themes that can be identified in an exhibition, while the structure refers to the way 'conversational segments' are structured. According to Leinhardt and Knutson (2004, p. 83), 'these structures shed light on how deeply the conversation reflects visitors' engagement with aspects of the exhibition.' I come back to the analysis of family talk and how I applied this analytical framework in chapter 6, where I focus on the practices and discourse of families from nondominant communities.

Family funds of knowledge and its application in family audience research

The term 'funds of knowledge' was first introduced by Vélez-Ibáñez and Greenberg in 1992 in an anthropological study which examined how the working-class Mexican families in the US used their social networks to mediate the uncertainty of their socioeconomic disadvantage. Moll and González (1994) combined it with Vygotsky's concept of 'cultural mediation' and used it to refer to historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and skills essential for household or individual functioning and well-being. 'Funds of knowledge' refers to the cultural practices and understandings that are embedded in the daily practices and routines of families (Gonzalez *et al*., 2005).

Ash (2004) offered an insight into how 'funds of knowledge' are developed and nurtured through the everyday talk and interactions among family members as well as with artefacts and phenomena, which are situated in the cultural, historical, gestural and spoken family practice. These provide the basis for everyday understandings of science and are enacted across contexts, such as the home, school and workplace. She also commented that family members regularly cross borders between contexts as well as linguistic boundaries. In the course of everyday life, parents and children interact with scientific phenomena, for example, in that, their talk includes short and sometimes basic explanations of the natural world that are infused with normalised, culturally enshrined explanations about the world (e.g., Crowley *et al*., 2001). Ash's (2004) research examined how family talk and associated ideas could become more aligned with canonical scientific thinking over time as they are influenced by interactions with scientific ideas in schools, books and museums. She considered families from nondominant communities, particularly those who do not use English as their primary family language, who may not readily use the standard European American middle-class learning strategies that dominate museums. As a result, Ash found that they may not be able to use, extend and display their 'funds of knowledge' to one another in the way families from dominant communities would.

Finally, it is worth noting that a number of researchers have examined how gender intersects with ideas associated with disciplinary content, in particular with science, drawing on 'funds of knowledge' as well as Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital. I note here that, although funds of knowledge can be complimentary to the concept of cultural capital (Rios-Aguilar *et al*., 2011), it is important to highlight that funds of knowledge is not equated with cultural capital, as the latter is used to address 'education-related inequities and economic injustices' (Lubienski, 2003, p. 30). Further, the studies presented below focused mainly on secondary school students. However, they are of relevance to my work, particularly to the family study presented in chapter 8. Carlone's (2003) study reported that US secondary school teachers' expressed the view that boys were more naturally able at science even though girls tended to achieve higher grades, hence reinforcing gender stereotypes of science being 'male.' Archer *et al*. (2013) research drew comparisons between attitudes toward science of girls in Year 6 from a working-class and lower-middle-class, on one hand, and a middle-class background, on the other. Science for the working class and lower-middle-class girls who participated in their studies was 'unthinkable' because it is associated not only with being male and 'clever' but also with exhibiting characteristics that did not correspond with their class origins. On the other hand, girls from middle-class backgrounds were more likely to develop and sustain aspirations related to science by drawing on their families' practices, values and science capital (ibid, 2016). Furthermore, they (ibid, 2016) also outlined how a family from a nondominant community successfully navigated the museum space and social norms based on the father's pre-existing educational capital. They noted that this ability to navigate space and social norms allowed the whole family to access and capitalise on science learning at the museum. Conversely, the absence of preexisting capital and/or familiarity with museums are less likely to do that, as Dawson's (2014) study demonstrated. Her research with people from nondominant communities who had no prior museum experience reported that they did not perceive their visits to museums as 'free' of charge, even though there was not entrance fee involved. They pointed at costs associated with the travel, buying food and drinks in cafés or the gift items in the museum shops. Dawson outlined that it is difficult to avoid some of these costs, and that such costs can inadvertently provide signals to some audiences that museums are not 'for them.'

Research involving museum visitors from nondominant communities is of particular interest, and I return to this in chapter 6 and 8. The next section of this chapter explores ways of renegotiating cultural and social disparities within unequal societies by drawing on the concept of conviviality.

Everyday family practice and conviviality

Much of everyday family life and practices takes place in public and semi-public spaces[7] where groups from different backgrounds engage in everyday activity and coexist. Conviviality is viewed as a mode of sociability that reconfigures the cultural and social disparities that exist in (post)colonial and/or unequal societies

(Maria Sibylla Merian International Centre for Advanced Studies in the Humanities and Social Sciences Conviviality-Inequality in Latin America, 2017). Museums can be convivial spaces of possibility as well as conflict and tension that are also seen as making up convivial spaces. Gilroy (2006) suggested an approach to conviviality that looks beyond ethnic categorisation towards (un)shared practices, such as taste, lifestyle and leisure preferences. Being able to enact one's family practices across settings, from the private setting of one's home to public spaces such as the museum, can foster an understanding of different social norms and an ability to negotiate the unspoken 'rules of the game' in the museum. This type of transition from one 'culture' (e.g. home, school, museum) to another has been characterised as border crossing (Aikenhead, 1996). Research in the context of science learning has demonstrated that the crossing from the culture of home to that of school and back to home culture poses a major challenge for children of all ages and that family practices 'confer on science activities the perspective of home culture' with some indicating that they play an important role in explaining phenomena, some that science is fun, some that it can help them succeed at school and in life and some that they should know more science than other students (Solomon, 2003, p. 230). Arguably, similar ideas may apply to other types of disciplinary content and how it is performed not only at school but also at the museum. Further, research comparing the cultural participation patterns between classes showed a link between higher education level, job status and cultural capital, on one hand, and the breadth of cultural tastes and the frequency of participation, on the other (Sullivan and Katz-Gerro, 2007). From this discussion, it follows that families whose members have been socialised to visit museums would find it easier to enact their family practices in their spaces, while the opposite would probably be true in the case of families who do not visit museums frequently. Indeed, some families may find the conflict difficult to negotiate and that may lead its members to having ambivalent attitudes towards museums.

The museum visit is where family practices are enacted and displayed as family members interact with the collections and displays as well as with each other. It is also the space where they interact with – or coexist, as the case may be – with museum staff and other visitors. Witcomb (2003) conceptualised the museum as a 'contact zone,' an asymmetric space where relations of power determine the way communities are able to interact with the museum and asserted that any advantage they might gain is rather small and momentary and exists in the periphery of the museum practice. Although I do not use that concept of contact zone in my analysis, I find the idea of asymmetrical power relations particularly relevant as these can cause conflicts which go hand in hand with convivial spaces. Asymmetrical power relations can arise for several reasons, including how families are perceived, conceptualised and ordered into audience segments by museums; perceived notions of a 'normative family' or a 'normative visitor'; or museum narratives. In relation to the latter, Mayo (2003) noted that museums have an authoritative voice that has been used to promote and legitimise certain narratives over others, giving them significant power to shape public opinion. Coupled with the trust that museums as institutions have in society, at least in the Western English-speaking

world (Council of Australian Museum Directors, 2021; Ipsos MORI, 2021; Museums and Trust, 2021), that places museums in a unique position. Leveraging on their relative trust and using their power responsibly, can promote social justice and effect change in museum practice and in society more broadly (Sandell and Nightingale, 2012).

Sharing Sandell and Nightingale's concern with tackling asymmetrical power relations and identifying the conditions that can lead to positive change, I deploy conviviality as a means to examine museums as spaces of possibility through enabling more symmetrical power relations. This is particularly relevant in the context of contemporary museums situated in diverse societies and their obligation to ensure people's right to participate in cultural life and to dream of alternative futures for themselves and their families. It is fundamentally a right to both material and intangible heritage, language, values, identity and way of life[8]. As Hatzikidi, Lennox and Xanthaki (2021, p. 743) noted 'the right to cultural life is at the core of all human identities but indigenous peoples and minorities have particular rights to protect their collective identities, which are more easily eroded by dominant culture(s) or due to harmful practices such as involuntary assimilation.' Assimilation is not necessarily enforced; it can be unintentionally promoted through education and cultural policies and practices and implemented through schooling and curricula or lack of representation in museum collections and narrative as well as other politically charged contexts the demands of which families from nondominant communities need to negotiate by drawing on family and community practices (e.g. Pacheco, 2012).

The way everyday family social practice facilitates the navigation of politically changed contexts can be expressed through the concept of conviviality. Instead of focusing on bonds of identity which is what is assumed that bring together people from the same ethnic and cultural background, conviviality focuses on: I adopt definition of, which he sees as:

> A social pattern in which different metropolitan groups dwell in close proximity but where their racial, linguistic and religious particularities do not – as the logic of ethnic absolutism suggests they must – add up to discontinuities of experience or insuperable problems of communication.
>
> (Gilroy, 2006, p. 40)

In this context where racial and ethnic differences become common place, people 'discover that the things which really divide them are much more profound: taste, lifestyles, leisure preferences' Gilroy (2006, p. 39–40). Far from having to resolve racism or oppression, conviviality is seen as 'something more sustained and resilient, embedded in disposition and social practice' (Back and Sinha, 2016; Gilroy, 2005; Wise and Velayutham, 2014, p. 407). Seeing conviviality as a social pattern embedded into people's everyday life puts emphasis on the solidarities that come from habitual interaction and mundane routine practices in multicultural locales rather than ties of belonging (Barker *et al*., 2019, p. 499). Convivial multiculture is 'atmospheric' (Bissell, 2010) and 'it can be felt and experienced in the

most momentary encounters as well as in more sustained social relations' (Neal et al., 2013, p. 316). Further, conviviality has affective qualities that are 'intimately related to a sense of becoming' (Wise and Velayutham, 2014, p. 407). The atmospheric nature of conviviality 'captures something more embodied, habitual, sensuous and affective that carries over beyond the moment' (Wise and Velayutham, 2014, p. 425); it captures a 'collective affect' (Anderson, 2009), connects people, their feelings and places, and provide a 'sense of place.'

However, as Barker et al. (2019, p. 500) point out, the atmospheric nature of conviviality is not spontaneous; it needs to be constructed and supported and it is possible to be 'staged', 'enhanced', 'transformed', 'intensified' and 'shaped'.

The concept of conviviality as discussed here aligns well with my theoretical framework by adding another element in the dialectical nature of the social processes that this book examines. It situates the museum as an arena where family practice takes place and where class and power relations have traditionally been enacted into the social pattern of convivial encounters with 'difference.' This way, the museum can become part of the solution to what Hall (1992, p. 361) defined as the main issue we face in the 21st century, 'the capacity to live with difference.' I return to the notion of conviviality in chapter 9, where I discuss it in relation to my findings and its application in the museum context.

Synthesis

As noted in chapter 2, my aim is to develop and use a dialogical theoretical framework which addresses the interrelation of social order and family practice and apply this in the context of museum participation. The previous chapter introduced and explained the theoretical concepts that inform my research questions at both the macrolevel of social order and the microlevel of family practice. This chapter considered key theoretical and practice-based issues in the context of museums, using them as a starting point to reexamine approaches to audience segmentation and research as it has been performed in museums over the last four decades. It then highlighted three main themes of family museum research: family agendas and motivation; family discourse and family funds of knowledge. These do not offer a comprehensive account of family museum research but they were chosen because they align with the three key research areas of this book: everyday family practice and meaning making in the arena of the museum. This chapter closed by introducing the concept of conviviality, within which I proposed that the arena of the museum should be situated to drive the transition of the social space that it occupies towards an inclusive and accessible one for families from nondominant communities too. Figure 3.1 situates the museum in a space of conviviality which sits within the schematic depiction of my theoretical framework and its interrelated components as presented in Figure 2.2 in the previous chapter. The next five chapters present empirical family research that I have carried out across different museums and other family everyday settings. The analysis draws on the theoretical concepts used to develop my theoretical framework and which is used to structure these chapters.
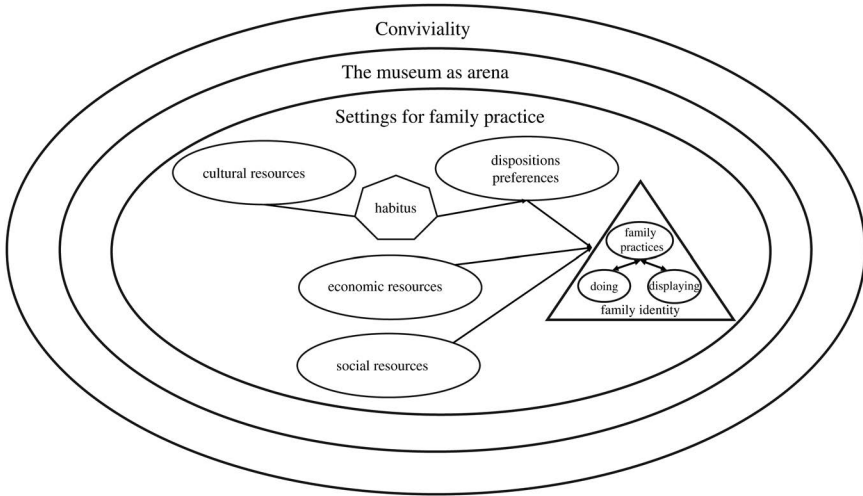
Figure 3.1 Conceptual map of theoretical framework as presented in Figure 2.2 situating the museum in a space of conviviality.

Notes

1 See for example: 1) Hurdles to the participation of children, families and young people in museums: a literature review [https://kidsinmuseums.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/Hurdles-to-Participation.pdf]; and 2) the DCMS Taking Part 2016/17 Quarter 4 report [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/664933/Adult_stats_release_4.pdf]

2 See for example: 1) the 2018 Museums Audience report produced by the Audience Agency in the UK [https://www.theaudienceagency.org/asset/1707], 2) the Derby Museums study [https://www.derbymuseums.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/16087-Non-Visitors-Research-Report.pdf]; and 3) the Smithsonian Institution two year visitor study (2009–10) at the National Museum of American Indian in New York [http://theartofconsulting.org/uploads/1/2/3/0/123065212/10.11.gghc2yearvisitor.final.pdf]; and the 2004 Smithsonian-wide survey of museum visitors [https://www.si.edu/content/opanda/docs/rpts2004/04.10.visitors2004.final.pdf]

3 For a discussion about how segmentation practices can lead to unintended exclusion and discrimination see Kolb (2013).

4 Notable exceptions include, for example, in London, the Horniman Museum and Gardens, the Imperial War Museum, the Science Museum; in Bathe, the Museum of East Asian Art; and in Wales, Amgueddfa Cymru which offer activities for homeschoolers. Amgueddfa Cymru also has designated spaces and activities 'for the siblings of children with life limiting illnesses and families who have been bereaved' [see: https://museum.wales/blog/2593/T-Hafan-SuperSibs/].

5 A notable example is Fyfe and Ross (1995) and Macdonald (1992; 1993).

6 Education, social event, life-cycle, place and entertainment as motivations first appeared in Macdonald's study at the Science Museum in London (Macdonald 1995, 2002). My work extended the meaning of the education category and also applied these in different types of museums some of which were located in the North of England.

7 The focus here is coexistence in the physical rather than digital realm, although the latter is very important too.

8 See for example report of the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights, Alexandra Xanthaki submitted to the United Nations General Assembly in March 2022: A/HRC/49/54: Cultural rights: an empowering agenda (2022).

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Part II

Values shaping family museum participation

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4 The museum as list and the family list

The previous two chapters argue that museums are situated in the field of cultural production that represents dominantly valued cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) and the shared 'normative' values associated with it. Dominantly valued cultural capital, which is associated with cultivated dispositions, cultural competence or familiarity with culture, shapes the range of cultural practices and tastes deployed by families in museums to improve their social status. Motivation for visiting a museum is, thus, a key element in the relation between families who choose to visit museums on a regular basis and the museum as part of social order within which families actively experience their visit. Drawing on Lave's (1988) concepts of list, arena and setting, this chapter examines the arena of the museum as a list and where it features on the family list, hence, providing a higher-order institutional framework within which a setting for family activity is constituted.

This chapter draws on several studies that I have carried out individually and in collaborations with colleagues and takes a cross-case approach to the case study museums (Moussouri, 1997; 2003; Moussouri and Roussos, 2013; 2015). These include, in the North of England, the Museum of Science and Industry (MSI) in Manchester, Eureka! The Children's Museum in Halifax and the Archaeological Recourse Centre (ARC) in York. In London, the case studies are the London Zoo and the Natural History Museum (NHM). It is based on a holistic analysis of family observation and interviews as well as secondary sources. The main body of this chapter examines the shared 'normative' values that place museums on the list of things to do as a family through the perspective of both children and adults – parents and grandparents or other relatives – family visitors. The analysis addressed the questions: what motivates families to visit museums; and what motivates them to recognise museum visiting as a worthwhile activity?

I start by introducing the case study museums, then the families and their museum participation patterns, followed by a discussion of the lists on which the case study museums are and how they come to feature the family list. This chapter closes by a brief synthesis of the main findings and how they answer the research questions.

The case study museums

MSI, Eureka! and ARC were part of a larger family study I carried out between 1994 and 1996. The bulk of the data collection at MSI was carried out at the Xperiment! Gallery, while at Eureka! and ARC the studies covered the whole museum. In all cases, the focus was on interactive museums and/or exhibitions specifically designed for intergenerational groups. A separate study was carried out at London Zoo in 2009–2010 and another at NHM, in particular in the *Darwin's Centre Cocoon* and *Treasures* Gallery, which ran from 2014–2015. Except for NHM, all the other museums charged an entrance fee at the time. The following paragraphs provide a brief overview of the museums and their exhibitions.

The MSI is housed in the world's oldest passenger railway station. When it was first founded in 1983, it was part of the Castlefield Urban Heritage Park regeneration project (Butler, 1992; Greene, 1996). Today, MSI is one of the museums comprising the Science Museum Group. At the time the family study was carried out, the museum's strategy was to place science and technology in their social context, which was justified by the fact that 'Manchester is a city where the roles played by science and scientists have historically been enmeshed in the industrial, social and political life' (Greene and Porter, 1992, p. 94). The displays and activities aimed to present an integrated account where science was represented 'as a set of practices and institutions' (ibid, p. 94). Some of the themes explored through the exhibitions were steam locomotives, the history of gas, water supply, the development of electricity and its effect on everyday life, nuclear power and renewable forms of energy, the development of the printing press and the textile industry and air and space. The museum used interactive exhibits to aid visitors in interpreting its collections and to demonstrate scientific principles. These were spread out throughout the exhibitions but in the Xperiment! gallery they were the dominant mode of interpretation. The exhibits covered two main areas: energy and light (Greene and Porter, 1992; Porter, 1996; Greene, 1989). Each exhibit was accompanied by a label which explained how to use it and, in some cases, the phenomenon or principle underlying it. Both exhibits and interpretive material were targeted at 7-year-olds and above. Xperiment! was developed in 1988 in order to make connections with the everyday life experience of visitors to illustrate ideas existing in other exhibits and to bring more 'science' in the museum. Visitors were expected to 'learn scientific principles through hands-on experimentation, backed up by the explainers' (ibid, p. 94).

When it opened in 1992, Eureka! The Museum Children's was the first children's museum in the UK. It was and still is based in Halifax and is housed in a 4,500 sqm purpose built building with exhibitions spread over two stories. It is a stone and glass structure designed to be a 'living building' (Thomas, 1992). Eureka!'s mission recognised education as its core function and aimed to be a 'meeting point for all those concerned with children and their future, whether parents, teachers, childcare professionals or industry' (Thomas, 1992, p. 88). At the type, the study was carried out, Eureka! housed three main exhibitions: *Me and My Body*, *Living and Working Together* and *Hello! Is Anyone There*. *Me and My Body* explored how the body changes and develops and how one can take care of one's body through a series of mechanical and computer interactive exhibits. *Hello! Is Anyone There* was

about different communication technologies and how some of them had changed over the years. Visitors were invited to explore the exhibition by getting involved in a series cooperative roleplay activities. *Living and Working Together* consisted of three different areas: the House, the Bank and the Shop and the Factory and the Garage. All of them represented everyday work environments where visitors could explore the design and technology used through roleplay activities. There were another two areas: Recycle Centre, which focused on recycling processes and material from everyday life, and the Jungle, a sensory/physical activity area for the under 5s. Gallery staff, called 'enablers,' were employed throughout the museum to help visitors to interact with exhibits.

ARC was one of the museums set up by York Archaeological Trust (1990, p. 1), 'an independent charity devoted to rescue excavation, research, publication and presentation of the results of archaeology for the benefit of the public.' The largest share of the Trust's resources is devoted to post excavation work but also the preservation of archival evidence of Yok's past, educational and engagement activities (ibid). The ARC was housed in a 15th century medieval parish church of St. Saviour in central York and opened in 1990. Its aim was to 'to demystify archaeology and raise its public profile by appealing to visitors of all ages and backgrounds' (Jones *at al.*, 1990, p. 1). The exhibition space consisted of four areas where first person interpretation provided by professional archaeologists or trained volunteer demonstrators helped visitors complete the activities. In the first area, visitors were greeted by the demonstrator who would explain what they could see/do, and they watched a slide presentation which introduces them to basic aspects of archaeology. In the main exhibition area, visitors are invited to handle and sort archaeological finds in the Finds Handling, reconstruct artefacts (such as stitching a Roman shoe, spinning wool into yarn and cloth weaving using a replica Viking loom) in the Experimental Archaeology and explore the use of technology (e.g. AutoCAD in plans and maps excavation and CIRF in findings recording) in the work of archaeologists in the Computer Interpretation section (Jones *et al.*, 1990; ARC, 1993).

The London Zoo and NHM were both established for the instruction of visitors through exhibiting specimens but they are also centres of research and public engagement in accordance with their mission. The London Zoo was founded in 1826 by the Zoological Society London, while the NHM opened its doors in 1881 (Guillery, 1993; Ito, 2014; Stearn, 1981). The Darwin's Centre Cocoon opened in 2009 to house the museum's more than 200 working scientists as well as its historic specimens, including collections of plants and insects. The cocoon structure of the centre houses open-plan laboratories allowing visitors to observe scientists conducting research with specimens in real time (Gates, 2002). The Treasures Gallery exhibits a total of 22 specimens 'spanning 4.6 billion years of Earth's history' accompanied by digital textual and pictorial interpretation (Natural History Museum, 2024).

The family visitors

A total of 134 families participated in the research across the six case study museums. There were 29 families at MSI, 28 at Eureka!, 29 at ARC, 30 at London Zoo

and 18 at NHM. A total number of 451 individual family members were observed and interviewed. Of them, 231 were adults (18+) or young adults (16–18) and 217 were children. Overall, it appears that there is a slight predominance of women and girls. However, the picture is more mixed when examining individual museums: there are more men at MSI; slightly more girls than boys at MSI and more boys than girls at London Zoo. The oldest family member, a grandparent in his early 80's, was at MSI, while more under 5's seemed to visit London Zoo, NHM and Eureka!.

Overall, the age breakdown of the adult family visitors also reflected national findings (DCMS, 2020a): the most common age groups to visit a museum or gallery were between 25 and 74 years old for adults (Table 4.2) and between 5 and 10, followed by 11–15 years old for children (Table 4.3.). Specifically, 61% of primary school age children (5–10 years old) and 33% of 11–15 year old had visited a museum outside of school in 2019–2020 (DCMS, 2020b).

A relatively small but notable number of families consisted of grandparents and their grandchildren or included grandparents in four of the five museums: 9 at MSI, 5 at Eureka!, 3 at ARC and 3 at London Zoo. Several families in two of the museums consisted of or included other relatives (uncle/aunts) visiting with their nieces and nephews: 7 at Eureka! and 2 at London Zoo. While four families (2 at Eureka! and 2 at London Zoo) were stepfamilies. Other types of blended families were those that included close family friends: 1 at MSI, 2 at Eureka!, 4 at London Zoo, and 2 at NHM. Both at MSI and Eureka! these were friends of the children visiting with the family groups, while at London Zoo and NHM, the groups included adult friends with their children. The number of extended family and friends groups was between 2 and 4 members. Only at three museums, a small number of families consisted of 5 or more members: 6 groups at London Zoo, 4 at NHM and 2 at ARC.

The data collected about the educational background of the adult and young adult visitors at MSI, Eureka! and ARC show that a slightly higher number of adults and young adults had left full time education before or right after completing the compulsory level (Table 4.1). This number was proportionally slightly higher at MSI, where all these adults worked in industries represented in the Museum's collection. At the same time, however, MSI also attracted adults with undergraduate and postgraduate qualifications (slightly less than one-quarter of the adult MSI family visitors had BA, MA and PhD degrees). Yet, proportionally more than half of the adult

Table 4.1 Educational background of adults and young adults

	MSI	Eureka!	ARC	Total
No of adults/young adults	39	42	41	122
Minimum	16	10	10	36
Stayed on at school	3	11	8	22
Undergraduate degree	9	7	18	34
Postgraduate degree	9	10	7	26
Still in full time education	3	3	0	4
NA	3	0	4	7

family visits at ARC had a graduate and postgraduate degree. At Eureka!, more than one-third of adult visitors had a university degree. It is also interesting to note that one-third of the adult family members to Eureka! worked in areas such as education and health care, which also aligned with the museum's exhibitions and/or its commitment to children's learning and place in the educational infrastructure.

The vast majority of families at MSI and Eureka! and all families at ARC classified themselves as 'White British.' Two families at MSI self-identified as British Asian Indian and one family at Eureka! as African-Caribbean. At London Zoo, the adults in two families identified themselves as 'Black African,' while one family visiting from France identified as 'White European' and another family was visiting from Japan. The families at NHM identified themselves as 'White British.' The vast majority of adult visitors at MSI, Eureka! and ARC where relevant data were collected were in current employment, while older adults (all grandparents) across all three museums were retired. I converted the employment data into the five-class version of the National Statistics NS-SEC categories, to indicate adult family visitors' socio-economic status. The Taking Part survey shows that museum and gallery visiting is more common among higher socio-economic groups (DCMS, 2020a). This is strongly evident in the data collected in these museums, with 83 of 128 adult visitors at MSI, Eureka! and ARC in managerial, administrative and professional occupations, and only 14 in lower supervisory and technical occupations and semi-routine and routine occupations combined. Only 2 adults (one at Eureka! and another one at ARC) were unemployed. A total of 9 women (1 at MSI, 3 at Eureka! and 5 at ARC) reported that they homemakers.

Overall, these findings are consistent with Bennett *et al.* (2009; Silva, 2008) survey of British cultural practices, which revealed strong divisions by educational level in attendance at museums and art galleries. Higher socio-economic status was correlated with higher levels of education.

Museum participation

Slightly more than half of all families were first time visitors to the case study museums, while the remaining families were almost equally spread between the two repeat visitor categories (see Table 4.2). Of the first time visitors, all but one family at MSI reported that they were regular museum visitors in general and, as such, were very familiar with museums.

Table 4.2 Frequency of visiting the case study museums

	MSI	*Eureka!*	*ARC*	*London Zoo*	*NHM*	*Total*
No of families	29	28	29	30	18	152
First visit	10	15	21	27	9	82
Repeat visit (regular visitors)	14	9	2	3	6	34
Repeat visit (at least one family member been before)	5	4	6	10	3	28

These findings are consistent with findings from studies carried out by most of these museums at the time the family studies were carried out. At MSI, there was an even split between first time visitors and repeat visitors: 44% of those surveyed in 1990 had been before, while this figure raised to 54% in 1992 (MSI, 1992). At Eureka!, 78% of the visitors surveyed were first time visitors (Eureka!, 1994). The ARC visitor survey showed that 87% were first time visitors (ARC, 1996).

These findings are also supported by the most recent Taking Part survey and they do not seem to have changed much recently (DCMS, 2020a). For example, the 2019/20 survey showed that 0.5% of respondents reported that they had visited a museum or gallery at least once a week in the last 12 months, 4% at least once a month, 17% three to four times a year, 15% twice in the last 12 months and 14% once in the last 12 months. Forty-eight percent of those surveyed reported that they had not attended a museum or gallery in the past 12 months. These estimates were similar to 2018/19 (DCMS, 2019).

Putting the museum on the family list

One of the most common questions my early research posed was what motivates families to recognise museum visiting as a worthwhile activity. In other words, I was interested in exploring how/why museums turn out to be on the list of potential activities to do as a family? To achieve that, I drew on Lave's (1988) conceptualisation of the arena of the museum as a 'list,' a cultural list filled with thousands of carefully selected, designed and ordered objects, exhibits and/or phenomena organised under particular themes and narratives and exhibited in the physical space. More often than not, families would not visit the whole museum and/or visit any given exhibition in the order in which they are displayed in the space. They would use their own list to navigate the arena of the museum and create their own paths through it. In other words, to be able to navigate the museum they need to fashion a route through the museum. To paraphrase Lave (1988, p. 152), 'part of what makes personal navigation of the arena feasible is the ordered arrangement of [objects, exhibits and/or phenomena] and the structured nature of family visitors' expectations about the process of [visiting] and what they [they will be able to see/do].'

An important element of the family list on which museums feature was that it was more than one. In fact, museums featured on multiple lists, which made their motivations for visiting stronger. The families who participated in the research studies in the five case study museums articulated eight lists[1]: education/participation, social event, lifecycle, place, entertainment, biophilia, political/participation and therapeutic (Table 4.3).

Although several families did express the desire to see objects related to particular themes, many of them were motivated by aspirations or expectations (e.g. supporting the education and wellbeing of one's children) and by issues or dilemmas (e.g. taking action for the environment) they associated with specific museums. Hence, the museum list included both tangible objects as well as intangible items or cultural projects. As evidenced by family visitor responses presented below, particular features of the arena of the case study museums structure the family visit

Table 4.3 Family visitors' list on which the case study museums featured (No of families)

	MSI	*Eureka!*	*ARC*	*London Zoo*	*NHM*	*Total*
No of families	29	28	29	30	18	152
Education/participation	24	21	22	9	18	94
Social event	9	12	14	35	11	81
Lifecycle	22	6	3	5	0	36
Place	7	9	20	15	3	54
Entertainment	13	16	9	21	0	59
Biophilia	0	0	0	8	0	8
Political/participation	0	0	0	2	0	2
Therapeutic	0	2	1	1	0	4

to some degree (i.e. expecting to see animals in a zoo). Families draw on museums and their recourses in the intentional fashioning of their social practices, which include the learning of cultural values and acquisition of habits, sensibilities and dispositions. Museum visiting, as one of the many activities families undertake, can be thought of as concrete short-term strategies or potential resolutions embodied in experienced activity in the museum setting jointly constructed by family members. The next sections present the lists on which the case study museums featured in more detail.

Education/participation

Education/participation refers to a range of cultural values associated with learning, development and participation. These include the desire to learn something in particular but more often families expressed the wish to learn in general (particularly adults); to expose one's self or other members of the family to the aesthetic, informational or cultural content of the museum as well as to the practice of the communities associated with that particular museum (e.g. a science-related community). Education/participation was the most commonly mentioned motivation by both adult and child family members.

Education/participation as a list came up particularly high among families visiting MSI (24 families), Eureka! (21 families), ARC (22 families) and NHM (18 families) as compared to London Zoo (9 families) (see Table 4.3). In fact, all the museums but London Zoo were seen as predominantly educational institutions, a place where learning about science, technology, archaeology and/or history and natural history becomes interesting:

> We really enjoy it when we're here, and also learning. So it's educational, not just a theme park type-like place. So, one of the best places to come.
>
> (MSI, woman, family 26)

Having an interest in science and technology was specifically mentioned by 20 families at MSI and 10 at Eureka! Fifteen families at ARC expressed an interest in archaeology and/or history, while 17 families reported that one or more of its members had an interest in natural history. This was of interest to both adults and

children alike. Adults seemed to be particularly interested in the themes covered by specific exhibitions related to their professional and personal interests, or hobbies. Families also made a particular reference to elements of the interpretation employed by the museums, including interactive exhibits, working models and static exhibits at MSI, ARC and Eureka! and NHM.

Adults speaking on behalf of the children in their charge reported that one of the reasons for visiting was the children's interest in science and technology or in 'how things work.' They also referred to the children's inquisitiveness and said that they hoped that the visit would answer their questions. According to the adult family visitors, one way of achieving this was by giving children the opportunity to touch and experiment, as the following quotes illustrate:

> We thought we would come and see the exhibitions because both of us are interested in science and I think it's good for the children to come along and see something like this. So we've come to see this one because I think it's very good for the children to come and try things, hands-on things, to try and make things work.
>
> (Eureka!, man, family 11)

> Basically, I saw it advertised and I just thought it is far more interesting for the children to be able to, instead of have a look, to have a go, to do the hands-on bit basically. This is what they want.
>
> (ARC, woman, family 29)

Using museums as a resource on a regular basis was another key element of the education/participation motivation expressed by both adults and children. For example, at MSI, children in 19 groups mentioned that they had planned to use the Museum as an educational source. Two of them found it interesting that it offers a variety of things on science and technology, such as experiments and large-scale objects including trains, aeroplanes and cars. Another two children mentioned that they were doing science at school and a visit to MSI fitted in very well with the curriculum. Finally, one child stated that he wanted to use the Museum 'to pick up ideas' for a science project at school. Other reasons included the desire to see the aircraft, to answer a specific scientific question ('when I was coming here, I wanted to know how air could lift a car'), and 'to have a go at the Experiments.' Adult members of three family groups expressed the idea that learning is a process and that real understanding can only be gained through frequent visits to museums and the use of other sources. The following quote is an explicit example of this point:

> It's an accumulative thing really. We don't come here with any specific aims. I think every visit leaves a little bit more of an impression of how things work. So it's, ehm, a gradual thing. I never come with any particular project 'let's go and look at x or y and see how that works'. I think he gets more out of these things if he's exposed to it repeatedly.
>
> (MSI, man family 29)

Visiting a cultural institution where families could get a glimpse of how natural history or archaeology is done was specifically mentioned by predominantly adult family members at NHM and ARC. However, two children at ARC mentioned that they wanted to become archaeologists and cited an interest in 'digging' and collecting. Another three children at NHM mentioned that they enjoyed digging and collecting stones.

Social event

Museum visiting was seen as a special social experience to be shared with family and friends, a chance to enjoy one's self separately and together. It is one of the options families have when they want to spend time 'doing something together.' A family social event motivation was evidenced across all six museums, but it features very high at LZS (34 out of 31 families), followed by NHM (11 out of 18 families) and ARC (14 out of 28 families). In this context, the museum visit is seen as a 'treat' either for the whole family or for some of its members (e.g. a mother-daughter special day out, taking visitors from overseas to the museum, or an opportunity for members of the extended family to get together). Having time off and doing something which all family members would enjoy, were essential for this motivation category. Indeed, free time for everyone was what made a day out into a special family event. The fact that the family could – if they wanted to – spend a whole day in the museum or just a couple of hours increased the possibility of using the museum on a number of different occasions. Doing something as a family was something to which children became accustomed. They seemed to expect their parents or grandparents to take them to museums or other venues. Family museum visits were scheduled on school holidays and weekends or to celebrate special days such as a child's birthday and often included members of the wider family and friends network. Adults saw it as spending quality time with children doing something special of interest to all of them. It is an experience that brings family members together on holidays or special days in the family calendar.

Lifecycle

Museum visiting was also seen as part of the lifecycle, a repeated activity, which takes place at certain phases in one's life and usually refers to taking children to museums. This motivation was very prominent in the case of MSI where it was mentioned by a total of 22 families as compared to Eureka!, ARC (6 families) and LZS (3 families).

Adults seemed to view museum visiting as a repeated activity which takes place at certain phases in one's life and it was usually related to childhood:

> Yes, our children saw the Museum so, you know, and this is our grandchild so it's kind of a nice day out really.
>
> (MSI, woman, family 28)

As the above quote suggests, museum visits were perceived as a significant resource for the development of primary school age children.

Place

All the case study museums were seen as leisure or cultural destinations emblematic of a locale or region. For example, visiting an exhibition or site related to Roman Britain in York; or an industrial site in Manchester. It came up across all of the museums (7 families at MSI; 9 at Eureka!; 12 at ARC; 15 at LZS; and 3 at NHM) and applied on several occasions, including when family groups are on holidays or day trips or have guests. It had a particularly strong local dimension in the case of MSI. The museum building and its collections were perceived as an appropriate representation of the city of Manchester and as being part of the town's industrial history. The adult family members saw the transformation of the buildings from a goods warehouse or train station into a museum and the objects with which they used to work transformed into the Museum collection. A visit to Eureka!, on the other hand, was associated with visits to relatives living locally, with a holiday in the north of England, or it was seen as the number one venue to take a child visitor. Similarly, a visit to ARC was seen by family visitors as something that they chose to do as part of their visit to York or Britain. This list of 'things to do' was closely related to the history of the city of York and included various tourist sites, particularly Roman sites. For example, adult family members in 18 groups referred to their visit to ARC as being one of their itineraries, which would be ticked off when it was done. In the cases where family groups failed to 'do' the museum during their previous visit to York, they mentioned that they had returned to see it. For families at NHM, it is a travel destination when visiting London (in the accompany of children): it is the 'focus point for the day when you're in London.' (NHM, man, family 17).

Entertainment

Museums are places families visit for entertainment purposes; an enjoyable thing to do together. Entertainment was very high on the list of slightly more than half of the family groups visiting London Zoo (21 families) and Eureka! (16 families). Entertainment also featured high on the list of just under half of MSI (13 families) and one-third of ARC family visitors. Children's enjoyment was an important motivating factor for parents. An interesting point to highlight is that parents and grandparents visiting with children seemed to have different attitudes. Parents expected to enjoy the visit themselves, while the main source of enjoyment for grandparents seemed to be the pleasure of spending time with their grandchildren. Families at London Zoo suggested that it was a 'family fun day out' but the fact that children of any age find 'wild animals fun' made the Zoo feature very high on their list of places to visit as a family.

Children seemed to find the above museums 'fun' and one of their 'favourite' places to visit. They usually referred to favourite exhibitions or exhibits (such as the Xperiment! at MSI and the interactive exhibits at ARC). Some of the children

on a repeat visiting at MSI also mentioned that they enjoyed seeing favourite objects, like trains and aeroplanes.

The majority of these families (10 out of the 13 groups at MSI; 8 out of the 16 groups at Eureka!; 8 out of the 9 groups at ARC) had been before or had visited other similar museums, which they all enjoyed. Thus, having their previous visits as a point of reference, they expected to have an enjoyable visit experience again. A number of the adult members of these groups (11 families at MSI; 5 at Eureka!; 3 at ARC; 1 at London Zoo) perceived having 'fun' and learning to be complimentary. In fact, that is what attracted them to these museums. The following quotes are from a family group consisting of a man and his 6-year-old son at MSI and a woman visiting Eureka! with her two daughters:

> Well, it's fun and learning as well, isn't it? You know, it's good, it's good for him and I enjoy it in a way I enjoy doing things as well. It's good for both of us
>
> (MSI, man, family 16)

> I just expected the children to really enjoy it and gain some more understanding about how things work
>
> (Eureka!, woman, family 3)

A father visiting London Zoo with his 3-year-old daughter and his wife indicated that having fun and observing animals 'up close' facilitates learning, or as he put it 'education through fun and observation.' Adults in four groups commented that what made the visit fun was looking at 'funny animals,' particularly penguins, monkeys, gorillas and African hunting dogs.

What seems to be important was that the museum visit met the expectations of all family members because they did not offer an 'either or' experience. All family members who expected the visit to be entertaining mentioned other reasons for visiting as well. Thus, it seems that entertainment is an important part of a family visit but, at the same time, it is not enough on its own.

Biophilia

The term biophilia refers to the emotional affiliation of human beings to other living organisms. Eric Fromm (1973) coined the concept of 'biophilious,' coming from the Greek words 'bio,' meaning life and living organisms, and 'philious,' meaning friend. Edward Wilson (1984) then used the term 'biophilia' to describe the innate tendency of humans to affiliate with nature and other living beings. In my research, it is used to describe situations where one finds oneself relaxing and feeling a pleasant surge of energy by being outdoors and in close proximity to animals and came up for the first time in London Zoo study, where eight families mentioned it.

This family list is somewhat related to therapeutic as the visit was associated with feelings of 'peace' and 'calm' but is also quite distinct as it refers to a range of emotions associated with being in nature and seeing favourite animals ('I love

lions, I cannot wait to see them'). In most cases, the emotional response was positive and family members expressed it in terms of which animals they liked (often using anthropomorphic terms, as mentioned above), or wanted to find out more about (e.g. their behaviour, or the sounds they make). In three cases, families expressed their concern about the welfare of animals in captivity and contrasted it with their perception of what the animals' natural habitat might be like:

> Some of the animals should be free
>
> (boy, 8 years old, family 19)

> [We wanted to see] what's the wellbeing of animals like? Will animals be ok living in the middle of London?
>
> (woman/mother, family 28)

Political/participation

Political/participation as a motivation emerged at London Zoo[2]. Some people view museum-going as a way of actively participating in events and institutions which promote the interests and wellbeing of one's community or the protection and preservation of the natural environment. For example, three adult family visitors in two family groups consisting of grandparents and their grandson and an uncle and his nephew at London Zoo expressed environmental concerns. The visit is seen as part of a wider action families take with the aim to bring about change.

A family group consisting of two grandparents and their 5-year-old grandson came from Durham City specifically to visit London Zoo and their primary motivation as the grandparents put it was to:

Grandfather:	"Hopefully, to give him a sense of responsibility to animals for the years to come ahead. How hopefully to give him (grandson) a sense of responsibility for animals for the years ahead. How their habitats have been threatened and the programmes to support their future."
Grandmother:	"[in London Zoo] children are able to see for themselves how the world should care for the future and what they can do to help save habitats." (London Zoo, family 21)

While the uncle-nephew group expressed a range of motivations, including 'hopefully, he will grow up curious and aware of his surroundings, nature; he will love to love and protect it as best as possible' (London Zoo, man, family 22).

Therapeutic

This refers to museums being on the list of places to visit as a way to overcome the stress caused by physical illnesses or mental health issues or simply to escape everyday routine, relax and lose yourself in activities that the whole family can

enjoy together. For people who live with a short-term or chronic illness and their family, it is particularly important to engage in activities that allow them to 'take their minds off things.' The latter was mentioned by the parents in one family visiting London Zoo. Another two families at Eureka! and one family at ARC described the therapeutic effect some of the interactive exhibits/activities had on them. In the ARC, the physical sensation associated with touching material such as leather and repeated activities such as sticking a leather shoe were mentioned by one family member. While at Eureka!, two families perceived the children's museum as an ideal place to visit and bond with family members in a 'neutral' or 'safe' space. A stepfather with his step-son visited Eureka! as a way to get a bit closer and have a good time together. In the second case, a man visited his 17-year-old grandson and his 5-year-old daughter, from a different marriage, to get them to know each other and form a relationship away from other family members and tense family dynamics.

Other considerations in the museum list and family list relations

Beyond the wider lists on which museums feature and from which families generate their own lists, the family setting is also shaped by the activity of the family members. For example, several families were on a day visit or a longer holiday in/around the area where the case study museums were located. This is what brought them to visit those particular museums. Further, expectations about the length of the visit (e.g. no more than an hour, or spending the whole day, as the case might be) shaped the amount of time families spent in exhibitions and engaging with individual exhibits. Other considerations included free entrance, accessible location, parking, weather conditions and distance to travel. These played a role in their decision to visit a museum on a particular day but they also had what Lave, Murtaugh and de la Rocha (1984, 75) describe as 'articulatory implications for the arena, which is created […] in response to the character of individual [family path] structures.' Planning the practical side of the visit was mentioned by six family groups at MSI, 11 at Eureka!, 4 at ARC, 14 at London Zoo and 2 at NHM.

For frequent family visitors, the weather, living close to the museum or parking availability seemed to be key considerations. Indeed, one of the reasons a number of family groups (5 out of 29) chose to visit MSI, for example, was bad weather. Two of them mentioned that they had a list of indoor and outdoor activities that they did in different weather conditions. For a father visiting with his 4-year-old son, MSI was one of their 'favourite places when the weather isn't nice.' By contrast, several families at London Zoo mentioned 'nice weather' as a contributing factor to visiting on a particular day.

Synthesis

This chapter set out to explore why families visit museums and, in particular, what motivates them to recognise museum visiting as a worthwhile activity. The family

studies with, predominantly frequent, museum visitors presented here contributed a broad picture of museum participation vis à vis the lists museums feature on, which is what makes them a worthwhile activity for specific family groups. The families who visited the case study museums were more likely to consist of visitors who were female (women, aged 25–44, or girls, aged 5–11) white, employed, highly educated and working in higher status occupations. The only variation in terms of gender representation was at MSI, where there were more men. A very high proportion were habitual museum visitors belonging to families from dominant communities, with patterns of participation in museums that are associated with their cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). In other words, they broadly mirrored the visitor profile and museum participation patterns to museums in England in general.

Museums as institutions of educational, aesthetic, cultural and social value, provided a higher-order institutional framework which framed and, to a certain degree, constraints the family visit. As an arena within which the activity of the visit took place, museums are the product of particular social, cultural, political and economic patterns that exit prior and outside of the individual. For the families who were frequent museum visitors and tended to come from dominant communities, museums featured high on their list of places to visit and their cultural values align with those of the shared 'normative' values that the museum embodies. On the one hand, these wider patterns shaped family members' motivation to visit as seen by their own articulation of the type of lists on which the case study museums featured. On the other hand, family members constructed their own individualised and personally ordered lists for any given visit. However, there was a notable difference in the type of lists the museums featured for different families, how they prioritise these on the actual day of their visit and the type of museum participation patterns these lists generated. For example, the lifecycle list would generate a handful of family visits, while the education/participation list would probably generate frequent participation patterns.

Drawing on Lave's work (Lave *et al*., 1988; 1984), my discussion of the museum as arena, an icon of the ultimate list of objects or phenomena associated with relevant disciplinary knowledge, shows how it became the space or entity through which families mainly from dominant communities were able to access dominantly valued knowledge. The case study museums featured on several lists, hence, providing a higher-order institutional framework within which the family setting is constituted. The museums that featured high on several of those lists at any one visit increased the frequency of family participation. Further, being on the family's list, made museum navigation feasible and smooth since the family list fashions a route through the museum creating the setting for the family activity. As evidenced by several references to previous visits to the same museum, or a similar type of museum elsewhere, families used this experience and the expectations of what future visits might hold as a point of reference and use it as a basis to fashion future visit paths (this is further discussed in chapter 5). The family setting was also sha ped and in turn shaped the arena of the museum as a number of issues, such as length of visit, cost and access issues, had to be considered on the day of the visit.

Notes

1 Education, family event, place, lifecycle categories were first identified by Macdonald (1995; 2002). Education/participation is an expanded version of Macdonald's education list. My research has also identified another list, introspection, on which museums feature and which is presented in chapter 6.
2 Political/participation was a particularly prominent list at the Museum of the Home too (see chapter 6).

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5 Expectations and visit paths

In the previous chapter, I examined the lists on which the case study museums featured and discussed how these lists made museum visiting a worthwhile activity for predominantly frequent family visitors from dominant communities. As already noted, these lists affect the family museum participation patterns. For frequent family visitors, museum visiting appeared to have the character of a routine activity and to draw on previous visits to plan subsequent ones. Being able to use these previous experiences generated expectations about how the visit would proceed, as manifested by the paths some of the families followed around the museum. What expectations do family members have about how their visit will proceed; how do previous museum visits affect their expectations; what type of visit paths the family visit activity generates in the setting which is specialised to support it? These are the questions I explore in this chapter. It draws on the same studies as in chapter 4 and takes a cross-case approach to the case study museums. This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part examines family members' expectations of how their visit would unfold. The second part presents their visit plan and the paths they followed. The third part discusses the meaning families made of their museum visits through their (re)construction of four themes. Here I also discuss the language family members used to talk about groups of exhibits. Finally, this chapter closes by presenting a brief synthesis of key findings.

Expectations

Family members across all six museums reported that what they expected to see and do was heavily influenced by their previous museum experience, word of mouth and/or having seen images of the museum and its exhibitions. These included previous visits to that particular museum or other similar types of museums (i.e. in terms of type of collection such as science and technology, archaeology and social history, or the delivery of the interpretation, namely interactive exhibits); discussions with other family members or friends who had been before and recommended the museum as a good place to visit, referencing particular exhibitions or exhibits; seeing images of exhibits on the museum website or social media; and professional and/or personal interests or hobbies of the individual reporting it

or of another family member. The following sections examine the expectation of the child and adult family members, highlighting differences in the expectations between children and adults as well as between parents and other adult family members. Factors affecting expectations are also discussed.

Children's expectations

Children seemed to have different expectations from those of the adults – or at least they articulated them in different ways. They expressed their own personal expectations predominantly. On the other hand, adults often also spoke on behalf of other members of their family, for example, expressing an expectation to influence the educational experience of the children. However, some children did express their desire to share the visit experience or to visit specific exhibits with siblings and/ or friends. This only occurred in families where a child family member had visited before and wished to come back in order to share the experience with a sibling or friend. In this case, the repeat child visitor often acted as a 'guide' for the rest of the group, shaping the visit path to a large extent, especially at the beginning of the visit. Children in all families visiting MSI but one expressed what they expected of their visit, while at Eureka! children in 21 out of the 28 families specified what their expectations were. Children in the remaining seven groups at MSI and one in Eureka! had never been before (6 groups) or were too young to have formed specific expectations (2 groups).

As seen in Table 5.1., children in 12 families at MSI, 10 at Eureka!, 13 at ARC, 9 at London Zoo and another 9 at NHM had object-specific expectations, relating to particular exhibitions, exhibits or activities. For example:

> Because my mum works in the trains and so I wanted to see the older trains and then the new ones to see what they look like.
>
> (MSI, boy, family 4)

> The Bank and the Shop {Marks & Spencer supermarket}
>
> (Eureka! Girl, family 17)

Table 5.1 Children's expectations of their visit (No of families)

	MSI	Eureka!	ARC	London Zoo	NHM	Total
No of families	29	28	29	30	18	134
Object, animal, specimen specific	12	10	13	30	9	74
Subject matter specific	0		4	0	0	4
General / curiosity driven	17	4		0	1	22
To share experience with rest of family	14	14	6	0	0	34
To visit particular exhibits with siblings/friends	0	4	0	0	0	4
Interactive exhibitions or exhibits	8		1	0	0	9
To learn	0	2	0	0	0	2

I wanted to go to the first section and see through the magnifying glass {refers to the environmental archaeology section}.

(ARC, boy, family 10)

The vast majority of the children at the MSI and Eureka! had visited before, with many of them having visited more than three times within the last 12 months. ARC had been visited by children in six family groups only. However, some first-time child visitors (in 4 families at Eureka!; in 2 families at MSI; in 6 families at ARC; and 4 at NHM) expected to see particular exhibits recommended to them by a sibling, friend or an adult family member who had been before.

Children in 8 family groups at MSI and one at ARC mentioned that they particularly wanted to see specific interactive galleries or exhibits. Although not specifically mentioned, for children visiting Eureka!, the interactive mode of interpretation adopted was one of the main motivations for visiting. The rest of the children seemed to have more general expectations (in 17 families at MSI; 4 families at Eureka!; 1 at NHM) about what they wanted to see or do during their visit. In some cases, these were associated with interactive exhibitions/exhibits (in 8 families across these three museums). These types of expectations included being able to 'touch things,' to 'make things,' to find something related to their interests, to learn how to make engine models and to be able to do 'lots of things' and, to have 'fun.' It is of particular interest that children in 4 families at ARC expressed expectations related to the disciplines of archaeology, history – or both – and particular subjects such as the Romans and the Vikings, as evidenced by the following quote from a 7-year-old girl: 'I expected to learn about archaeology. I thought there might be various things and that was about all I thought really.' (ARC, family 16)

Interestingly, two children at Eureka! referred to what they expected to learn from their visit. Learning in Eureka! was seen as not related to school learning but it referred to learning about practical skills such as how to cook and what working in a factory involves. Both of these children were frequent visitors, having been to Eureka five times during the last three years.

It seems that children's expectations of their visit were closely related to their previous visits to the same museum and, to a lesser degree, to other museums. In a few, children's expectations of their visit related to other factors such as science and biology lessons at school, hobbies and family history (i.e. family members in 4 groups at MSI had worked with the textile machines exhibited in the textile gallery). While at Eureka! expectations related to the amount of discussion it aroused between groups of children and adults alike. This and the fact that Eureka! was widely advertised affected the expectations of the families considerably.

Children in 14 groups referred to the fact that they had been to MSI before with their family and wanted to visit again as a group. Children in another 14 groups at Eureka! and in 6 families at ARC had been before as part of another group and had since then expected to return and share the experience with their own family.

Table 5.2 Adults' expectations of their visit (No of families)

Type of expectation	MSI	Eureka!	ARC	London Zoo	NHM	Total
No of families	29	28	29	30	18	134
Subject matter specific	27	4	15	15	2	63
Children's education	15	22	17	12	0	66
How things work	5	1	0		0	6
Children's enjoyment	8	6	2	23	0	39
Enriching experience for all	0	0	8	23	0	31
General/curiosity driven	0	10	0		7	17
Object, specimens or animal specific	0	0	0	30	12	42
Interacting with/observing animals	0	0	0	10	0	10

Adults' expectations

The adults' expectations of what the visit to MSI, Eureka! and ARC would hold tended to be more subject-specific as compared to the children and related to the theme of the museum or the exhibition(s) they planned to visit (Table 5.2). While a large proportion of adults at London Zoo and NHM reported having specific expectations such as seeing specific animals or observing animal behaviour at London Zoo (adults in all 30 groups) or seeing specific specimens at NHM (adults in 7 out of the 18 groups). As was the case with children, adults' expectations were influenced by prior visits to the case study museums, or to other similar museums; discussions with other family members who had been before and word-of-mouth more generally; TV programmes; images of the museums in the media, leaflets and the museums web site.

The following sections discuss these categories of adult expectations in more detail.

Children's education and the whole family

Very often, adults referred to what they expected children in their group to gain from the visit. Adults in 15 groups reported that they had mainly visited for the children. Half of the adults were grandparents. They perceived museums as being educational institutions which could provide the children in their groups with concrete examples of ideas or concepts related to the disciplinary content with which the museum collection was associated.

A high number of adults (in 15 families at MSI; 22 in Eureka!; 17 at ARC; 12 at London Zoo) mentioned that they intended to influence the educational experience of the children in their groups. Providing an enjoyable experience to the children in their groups was also mentioned by a number of adults (in 8 families at MSI; 6 at Eureka!; 2 at ARC and 23 at London Zoo). Adults in a further 8 groups at ARC and in 23 groups at London Zoo referred to the experience as enriching for both adults and children. For the visitors to ARC from abroad, the exhibition presented a part of English history while for British visitors it was part of their history and

the social aspect of archaeology: 'Oh, I think every place we visit in England we want to understand a little bit more of the history because there's so much history here, you know, and coming to the ARC really, ehm; sets up some different ages very clearly' (woman, family 8).

Subject matter specific

The vast majority of the adult family members at MSI – both among first time and frequent visitors – seemed to have a subject-specific expectations, such as to see exhibits like aeroplanes, steam engines, trains – that is, exhibits related to science, and the history of science and industry. Subject-specific expectations were expressed at ARC (15 family groups), London Zoo (15 family groups) and NHM (2 family groups). Adults visiting ARC mentioned that they wanted to learn more about archaeology and how archaeologists work, while those visiting London Zoo and NHM mentioned subjects such as conservation, animal habitats and global warming. Expectations were associated with a particular interest in archaeology or history and zoology or environmental studies. Adults (in 8 groups at MSI and 5 groups at ARC) associated their expectations with their general interests, courses, hobbies or work/ educational background. Here are a couple of typical examples of this point:

> I've always been interested in the industrial archaeology side of it – you know – like the transport, the engines that sort of things. So I'm always looking for any new things they've got here.
>
> <div align="right">(MSI, man, family 5)</div>

> I've done my history degree and I am a teacher now. I teach Romans so it just reinforces it; picking up any more tips, you know {laughter}.
>
> <div align="right">(ARC, woman, family 20)</div>

Object specific or curiosity driven

A much smaller number of adults (4 families) at Eureka! reported that they expected to see particular science and technology related exhibits. In all cases, these were exhibits that were either recommended to them by someone who had been before, or that they had seen an image of on a leaflet or the museum website. This is not surprising since adults in three-quarters of the families had not been to Eureka! or a similar type of interactive museum before. Instead, adults in slightly more than one-third of the groups had general expectations, (i.e. to see all the exhibitions). Finally, a more general 'curiosity' driven type of expectation was reported by adults in 7 families at NHM.

'How things work'

Almost half of the first-time adult visitors (in 5 of the 10 groups) at MSI and one in Eureka! referred to their expectation to learn about how things around them work.

As an adult at MSI put it, he expected the museum to offer 'basic science knowledge for children.' Furthermore, adults in eight groups at Eureka! referred to being able to interact with hands-on exhibits as a core expectation of their visit. More mentioned that they had brought their children for the same reason. They saw museums as a training resource for adults and as something which added extra value to children's education. They particularly referred to the media of communication that museums with interactive exhibits – such MSI, Eureka! and ARC – employ as being different to the traditional ones such as books and to the ones employed by the school. This is a particularly explicit example where a father and his daughter explain what they expected of their visit to the MSI:

M: 'Oh, a sort of an insight into how certain things work. It's often very difficult to look at a textbook and try imagining why something is working.'
G: 'Yeah'
M: 'You know, from the written words but when you see it, ehm, it might still be difficult to understand why it works, but at least you see the physical aspect of the experiment of the motion or whatever. So, from the point of view that really you are, ehm, taking something out of a book and showing it to someone or touching it or understanding how it works through physical sense, yes. That's, I think, one of the things I would expect to, ehm, come out with this but I didn't know that this Xperiment! {Gallery}was here so it was a complete surprise for myself.'
G: 'It's just that you understand things when you see them like that it's not like reading about them from a textbook.'
M: 'Mmm'
G: 'It makes a change.' (father-daughter, family 11)

Interacting with and/or observing animals

At London Zoo, adults in ten family groups are expected to interact or engage with animals in some way, i.e. 'to feed animals,' 'to watch animals behaviour,' 'to get closer to animals,' or 'to touch animals.'

'For children's sake'

Although a number of adults including parents, grandparents and other relatives admitted that they visited the museums mainly for the children, it was groups consisting of grandparents only who did not seem to have any personal expectations for the visit (in 8 families at MSI; 4 families at Eureka!; 1 family at ARC). They saw the museum visit exclusively in terms of the opportunity it offered them to enjoy the company of their grandchildren, find out more about their interests, take them to places they would enjoy and spend some time together. They often appeared surprised to be asked about their own expectations, as evidenced by the following quotes:

For me? Just the pleasure of being with her. It keeps me a bit younger {laughter}. Well, if she enjoys it I enjoy it obviously. I wouldn't bring her if

I didn't think she'd enjoy it. And she also enjoyed the museum at the other side {Air and Space Gallery}. I think that's because you're doing the War at school, isn't it?

> (MSI, man visiting with his granddaughter, family 19)

For myself just the enjoyment of being with my grandson, and we enjoy being together a lot, don't we; just the enjoyment really

> (Eureka!, woman, family 7)

The only exception to that was two family groups; one at MSI and another one at Eureka!. At MSI, the grandparents were not the only adult members and spent a considerable amount of time interacting with their own adult children rather than their grandchildren. The grandparents also had a special interest in MSI's medical collection – among other things – and expected to see on display some objects which they had donated. At Eureka! one of the grandparents, a retired schoolteacher, reported that she enjoyed playing an active part in her grandson's learning development.

Parents vs grandparents

Overall, the social aspect of the visit was particularly important for grandparents. They also seemed to focus more on the social history portrayed in the exhibitions at MSI rather than on the science or technology side of it. The emphasis was on family history and things that grandparents themselves or members of their family had experienced. Indeed, seeing objects that used to be part of people's life in the recent past gave grandparents the chance to relive an experience while at the same transferring biographical information or information on family history to their grandchildren.

By contrast, parents seemed to be concerned more with exposing their children to an environment where they could learn about different disciplinary content, 'normative' knowledge, rather than family history. They seemed to see the visit as an opportunity for their children to learn about their environment and to introduce them to the practices of particular disciplines represented in the museum collections, or of the society in which they live. The language parents used is another interesting point. Phrases like 'bring them down,' 'give him a taste,' 'show,' 'to make them aware,' 'to give them or to encourage an interest' implies their intention to modify their children's thinking directly. For example, one mother at Eureka! and another one at ARC said:

> It's good for us. We can show him how things in the body work. You know, you press the button and you can see how it works. We're both nurses so he's very interested in how the body works because we've explained to him before. For example, the exhibit on the digestion, when the food goes in the mouth. I mean, we could show him there, by pressing buttons for yes and no, exactly where the food went.

> (Eureka!, woman, family 13)

> To find out a bit more about archaeology and to make them a bit more aware
> of their surroundings than they already are.
>
> <div align="right">(ARC, woman, family 15)</div>

The vast majority of parents at MSI and Eureka! who expressed a wish to influence their children's educational experience referred to a desire (either their own or one expressed by their children prior to the visit) for their children to learn 'how things work.' Parents wanted to develop children's interest in science and technology further by using MSI and Eureka! as resources for socialising them in STEM and the practices of scientists.

Family visit plans and paths

As detailed above, families had prior expectations for the type of things they expected to be able to see and do and the way they expected their visit to proceed. The relation between the structure of the museum as an arena and the structured nature of the visit activity (i.e. the route families fashion through the museum) is conceptualised in terms of the setting for the family activity (Lave, Murtaugh and de la Rocha, 1984). In this context, frequent family museum visitors transform the information-rich arena of the museum 'into an information-specific setting' (ibid, 76–77) for the family activity. 'These transformations of past experience, taking place in the appropriate setting, form an integrated whole that is the basis of what appear to be habitual' visit paths. Yet, even the most detailed plan for a family's visit path would deviate and include other elements as the visit unfolded. This is because, as Lave *et al.* (1984, 78) work highlighted, even the frequent museum visitors – who can draw on a range of cultural recourses, their previous museum experience, familiarity and understanding of the 'rules of the game' – 'have many alternative ways to generate a path' through the museum; 'numerous short-run structuring devices.'

Depending on their familiarity with the case study museums or museums in general, frequency of participation, information available to them through different platforms and people, their expected visit paths ranged from featuring particular exhibitions and/or exhibits that they had seen before to being shaped largely by the arena of the museum, i.e. how it was structured and what its highly structured environment would offer to families who were driven by a curiosity to 'see the whole museum.' The families' expectations about how their visit would proceed had outlines of visit plans, which they described as including: 1) a detailed ordering of sequencing the family activity, 2) a partial one, or 3) a non-specific ordering of sequencing the family activity.

The following sections examine expectations the families had about how their visit would proceed and the outline of their visit plans, which fell into one of the three categories introduced above, as reported by the families at MSI, Eureka!, ARC and NHM. It then presents the specific visit paths of the families at London Zoo, as captured through a mobile position awareness system.

Family visitors with non-specific ordering of sequencing their activity were generally unaware of museum/exhibition opportunities and were open to experiencing

whatever the museum had to offer, at least in the early stages of their visit. Those who had a partial ordering were aware of museum/exhibition specifics – they may have even planned on seeing a particular exhibition during their visit – but this did not represent their sole, or even primary, item on their visit itinerary. Finally, visitors with a detailed ordering of sequencing their activity would, typically, refer to a 'visit routine' which they reported that they would follow on every visit, often to the exclusion of other things the museum might have to offer. The families who fell into this category reported that museums featured on the education/participation list and they were all adults, predominantly parents.

The following sections discuss the interplay between family visit plans, paths and motivation, while taking into account the frequency of museum participation.

Non-specific ordering

A total of 10 family groups at MSI, 12 at Eureka!, 21 at ARC and 9 at NHM described their ordering of sequencing their activity across the museum as non-specific (Table 5.3). Instead, they mentioned that they wanted to see all the museum or as much as possible. Although there were certain things that they would expect from their visit in terms of the museum content or mode of engagement in the context of the interactive exhibition, they were more likely to be influenced by the structure of the museum. All family members in this category had never visited the case study museums before.

In some cases, families referred to their experience as 'browsing' through the exhibitions, picking what interested them most. There is a strong suggestion that they became more selective as the visit progressed, spending more time only with the things that were of interest, particularly to the child family members. In fact, often children determined the route and the pace of the visit as they were the first to move from one exhibit to the next, with adults often following behind. Hence, the visit path emerged moment-by-moment as they went along.

What is particularly interesting here is the way visitors described their movements and the sense of excitement that exploring a place like a museum can bring:

> We just nicked through the door and went Oh! There's another little interesting exhibition in there! Let's have a look at that! quoting the female participant
>
> (NHM, woman, family 17)

Table 5.3 Detailed/partial/nonspecific ordering of the sequencing the activity

	MSI	Eureka!	ARC	NHM	Total
No of families	29	28	29	18	104
Non-specific ordering	10	12	21	9	52
Partial ordering	14	16	5	7	42
Detailed ordering	3	0	2	3	8

Yeah, but we just wanted to see it all to see what was going on; first to see and then we'll just carry on what takes our interest, we'll just have a look at … we're going to just travel through the best way we can {laughter}.

(MSI, man, family 7)

In other cases, factors such as how busy an exhibition was shaped visit plans. This was particularly the case during pick times (i.e. late morning and early afternoon):

When we first arrived, there was nobody else up there because we arrived more or less at the opening time and everybody else had gone straight to the things downstairs. So, we came straight up here because it would be quieter. She could get to the exhibits easily and she could see what was happening_ not having to queue which is important for a 4 year old child.

(Eureka!, woman, family 16)

Well today it's been a bit difficult with the schools so we've really only done what was available to do so we've only gone where there was room. There were so many people.

(woman, ARC, family 4)

The visit path of the families in this category was negotiated among family members throughout the visit. This is a typical example of how the decision making took place is presented by a woman visiting the MSI with her husband and her 11-year-old daughter. The family came from Canada to visit the woman's brother in Manchester:

Woman: We looked at the map they gave us and tried to decide what we wanted to see but we didn't decide anything we just thought just walk up the stairs {laughter} and see what we are going to do so we didn't know. That {Xperiment! Gallery} was the first thing we did we've just arrived. We didn't know that we would end up there. We thought that there might be something on this floor … but there was nothing until we ended up there {laughter}.

(MSI, family 8)

Only one of the family groups on their first visit to MSI reported to have followed a certain route, using the MSI guide. The adults' main concern was that they and their granddaughter could see all of the exhibitions. Another family at MSI described their visit as an exploratory visit which they would use for future reference.

Partial ordering

Families who had the outline of a partial ordering of the sequencing of their activity had been to the museum before, or at least some of their members had and were familiar with the place and 'the rules of the game.' Families in this category included both first time and repeat visitors, who seemed to have a clear idea about what they

wanted to do or see, including which exhibitions they would or would not like to visit. However, having a partial ordering meant that the sequencing of their activity would be revised during the visit to fit the family's emergent priorities. Families in this category seemed to be willing to include to their path new things offered by the museum on the day of their visit, if these were of interest to members of their family. This category included 14 families at MSI, 16 at Eureka!, 7 at ARC and 7 at NHM.

Families at MSI and ARC reported that the visit path was co-fashioned by all family members, while at Eureka! children led – with adults' full consent/support – with the exception of one family where the child was very young (a 2-year-old girl). However, across all museums, families consisting of grandparents tended to let the children lead, which was consistent with their expectations of the visit, as reported above.

Hence, the visit path often had to be negotiated and, gradually, to take shape, as a father visiting MSI with twin 5-year-old daughters explained:

> These two knew how to go around inside the Museum as well. They remembered the location of things in the Museum very well. They told me what they wanted to come and see and where it was inside the Museum.
>
> (MSI, man, family 18)

He then went on to say that one of the things he would like to do was to see objects relevant to his hobby of astronomy in the Air and Space Gallery.

One of the key characteristics of the families in this category was that they wanted to be open to new things the museum had to offer. The following quotes from a 10-year-old visiting Eureka! with his mother and 7-year-old sister is typical of this point:

> The interesting about it is that at home like if you see something on the map, something that you like and you can go there but on the way here you sort of think immediately "oh, look at this". Like we were going to the Making Centre {refers to the Recycle Centre} but on the way we saw something else and we stopped and spent about half an hour there {laughter}
>
> (Eureka!, boy, F15)

In fact, being open to what a museum has to offer, especially if that is a new exhibition or space, appears to be an important aspect of the activity of the families in this category, as one of the families at NHM explained. Although they had not planned to visit the Darwin centre, they chose to visit aged, as 'he [referring to the father] is keen to see the new elements wherever.' The family 'was naturally drawn there cause it's new' (NHM, man, family 6).

As was the case with families who fell in the previous category, a number of groups reported that their visit plans were dictated or altered by crowded conditions. They also mentioned it as a reason to return to the museum at a less busy time. Families generally reported that they preferred it when it was quiet because they could take their time interacting with exhibits and with each other.

Overall, family members used all the information available to them to plan their visit. Visit plans were usually made when the group decided to visit or on arrival and were flexible.

Detailed ordering

This category is the smallest of the three. It consists of 3 families at MSI, 2 at ARC and 3 at NHM, all of which were frequent museum visitors who had been to those specific museums as a family many times over the previous 1–2 years. They knew the museums very well and also knew exactly what the other members in their groups wanted to do. Two of the MSI families and both of the ARC families had a list of galleries which they visited or exhibits that they engaged with every time in almost the same order:

Father: 'We always come round the Xperiment! place first and then we always go in the Steam Gallery {refers to the Power Hall Gallery} and finish in the Air and Space Gallery, don't we?'

Interviewer: 'Do you ever visit other Galleries?'

Father: 'We do sometimes, not always. It depends on the concentration level. If his enthusiasm is still there we do but more often we don't. Well, a short trip in here {Xperiment!}, then over to the Steam Gallery and then we go to see the aeroplane but, occasionally, we do go down to the tunnel, don't we?'

Son: 'Mmm'

Father: 'And we've found the old engines and the Electricity place'

Son: 'Yeah' (MSI, father-son, family 29)

It is very interesting that all family groups in this category reported that the specific museums featured very high on the education/participation list. Furthermore, they described learning as a process, an accumulative experience where every visit adds to the experience and is 'stuck in the children's mind.'

Visit paths

My early family research (Moussouri, 1997; 2003) indicated that there may be a link between the types of lists museums feature and the family visit paths. Some further self-report evidence collected in a subsequent study I carried out with colleagues at the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History seemed to support that (Falk, Moussouri and Coulson, 1998). The London Zoo family study set out to investigate exactly that by collecting data about the lists on which London Zoo was on and actual visit paths captured through a mobile position awareness system (for details see Moussouri and Roussos, 2013; 2015). The findings showed that specific lists determine the type of places and activities families choose to engage with, and this choice is based on the function those places or activities play, namely, whether the place visited performs an exhibit or non-exhibit function. Two distinct observed visit strategies were identified that directly relate to social groupings with

distinct museum lists. Specifically, families for which London Zoo featured on the education/participation list[1] actively sought to engage in exhibit-related activities, and families for which London Zoo featured on the social event or entertainment list were likely to engage in at least one activity with a non-exhibit function during their visit. Families for which London Zoo featured on the social event or entertainment list always visited at least one place of the non-exhibit function, spending an average of one-fourth to one-third of the total visit in places such as the café, shop and playgrounds[2]. While families for which London Zoo featured on the education/participation list visited only places with exhibit functions. We did not find any links between other London Zoo lists and visit strategies.

Making sense of the family activity in the museum

The family activity consists of a series of numerous choices related to what to do/see next as family members move in the physical and highly structured space of the museum. 'The setting imposes shape on potential solution procedures' (Lave *et al.*, 1984, p. 77) by suggesting what a next move might be through the way objects and exhibits are laid out and grouped together in the space. Families use such cues in the exhibition, as well as previous experiences and interests to fashion their visit path. As mentioned above, even for repeat family visitors, what appears to be 'habitual' activity in the museum following a routine path involves a large number of complex decisions, involving a great deal of gap closing (Lave, 1988; Lave *et al.*, 1984). However, the fact that they would describe museum visiting as a habitual activity enables them to see it as a smooth ordered sequence of interactions with the exhibition elements. As experienced museum visitors familiar with 'the rules of the game,' the families who participated in the study involving MSI, Eureka! and ARC as case studies[3] were able not only to reconstruct a smooth sequencing of interactions but also a rather coherent reading of their personal experience associated with what they thought the exhibition(s) was about. Four themes emerged from these readings: 'how things work,' 'learning about yourself and others,' 'a history through objects' and 'the object study.' These are discussed in more detail below. Of particular interest was the very limited use of technical language even by adult family members, to describe the content and/or concepts underpinning the exhibits. This is discussed in a separate section.

'How things work'

This reading was constructed by families at MSI and Eureka! where a large number of the exhibits they interacted with related to science and/or technology. It directly related to one of the expectations several families had about what their visit would hold, as discussed in the first part of this chapter. At MSI, family members in two-thirds of the groups referred to the exhibits in terms of how they worked based on their observations or on their kinaesthetic experience. For example, the children's reconstructions focused exclusively on the kinaesthetic experience (i.e. demonstrating what their actions had been earlier when interacting with specific exhibits) and on their observations of how the exhibit reacted or what the result of their

action was. Seventeen adult family members reconstructed the exhibits based on their observations while four of them also used information provided by the labels. Adults' reconstructions of their experience with the exhibits tended to concentrate on their actions and what the reaction of the exhibit was or what they thought about it. Unlike the children, they only relied on speech to describe the exhibits. At Eureka!, one of the readings involved linking all of the 'everyday things' exhibited in the museum under the theme of how things that people use at work or at home work (family members in 15 groups, 13 children and 9 adults). There were two variations of the same reading: one referred to the progress of modern technology, and the other one focused on having a firsthand experience with things which they often do not have the opportunity to use in everyday life.

'Learning about yourself and others'

A second reading at Eureka! was to do with learning about one's self and about others and referred specifically to an exhibition that examined the human body and the biology of emotions. Family members in 13 groups (14 adults and 9 children) reconstruct the exhibition in terms of 'how your body, or parts of your body' works. They tended to link particular exhibits to the subject they presented or to the theme of the whole gallery. More than half of the adult family members responded in terms of how they thought it affected the experience or way of thinking of the children in their groups. Some adult family members linked the exhibits to the theme of the gallery, whilst others referred to specific exhibits and how they read them. On the other hand, all child family members referred to particular exhibits. Apart from learning how one's body works, a few family members referred to the fact that one can learn about one's own feelings or development and also learn to appreciate other people's feelings and empathise with them.

A history through objects

At the ARC, family members in 16 groups referred to the visit in terms of understanding the crafts and technologies of the past and how they were used. There were two alternative narratives. Either they commented on the things people used/made/did or they compared modern practices with past ones. However, in both cases, the family members used contemporary terms and concepts to describe their ideas. Their perception of this history theme was influenced by the capacity of some artefacts or replicas of objects to provoke admiration or appreciation of the crafts and technologies of the past. The family members in 12 out of these 16 groups mentioned that they had an interest in archaeology or history. One adult had a professional interest (he was a valuer and auctioneer).

An object study

The second reconstruction of the ARC visit offered by family members in 18 groups related to the study of the objects through the activities and the knowledge or

information gathered as a result. The family members in 12 of these groups had a special interest in archaeology and/or history before they visited ARC. In two of these cases, the adults had a professional interest (one was an archaeologist and another one was a history teacher). Once again, two narratives were constructed. One narrative referred to the skills involved in studying artefacts as they were applied in order to carry out the activity or the task. This was more common among children (13 in total) as compared to adults (2 in total). The second narrative referred to the role of the activities in helping them appreciate the artefacts or exhibits as part of their culture and the role of archaeologists in studying and interpreting material evidence. This latter type of reconstruction of the visit was much more common among the adult family members (12 adults) than the child family members (only two: a 10 and an 11-year-old child).

Use of technical language vs everyday family talk

By and large, the vast majority of the families used everyday language rather than discipline specific terminology or abstract language in their reconstruction of the visit. For example, at MSI, only 10 adult family members (8 of whom were men) and two children described the exhibits using abstract language. In the case of 5 out of the 10 exhibits these family members talked about, an explanation with scientific language was provided by the labels. There is some indication that three of the adults used information contained in the label when they reconstructed the exhibits. Another three adults seem to have come up with an alternative explanation and to have used different wording from that contained in the label. Two of them came from a science background. Other language used mainly by children to refer to the science centre type of exhibits at MSI included 'experiments' and 'tests.' In a couple of cases, adults referred to a group of exhibits as the 'optical' and the 'sound' ones. Overall, however, the language used by the adults was much more technical or more precise than that of the children.

The main observation about the use of language by the family visits at ARC was that they used contemporary terms and concepts to describe their ideas about crafts and technologies of the past and how they were used. Being a museum designed specifically for children and their families, Eureka! focused on everyday objects and the interpretation used everyday terms to explain the ideas.

Although the London Zoo family visitors were not asked to reconstruct their visit, a number of family members (in 9 groups) talked about the animals they expected to see often using anthropomorphic characteristics, typically found in children's literature and films. This included 'snoggy giant Ant-eater,' 'cute animals,' 'shy and brave animals,' 'beautiful tigers and lions,' 'cool gorillas,' 'cute tigers,' 'beautiful monkeys and birds,' 'cute penguins,' 'tiny loris, what cute sad eyes,' 'noisy but funny birds,' 'posing tiger,' 'lazy lion,' 'evil dogs' and 'cheeky monkey.'

Finally, it is worth highlighting that in both their reconstruction of the visit and their use of language, family members offered a smooth narrative of their museum experience and their ability to navigate the physical space and the intellectual elements of the exhibitions visited. The overall picture was that of a routine repeated

interaction between family activity and setting. Any problems that might have arisen during the visit were probably easily resolved through a gap closing process (i.e. drawing of existing knowledge and prior museum experience). In other words, any problems encountered were likely to 'impinge on [their] consciousness […] as small snags' (Lave *et al.*, 1984, 93), were easily repaired and, hence, were not experienced as problematic.

Synthesis

This chapter examined the expectations, visit paths and the meaning families made of their museum visits. For the predominantly frequent museum visitors who participated in the studies presented here, museum visiting was seen as a 'habitual' activity, a routine developed over several past visits. Drawing on these previous experiences was what generated expectations about how the family visit would proceed. Having examined the expectations families had about how their visit would proceed and how these were shaped by previous museum visits affect their expectations, I then identified three types of visit paths the family activity generated, each involving different degrees of ordering of the sequencing of the family activity (i.e. detailed, partial and non-specific). The family visit paths manifest their expectations about how their visit would proceed. However, this did not mean that these were fixed paths. Each visit was structured in different ways – even those that fell into the category of detailed ordering of sequencing the family activity – making each one of their visits different while at the same time they fitted within a similar family list. Thus, for these families, museums were 'repeatedly experienced, personally ordered and edited versions of the arena' (Lave *et al.*, 1984, p. 71). In other words, they are a setting for the family activity. These 'repeated interactions produce a smooth "fit" between activity and setting, streamlining each in relation to the other, and generating expectations about how the activity will proceed.' (ibid, p. 79)

The smooth fit between family activity and setting was reflected in their ability to fashion a smooth sequence of interactions with exhibits in the physical space of the museum as well as to (re)construct a coherent reading of their personal experience. These readings were about what family members thought the exhibition(s) were about and were narrated through four themes: 'how things work,' 'learning about yourself and others,' 'a history through objects' and 'the object study.' Interestingly, there was very limited use of technical language to describe the content and/or concepts underpinning the exhibits. This was the case even for adult family members, with very few exceptions. However, there is no indication that they did not understand the technical language where that was used in interpretation. This would be consistent with the profile of the family visitors and with other similar studies where visitors from dominant communities are familiar with the type of knowledge and specialised language which represents the 'elite' knowledge and 'high' culture (Lave, 2019). These are associated with the fields of production of disciplinary knowledge – where museums are situated (Bourdieu, 1993) – which is particularly valued in Western cultures, and which aligns with the cultural capital of families from dominant communities.

Notes

1 For a presentation of the lists on which London Zoo feature see Table 4.6 in chapter 4.
2 For more details about this study and its methodology see Moussouri and Roussos (2013; 2015).
3 The family study at London Zoo did not specifically ask family to reconstruct their visit. However, some information on the use of language was collected, as reported in the relevant section in this chapter.

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Part III

Family practices across time and space

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6   Family practices at the museum

Chapters 4 and 5 took a macro view, examining the cultural character of museum participation, as reflected in the shared 'normative' values that motivate it. Part III, of this book takes a micro view and focuses on the relations between family activity and setting or the social order within which family members experience the world. Further, it focuses on families from nondominant communities. Taken together, Part II and III examine the dialectical relations between the lived-in world as experienced by families and the constitutive order. In this chapter, I focus on the museum visiting activity as it occurs in the museum setting; the setting specifically designed to support it. I examine how family discourse, interactions and practices are enacted in the museum. I ask how does the family discourse produce and organise meaning in the museum setting? Specifically, how are these meanings resourced; how do they emerge and shape the family activity during the visit? To answer these questions, it is important to acknowledge the contextual nature of family activity and how the arena of the museum shapes the 'form, outcome and meaning' of the family activity and setting within which it occurs (Lave *et al.*, 1984, p. 68). At the same time, family activity in the museum setting is shaped by family practices (Finch, 2007; Morgan, 1996).

This chapter presents segments of family discourse and practices as family members engage with objects, exhibits and other design elements of the West Indian Front Room (WIFR) exhibition at the Museum of the Home[1]. It focuses on the meanings constructed by families as they draw on the recourses provided by the museum as well as on the resources, tools and Community Cultural Wealth families which are part of their family practices and which they bring to bear as they visit the exhibition. Before exploring the family museum discourse and practices, I introduce the exhibition, the families and I provide some context within which the visit unfolded by presenting the lists that MoH as an arena featured. The composition of the family groups, the relationships between them and their collective histories, as well as the lists MoH and the specific exhibition they visited, shaped their family practices they enacted during the visit and the way they experienced WIFR. The second part of this chapter focuses on the family discourse and practices in the exhibition setting and how they drew on resources available to make

meaning. It closes with a brief synthesis which bring together key findings and relevant theoretical concepts.

The *West Indian Front Room* at the Museum of the Home

The Museum of the Home (MoH) explores the home over the past 400 years, from around 1600 to the present day. The main focus is on the living rooms of the urban middle classes in England, particularly London (Harrison, 1950). This area of the museum is known as the Rooms Through Time gallery, which aims to show how such homes have been furnished over this period, reflecting the changes in society and patterns of behaviour as well as styles, fashion and taste (Puech, 2004). The period rooms are complimented by a herb garden and period garden rooms and a temporary exhibition programme of which the WIFR exhibition was part. The museum is set in the former almshouse of the Ironmongers' Company, delightful 18th century buildings with attractive gardens and mature trees (Haslam, 2005). When the Ironmongers closed the almshouse in 1910 and decided to sell the property the London County Council purchased the land in order to preserve the garden which provided one of the few open spaces in Hackney, East London (Harrison, 1950; Haslam, 2005).

WIFR was a temporary exhibition which explored the essence of homes created by post-WWII immigrants to London from the Caribbean and ran from 2005–2006. The central focus was an installation which represented the artist/curator and writer Michael McMillan's vision and memory of the traditional 'West Indian' front room, drawn from memories of his parents' and relatives' homes in the 1960s and 1970s. Special attention was given to the choices people made in furnishing their front room and the links between objects and personal identity. The main aims of WIFR were to attract more African-Caribbean visitors to the museum and to share this community's story with a wider audience. During the redevelopment of Rooms Through Time gallery, the museum invited Michael McMillan to co-develop a 1970s migrant front room as a permanent display. The study presented here is based on research carried out with families who visited the original WIFR exhibition.

The families

A total of 10 families consisting of considerably more women and girls than men (19 and 2 respectively) participated in this study. All the families were from non-dominant communities. All the children were teenagers or young adults in their early 20's. Four out of the 10 groups were blended families consisting of very close family friends often referred to as 'brothers' or 'sisters.' One family included a grandmother. In ethnic background, all the families were from an African-Caribbean background. A slightly higher number of adults and young adults had left full time education before or right after completing the compulsory level (6 people) as compared to those who stayed on at school (3 people), had an undergraduate, or a postgraduate degree (one person and two people respectively). There was an almost even split between the families who had not been to the MoH before and the families which at least one of its members had been before. The latter included three people who had recently been to WIFR on their own and came back

with friends and family again. Only two families were repeat MoH visitors and also reported frequently participating in other cultural activities, prominently ones that featured African-Caribbean culture. These findings are consistent with findings from studies carried out by MoH near the time this family study was carried out. The 2003–2004 visitor survey carried out by the MoH showed that 52% of the respondents were first-time visitors (Geffrye Museum Visitor Survey, 2004). They are also in line with findings of the WIFR survey, where 55% of the respondents were reported to be first time visitors (Slater, 2006).

Putting the *West Indian Front Room* on the family list

The museum featured on two lists: introspection and political/participation. These were new lists, an addition to the lists on which museums feature for families from dominant communities as presented in chapter 5. As was the case with the latter groups of families, the families at WIFR expected to see objects but also to experience other features like combination of colours and textures as well as intangible heritage like music. These related specifically to their culture. Beyond these, they were also motivated by going to an exhibition that addressed wider political issues, as the political/participation list suggests. The next two sections present these lists in more detail.

Introspection

Introspection as refers to a need to self-reflect, feel connected to and rediscover one's own personal/family/community history. It often results in feeling a sense of personal or collective achievement and pride. This list featured high on the list of all ten families visiting the WIFR exhibition at MoH. It was often expressed as a strong desire to have a very personal, immediate and 'authentic' experience of the 'home' of their childhood. This was expressed during the post-visit interviews but also in the 'family talk' captured during the visit, as captured in the second quote below; witness the delight of the woman at seeing a number of objects associated with her childhood as she pointed these out to her mother:

> Yeah. It sounded something that I need to see, just something so typical of my mum's living room and all the living rooms that I remember as a child that I thought "It's worth a look."
>
> (woman, family 4)

> Yeah, double glass […] in the front. There's all sorts coming back as well, ain't it? So that bar that you had that we hated … God, it was the same bar. We're going to go into that room now. It's going to be the shock, yeah. This'll be it. We'll be transported back again. [laughter]. Here we go. Right, this is what Christmas was like traditionally. [reads panel about traditional Christmas fare] Hmmm. Okay. Oh, look! Oh look, mummy! Look at that! Here we go. This is what I came to see. Look! Oh, it's your front room!
>
> (woman, family 9)

The vast majority of the families reported actively seeking this type of experience through their participation in a number of events, activities and organisations that focus on black culture. For example, one family group had visited the Claudia Jones organisation – an African-Caribbean women's organisation – expecting to see an exhibition on African-Caribbean culture. Staff there suggested they should visit the WIFR exhibition as it fitted with the type of experiences they were seeking.

Four families made a distinction between the type of experience the WIFR offered as compared to other cultural events and activities: it is more 'tactile,' more immediate, more personal, more 'authentic.' It offered the type of experience that can transport you back to one's 'home' with all its colours, smells, sounds, patterns and memories. In fact, this was very important part of their motivation to experience WIFR. Families talked in length about how the exhibition helped them examine the history of their family and their community and situate their lives in a wider historical context:

> It's just like looking back in the past that front room.
>
> (woman, family 7)

> Well, it's just like touching history really, isn't it?
>
> (woman, family 4)

Finally, several families, particularly parents and the grandmother, reported or alluded to the fact that for families from the West Indies 'home' has different connotations. It can refer to their country of origin and to their home in the UK but, above all, and especially for the older generation, 'home' is where family is; 'home' is your community and your community's history. The reasons seemed to be cultural but also to relate to the conditions of life for the African-Caribbean Diaspora in the UK of the '60s and '70s, as can be witnessed by the following exchange among the members of a family (grandmother visiting with her adult daughter and her teenage granddaughter):

Grandmother: 'It connects with our life.'
Mother: 'It's our heritage.'
Grandmother: 'The West Indian family, that was the … They probably wouldn't know as much as I do because obviously, I'm a lot older than them. That was where they sort of … Like my parents would meet friends and entertain and because they weren't really allowed to socialise in clubs and places like that … Not even allowed, but they wouldn't do that. Their generation wouldn't dream of like Friday night probably going out to … Probably later on dad used to just go to the local pub. Through meeting in the front room, they formed a West Indian social club in Balham.'
Mother: 'And we went there as well.' (women, family 7)

Political/participation

MoH was high on the political/participation list among the families, who viewed their visit as a way of actively participating in events and institutions which promote the interests and wellbeing of their family and community at large. For example, family visitors in 7 groups expressed their intention to raise awareness and support their community in fighting discrimination and claiming their right to their history and culture. The visit was, thus, seen as part of a wider action families could take with the aim to bring about societal change.

The family visitors (all of them parents or grandparents) in this category expressed a wish to participate actively in events, activities and the practices of institutions which promote the interests and wellbeing of the African-Caribbean community. In this case, participation was seen as a duty to their community and a means of learning about community history. This was thought to be particularly important for the new generation of people of African-Caribbean heritage growing up in the UK. In fact, the WIFR had generated very high levels of interest among the African-Caribbean community who promoted it to family and friends via email and text messages encouraging them to visit.

In this context, the family visit to WIFR expressed their wish to support an exhibition that focused on the culture of the African-Caribbean community and, at the same time, the desire 'to show the world who we are.' They felt that museum participation would challenge the assumptions that people from dominant communities have about the perceived lack of cultural participation from members of the African-Caribbean community. The visitors also expressed their desire to learn about, remember and appreciate their roots (especially the younger generations). Here are two examples of how these ideas were expressed:

Grandmother: 'I think for me as well, I had to come because I personally had to support this because without getting on a political bandwagon there's not … we don't see enough of who we are being shown to the rest of the world. So we have to support that.'

[…]

Mother: 'So I think that the kids growing up would benefit from it, you know and not just West Indian children. [cross talking]… In this country in our history lessons we learn about English history and yet it's now a multi-cultural country where you're still talking about English history and people don't understand where our generation or our children's generation are coming from. […] I think the understanding of black history it's just too … it's too far removed. I mean even I don't appreciate slavery. You know, it's too far. It happened too long ago and you can't necessarily see … Like with the industrial revolution, you can see a train, you can see a ship, you know, and you can learn about it and it feels a bit closer to home. With slavery, it was a thing that happened then. When something happens now you might associate, you know, racism

with slavery and it's not it's not completely different things. But something like this is closer. It's what the grandparents, you know, of children in school now, what their grandparents or their parents.'" (women, family 2)

"It feels a bit like carnival to be honest. You know when you go to carnival … Well, for me anyway, when I go to carnival I see lots of black people and it's like sharing something that nobody else … no other culture can have because when you go and when you see lots of other cultures like Asian culture, they're always together and Chinese are always together and they've got like China Town. It's like something that we can have because not every culture has this. Like Chinese they've got, well to me anyway, they've got China Town and Asians, they've got something. But it's like something just for the Caribbean people." (woman, family 7)

Having set the context for the museum, the exhibition, the families and their relation, I now turn to the analysis of the type and nature of the family discourse and family practices as enacted during and soon after the visit.

Family discourse and family practices

As was the case with the families from dominant communities who participated in the studies presented in chapter 5, the families in this study brought a wealth of knowledge, experiences and interests to bear as they talked about and moved around the exhibition. This was an important part of the 'historical aspect of identity' of the families. Members of the social group with which they chose to visit WIFR were aware of each other's interests, knowledge, family and community history and culture. These constitute their Community Cultural Wealth (as defined by Yosso (2005); see chapter 2 on which they drew to make meaning individually but also to enhance the experience of the entire group. All visitors in this study had experiential knowledge of the content of the WIFR exhibition. It is the kind of experience they built through setting or growing up in a West Indian household in the UK and/or in the West Indies, and through visiting and/or hearing stories about typical West Indian front rooms like the one displayed in WIFR. All the above affected the choices the groups made during the visit and the type, nature and content of conversations they had, as well as what they chose to share with the other members of their group and the researchers after the visit. The sections below focus on the family discourse during and soon after the visit. I term the family discourse during the visit 'family museum talk' (see chapter 3 for more details). To differentiate it from the post-visit discourse generated during family interviews, I refer to this as post-tour family conversation.

In the next sections, I examine how family discourse produced and organised the meaning that family members made during and soon after their visit at WIFR, drawing on their 'family museum talk' and post-tour conversations. I start by

introducing the themes that emerged from the analysis of the family discourse (i.e. 'family museum talk' and post-tour conversations), followed by a discussion of its structure. Taken together, the themes and structure of the family discourse reveal: 1) what they chose to engage with during and after their visit and how deeply they engaged and 2) which resources (both the museum and the family ones) they drew on both during this qualitative decision-making process involved in sequencing their visiting activity in the setting of the exhibition and in their conversations soon after the visit.

Making meaning at the WIFR: themes from the family discourse

Through their movements around WIFR, family members engaged with the objects and other physical elements of the exhibition which they integrated into highly personal stories about their family and wider community. This collaborative meaning making among family members was the result of the dialectic relation between person acting and setting, where WIFR provided numerous significant objects of high emotional value to the families for them to (re)tell stories, hence giving them the opportunity to 'display family' in the museum setting. The analysis of the family discourse showed that they talked in similar ways both as they toured around the exhibition and during the family conversations soon after the visit. These common trends in family discourse were associated with and drew on family practices as well as on the content of the exhibition itself since its starting point, at least, was the resources included in the exhibition in the form of objects, pictures, videos and so on. Specifically, five overarching themes were developed, based on the subject matter and purpose of the exhibition (see Table 6.1): 1) sense of place/community, settlement and immigration, 2) values, beliefs, attitudes expressed by the WIFR, 3) social and gender roles, 4) aesthetics and 5) West Indians in the UK and in the West Indies, ways of living and societal changes. When developing these themes, a major consideration was that all objects or displays in the exhibition could be discussed in the light of any of those themes, establishing the dialectical relation between family activity and the exhibition setting.

The same themes were used to analyse both the family museum talk and the post-tour conversation. The distinction between the different themes was not always clear-cut in the family discourse. Sometimes one theme was blended into

Table 6.1 WIFR exhibition themes in family discourse

Theme 1	Theme 2	Theme 3	Theme 4	Theme 5
Sense of place/ community, settlement and immigration	*Values, beliefs, attitudes expressed by the West Indian front room*	*Social and gender roles*	*Aesthetics*	*West Indians in the UK and in the West Indies, ways of living and societal changes*

another. However, each segment was only coded once, for the theme that seemed to be more dominant. All family discourse started with a specific object encountered in the exhibition and then drifted off to other ideas or experiences.

Using this form of analysis, it is evident that the themes dominating the family museum talk were the ones of values, beliefs, attitudes expressed by the WIFR (approximately 30% of the family talk); sense of place/community, settlement and immigration (approximately 25% of the family talk); followed by West Indians in the UK and in the West Indies, ways of living and societal changes (22% of the family talk). For the post-tour conversation, the dominant themes were the ones of West Indians in the UK and in the West Indies, ways of living and societal changes (35% of the family talk); values, beliefs, attitudes expressed by the West Indian front room (approximately 28% of the family talk); followed by sense of place/community, settlement and immigration (21% of the family talk).

The emphasis on values, beliefs, attitudes expressed by WIFR; sense of place/community, settlement and immigration; and West Indians in the UK and in the West Indies, ways of living and societal changes that dominated the thematic family museum talk closely relates to the experiential nature of prior knowledge families brought with them, and with the MoH being on the political/participation list. Families were actively seeking an experience that would connect them with their personal, family and community history and with the values, beliefs and attitudes they were brought up with – their perception of who they are. An interest in the latter was sustained in the post-tour conversations as it was so closely linked to identity and general outlook in life but it was also an element embedded in the exhibition interpretation. However, the theme that seems to overwhelm the post-tour conversations was that of West Indians in the UK and in the West Indies, ways of living and societal changes. This can be explained by the fact that, as reported by family members themselves, they very rarely had the opportunity to engage with their own history[2] on a large scale (i.e. through history lessons or museum exhibitions like WIFR). This had resulted in an inability to see – owing to lack of access to the relevant resources/evidence – the overall picture or find a pattern in the way people from an African-Caribbean background lived – both in the UK and in the Caribbean – and how societal changes affected their lives and the culture of their community. Visiting the WIFR changed that.

Social and gender roles (almost 6% of the family museum talk and 7% of the post-tour conversations) and aesthetics (16% of the family museum talk and 4% of the post-tour conversations) were mentioned less often. When talking about aesthetics, family members would typically express evaluative comments of effective nature (like/dislike). Discussions about social and gender roles were experiential in nature and focused on the rules related to who had access to the front room and the fact that it was a girl's task to keep it clear. These comments came from women only, the children of those who settled in the UK in the 60s and 70s.

An interesting finding is that in the post-tour conversation almost all families talked on average twice as much about all of the themes. This can be partly attributed to the fact that they took part in an interview but it is also an indication of the impact the exhibition had on them. In the next sections, I present each of the five

themes in more detail, juxtaposing the content of the family museum talk and the post-visit conversations (see Tables 6.2, 6.3, 6.4, 6.5 and 6.6).

Sense of place/community, settlement and immigration

Family museum talk: Five out of the 10 families talked about how the first people who arrived in the UK from the West Indies must have felt and how they created a sense of community for themselves and their families. They emphasised the hardships of finding a job and making a living in the UK. They made particular reference to the expectations the first generation of Caribbean had and their love for their 'mother country'; to the racism they were faced with when they arrived; to the safety of having the support of a close-knit community; to their language or codes of communication; and to the importance of particular objects (such as the radiogram, the type of music people listen to and the fireplace) in (re)creating a sense of community and belonging.

Post-tour conversation: Nine families focused part of their post-tour conversation on this theme. A lot of the ideas expressed were similar to those expressed in the tour talk such as how their home and the front room in particular created a sense of place, community and safety. Again, they made a particular reference to racism and discrimination, not only in the past (as was the case with the tour talk) but also in the present: the difficulty of finding a job as a black person; the negative associations made with black people in the media; and the lack of opportunities to engage with your own history – both the more distant history, such as slavery, and the more recent one, such as the role of black people in today's Britain.

Conversations revolved both around memories of family and community feeling in the '60s and '70s and also around the impact that this part of their history has had on creating a sense of belonging to a place and to the African-Caribbean community of today ('I think that's a very important period and we should remember where we've come from,' family 10). Having part of their (personal, family and collective) history presented in a museum seemed to be very important in helping people make that connection. Families also felt that having their history exhibited was important because it made them feel that they do not 'live separate lives'; because it reinforced and authenticated images and experiences they have had in the past through participating in other small-scale events such as theatre plays; because they discovered that there is a black history which is part of the UK history and for which they can be proud; because it covered a basic human need to know one's own history/culture and to be able to share it with one's children, community and the wider world. Rediscovering a sense of community seemed to have an emotional impact on some family members: they wanted to hold on to the feeling; they talked about experiencing a sense of grief for the 'lost' community of the '60s and '70s. In one case, this feeling was so strong that the visitor felt connected with people who had passed away: 'people were there in my head; people were in here; people of the past, even so some of them are dead and gone, they were there in that front room with me' (family 3). A few were moved to tears.

Table 6.2 Examples of family museum talk and post-tour conversations for the theme of sense of place/community, settlement and immigration

Family museum talk	Post-tour conversation
F2: I can remember the glasses.	F2: And when you come from work time in the evening in this dull room, you know, and it's cold, so you have to have warm then with all these things warmth and colour.
F1: Yeah, where you have the shots of white rum or something.	
F2: Yeah, yeah. Yeah, there were shots of rum. You're smiling and it brings back memories.	
G: Yeah, of my grandma's house! Gosh, I can't believe it!	F1: So it kind of breaks the harshness of how life was kind of like in them days, you know, if like, you know, maybe like 4 or 5 people living in one room do you know what I mean? and having to like … you know, because obviously….
F1: Oh. Where's she from?	
G: Jamaica.	
F1: Okay.	
G: Yeah, and even the carpet.	
F1: Yeah, the carpet.	
G: It's just … and all that doily …	F2: [xxxx].
F1: The doilies, yeah.	F1: Yeah. Because, you know, obviously like 'no dogs, no Irish and no blacks' do you know what I'm saying? so everybody had to kind of like cram into …
F2: You know, a lot of us lived in one room right?	
G: Yeah.	
F2: But you used to have it real cosy and on a Sunday, you know, your friends would come round and [xxxx]... you would cook food that's if you're cooking on the landing over there and you cooked food and it used to be really nice.	I: Absolutely.
	F1: But we were saying, you know, while we were out there, you know, it kind of sort of like brought the closeness of the West Indian community together in them days because you really had nothing and you had to sort of like…
F1: Yeah.	
G: I remember that because she always used to keep it locked until a Sunday or a special occasion.	I: Stick together.
	F1: … stick together, but now… [cross talking]
F1: Yeah, when a guest comes. You know, when a guest comes. [cross talking].	F2: Only you were living in one room. Come Sunday our friends would come round and I mean you may have single people who were living on their own and so they would come to your home on a Sunday and you would cook and we West Indians always cook excess food.
G: That's it, [xxxx].	
F2: Right now people coming into the country, the refugees, they're getting council flats, but we never got anything and we were [asked] to come in and we never got anything like that.	
	I: To include everyone.
G: Yeah, that's true. 'Cos I was reading that there as well. My nan used to tell me about the [partner drawer] and that's what she used to have to do.	F2: Because somebody might drop in.
	I: Yeah. That's a wonderful thing. Yeah, that's really lovely.
F1: Hmmm. You had to do the [partner].	F2: You never cook food, you know, bare like that. You don't have left-overs because somebody's going to come and they can sit down and partake.
G: You used to buy a first [pass] and it's amazing how we were so organised to be able to do something like that to help ourselves.	
	I: And feel welcome.
F2: And we weren't working for much money.	F2: Yeah. (family 3)

Table 6.2 (Continued)

Family museum talk	Post-tour conversation
G: No.	
F1: Especially coming over from somewhere that's nice and hot and then you come over here and then you get a shock of having to live in, you know…	
F2: That [partner], she like if you will go and put it in the bank, you'll say well 'Oh, this week I wouldn't put [xxxx]. I will go and buy something,' right, and you wouldn't, but in fact you had to put that money there. Do you see what I mean? [cross talking].	
G: And it seems like … I don't know what you think, but it seems like we've lost that.	
F1: Yes and, you know, a bit of a community as well.	
G: We've definitely lost it because we don't do things like that.	
F1: Yeah, and we don't kind of look after each other in that way anymore.	
F2: Yeah. [cross talking]. And it's just like when we were living in one room. I mean you may have a friend who is in the same [xxxx] living in a room. Like single men and single women, from there they come to your room, have a nice [xxxx] meal and it used to be real togetherness. […]	
F2: [xxxx]... them coming and buying our houses and [xxxx], but then they wouldn't buy houses at that time. They wouldn't buy houses. No, they wouldn't.	
G: I know. I know because my gran had a lot of trouble because she was the only black person on her road and they didn't want her there, do you know what I mean, and they gave her a lot, a lot of problems because she was there, but she stuck it out.	
F1: Oh, that must have been hard.	
G: She still lives there now.	
F1: That's right.	
G: Yeah.	
F1: It's so different now.	
G: Yeah, it is.	

Table 6.2 (Continued)

Family museum talk	Post-tour conversation
F1: I mean [mum and them] had to put up with a lot and her forefathers before her had to put up with a lot, do you know I mean, so […]	
F2: {audiovisual exhibit} You can't hear anything.	
F1: Because you have to put the headphones on.	
F2: This is definitely [xxxx].	
F1: Yeah. They missed out a bit on here because this is supposed to be … like they'd usually have no black people, then no Irish, then no dogs or was it the other way round? Do you know what I mean?	
F2: Was it no dogs, no Irish, no coloured? I can't remember. That is very true.	
F1: What.	
F2: There was a general ignorance in Britain about the Caribbean and little direct experience of black people, yes.	
F1: Because they didn't know any better, did they?	
F2: Yeah. But the middle-class English people, they're the ones who [xxxx] because they traveled, right, and it's they who used to be the colonials, do you know what I mean, but the working class, they were very [xxxx].	
F1: Yeah, because they weren't even well traveled. They never used to go anywhere. They were just living with their own sort of community.	
F2: They never learned anything [useful] either.	
F1: They didn't learn anything yeah, so, you know...	
F2: They didn't know anything about us.	
F1: That's right. (family 1)	

Values, beliefs and attitudes expressed by the West Indian front room

Family museum talk: Members of six families talked about the values, beliefs and attitudes of the front rooms of their childhood as well as the present-day front rooms in their parents and other relatives' houses. They all agreed that there was a lot of 'modelling' going on ('everybody else had one'). They also went

into the deeper reasons why objects displayed in the front rooms were really important in the lives of their owners: they were a symbol of the fact that they 'had made it' ('they can't say that West Indian people came here and sponged'). Within this context, quantity really mattered ('you judge it by who can have the most ornaments').

Apart from the actual object, the way the room was constructed and functioned also held meanings: its occupants were trying to recreate an atmosphere of the homes they left in the West Indies with all its (bright) colours, sounds, music, smells, patterns and routines. Music seemed to play a particularly central role; as one visitor put it: 'so I'm talking about self-image, how you see yourself like through music…'

A number of families talked about the fact that home did not only cover their accommodation needs; it was a refuge from the outside world and the only place where West Indian families could meet and socialise. The front room was at the heart of all of this, as it was constructed for special visitors and social occasions. It showcased how families from the West Indies perceived themselves at the time: clean (both their house and soul as 'cleanliness is next to godliness'), tidy, proud, with 'good taste,' hardworking, survivors.

Post-tour conversation: All ten families who took part in this study talked about the values, beliefs and attitudes represented in the front rooms. The ideas they talked about were not drastically different from the ones they expressed in the family visit talk. The main difference was that in their post-tour conversations, they talked about them in more depth and explained why things looked or happened the way they did. The only new ideas emerging from the post-tour conversations were: 1) the fact that older members of the African-Caribbean community who have now retired and gone back to the West Indies have recreated the UK version of the front room over there and 2) the importance of family, expressed by the number of family pictures all front rooms used to have.

Table 6.3 Examples of family museum talk and post-tour conversations for the theme of values, beliefs, attitudes expressed by the West Indian front room

Family museum talk	*Post-tour conversation*
F2: The trolley! F1: Mum's still got the trolley! F2: She's still got her trolley? F1: Yeah! F2: You're joking! F1: Yeah! You don't understand it went to Jamaica and came back! And the sideboard! You've got to go and visit mummy. Apart from her having a go at you, she'll be glad to see you!	F2: This is just their feeling of what the front room is all about you know, what they think it should be and the religious side of it. […] F1: Uh-huh and what they … to see that they actually never left home in terms of their houses! [chuckles]. (G1, 386 & 466)

(*Continued*)

Table 6.3 (Continued)

Family museum talk	Post-tour conversation
F2: She probably will have a go at me. F1: But you have to go and see the front room that's what I'm saying. We're trying to bring her into the twentieth century … F2: Twenty first! F1: No, we're trying to bring her to the twentieth the last part of the twentieth century! [laughter]. She's not having any of it! She still has the troll… And she still don't use it. It's just parked in the corner of the front room. F2: Do you know, we never used ours, but why did we have them? F1: Because everybody else had one. F2: Okay. F1: And because it might be useful. The fact that you've got 20 children to carry things around for you is neither here nor there. F2: I know when we used to play with it they used to tell us off for playing with it. F1: Stop! [laughter]. I know! We never used to use it. [xxxx]... which I actually quite liked. […] F2: Our similar style, but instead of those open things … Don't you remember swans? White swans with red beaks? F1: Oh! F2: Can you see where my mum was coming from? F1: Oh! F2: White swans with red beaks. [laughter]. Gosh! Look, and I'm even doing it as well I'm even fixing the thing. Why? Why? It's funny though because you look at the pictures and stuff of, you know, the picture frames that like everybody's house probably had a chequered one, everyone's house probably had the one with the swirly patterns round. It's amazing, isn't it? And you think 'London's a big place and yet they all had the same.'	F2: But it kind of brought back so much mem… My mum's living room looks exactly the same now. I: Really? F2: And she lives in Jamaica. I: Really? F2: [xxxx] everything home. She has everything the carpet … I mean … I swear it's like somebody went home and photographed her living room and brought it here except for the wallpaper. I: Oh, how amazing. F2: Everything. I: So your mother came to live here? F2: Yeah, she came in the sixties, very early sixties. I: And then you were born here? F2: No, I came up when I was nearly 15. I've been here like 40-odd years. I: And then she went…? Is she now back in…? F2: She returned back to Jamaica and she brought everything back with her and it's exactly the same. She's got those spot-light [xxxx]. She's got two. She's got three cabinets, she's got the little table, she's got the crocheted stuff. I: Yeah. And those things that she's got now in Jamaica, can you buy those things in Jamaica or are they…? They're basically things that you buy in Britain, aren't they? F2: Yeah. Yeah, that's it. You know, she's one of a kind unless there's many … I suppose there are quite a few people who've returned to Jamaica who've brought back bits of their stuff here, but I mean these things don't work anyway. The two [xxxx]… don't work. I wish I could bring them back here! You know, probably we could get a fortune for them. I: Yeah, you probably could actually.

(*Continued*)

Table 6.3 (Continued)

Family museum talk	Post-tour conversation
F1: Well, this one's Birmingham. This is Auntie [xxxx].	F2: Yeah, because she's got loads exactly the same the carpet … Because when my friend showed me [cross talking]. Everything. I'm not kidding. If I could take some pictures…
F2: Alright, fair enough Birmingham as well. That's what I'm saying it's all the same. It could be…	
F1: It's all the same. Everybody bought the same thing.	I: And she doesn't … It's so hot she doesn't really need the carpet.
F2: Yeah, it could be anyone. You just judge it by who can have the most ornaments.	F2: She doesn't need carpet, she doesn't need net curtains, heavy curtains … She just … You know, it's amazing people from the Caribbean came here and they kind of re-captured the Caribbean here in England in their living room and they took it back with them because I think having lived here for 40-odd years or whatever years, that mentality's still there. It's how they remember their lives 30 years ago, what they aspired to achieve or whatever. This is what their living room looked like. It's basically, you know, [xxxx]… [represent wealth, if you like.]
F1: I think … You see that thing standing there? I think we didn't have one of those because mummy probably knew it was an ash tray. […]	
F1: Oh, my god! Do you know what? I have to say that the picture of that house whilst it does completely represent, it's not bright enough.	
F2: Yeah.	
F1: Your one was pink, our one was orange, purple and white.	
F2: What's this though?	I: Absolutely.
F1: The front of the house.	F2: You know, achievements and stuff like that.
F2: Yeah.	I: Absolutely.
F1: Yeah, because when daddy went to town with his…	F2: And they came, they achieved it and they bring it back, but the Jamaica [xxxx]. You know, it's like everywhere else, you know. Their furniture is very modern and very much like today and, you know, I keep thinking … I mean I've inherited this house now, but I keep thinking, you know, 'I can't live with these things!' [laughing] because it reminds me of when I was a child at home. It's like, you know, the living room was somewhere where you entertained special visitors, not the riffraff. You know, caliber people like the pastor of the church and somebody special.
F2: [xxxx]...	
F1: Yeah, you'd see it a mile off.	
F2: And then you didn't know what week the colour could just change and then you lot would say to me 'Oh, is your dad painting?' Well, like I knew! Do you remember?	
F1: Yeah. Yeah.	
F2: You'd just come and it would be a different colour [xxxx].	
F1: Exactly. And [xxxx]… whatever was left over that's what the front of the house … Well, the front of the house was always mainly white, but because we had those patterns on it, those were interesting colours. I remember one time he did actually paint all the white bits sort of a mauve colour, but we made too much noise and that didn't last too long. Yeah, because we came home from school one day and saw it…	I: Special people.
	F2: Special people. And you couldn't go in there. I remember I was talking to you that my mum always knows when I go in the living room because something … I would forget to put something back at an angle and she always remembered.

(*Continued*)

Table 6.3 (Continued)

Family museum talk	Post-tour conversation
F2: And it's just a different colour. F1: You know, you walk down and [xxxx] Road is a long road and you see the house all the way down the bottom of the road. F2: Yeah. When my dad did the pink one… F1: Yes! Oh, I never forget when we came round the corner and saw the pink house! F2: That was just too much. (family 2)	I: She could tell. F2: She could tell. She could tell. (family 4)

Social and gender roles

Family museum talk: Although members in all families alluded to the fact that the front room and its maintenance was one of the places where social and gender roles were played out and where the younger members of the family were socialised in the roles they would be asked to play, only one group talked about it in length during their visit.

Post-tour conversation: During the post-tour conversations, five families explicitly referred to how they were trained to assume certain social and gender roles through their use of the front room: only older children were allowed to go into the front room and usually when the family had visitors; girls seemed to be allowed in more often than boys as they were the ones who took care of it (dusted and cleaned it and changed the water in the vases); the eldest daughter was allowed to put the music on. Although these seemed to be the rules that every family followed, there were some exceptions, as seen in the post-tour conversation example below.

Table 6.4 Examples of family museum talk and post-tour conversations for the theme of social and gender roles

Family museum talk	Post-tour conversation
F1: Yeah. Like I said, on Sunday I had to fix those for mummy after everybody finished. She made me go round and tidy up and fix that. And the tray! F2: Old habits die hard because, look, I'm doing exactly what I used to do when we were little trying to line up the squares and they never did line up. F1: Oh yeah, and they never did line up, no.	F1: And kids were not allowed free rein in there at all. F2: But you see in ours it was slightly different because … I think maybe because we didn't have brothers and girls were a bit less… F1: Oh, yeah. F2: Because I notice with my nephews they climb all over the place. F1: Oh god, yeah.

(*Continued*)

Table 6.4 (Continued)

Family museum talk	Post-tour conversation
F2: It's the same old habit. F1: And yeah, the tray and the pretty glasses. But you see, all these glasses were stronger than they are these days. (family 2)	F2: Whereas girls tend to be a bit calmer. So we were … we actually used ours. We actually used ours. Well, partly as well because my mum and dad used to rent out some of the other rooms in the house, so it was our main sort of room. We were allowed in there, but we also [xxxx]. So we had like a sideboard and on top of it you had 20 million ornaments and every Saturday you'd take them off one by one, you'd clean it and you don't break anything and you clean it properly … F1: [xxxx]. F2: Yeah. So in a way, I think that made it better so that we'd sit in the room and we didn't abuse it because we knew that we were the ones who would clean it. So in that sense, we were probably … Because a lot of my friends who probably had more room in their house, they could keep the sitting room separate and they weren't allowed to go in there, whereas we used ours. Yeah, ours was. We used our because we rented out. My mum and dad rented other rooms in the house, so… (family 2)

Aesthetics

Family museum talk: The members of four families talked about taste, beauty and/or ugliness as expressed by the West Indian front room. They mainly expressed evaluative comments of an affective nature (like/dislike).

Post-tour conversation: The same family numbers as in the tour talk made direct reference to the aesthetics of the West Indian front room. Although the ideas discussed were very similar to those discussed during the visit, the emphasis seemed to be slightly different: in the post-tour conversations, people talked about the fact that their parents' generation shared the same taste in the type and combination of objects as well as in decoration. For most of them, this seemed to be an outcome of their visit rather than something they already knew. As a result of being able to see a pattern, they seemed to be more willing to accept it as part of their history and less likely to find it 'ugly,' as they used to.

Table 6.5 Examples of family museum talk and post-tour conversations for the theme of aesthetics

Family museum talk	Post-tour conversation
F2: Oh yeah, it is there Jesus and his 12 disciples. [cross talking]. Everywhere crocheted [xxxx]. We starch them like it. Hey, this one exactly! Oh! I may have none of these thank God, but [xxxx]… crochet and then you used bottles to hold this up when you starch it. Aye, aye, aye! (family 1)	F1: I didn't realise those things were so standard though like everybody had them. F2: You wouldn't have thought that. F1: It was like every West Indian household …. F2: I was talking to someone in there and he was saying the same thing 'Here's some of the stuff that we had.' F1: And it was funny even like when I said to him about the velvet wallpaper because he was saying that they didn't have the wallpaper, I said 'Yeah, velvet.' He said 'Yeah, velvet and cream' and we had that. [xxxx]... F2: Everyone's taste was exactly the same. [xxxx]… F1: What's nice is that Tany's third generation and she's getting so excited about it. I think that's really nice. (family 7)

West Indians in the UK and in the West Indies: ways of living and societal changes

Family museum talk: Five families spent a fair amount of time talking about the different ways of living now and then and the different ways of living in the West Indies and in the UK. They often moved between these sub-themes and did not always make a distinction between which 'home' they referred to: their home in the Caribbean or their home in the UK. This created the following sub-theme pairs: 1) living in the UK then, 2) living in the UK now, 3) living in the West Indies then and 4) living in the West Indies now.

Post-tour conversation: This theme attracted a lot more attention in the post-tour conversations, with a total of nine families discussing the differences and similarities in the ways of living in the UK and in the West Indies then and now. They also talked about the changes in the 'closeness' of their community that the modern way and pace of life in the UK have brought about.

Making meaning at the WIFR: structure of the family museum talk

As noted above, I also examined the structure of the family discourse, analysing family museum talk and post-tour conversation separately. This provides an indication of how deeply they engaged with different aspects of the exhibition. The structural codes used in this study were based on Leinhardt and Knutson's work (2004):

Table 6.6 Examples of family museum talk and post-tour conversations for the theme of West Indians in the UK and in the West Indies, ways of living and societal changes

Family museum talk	Post-tour conversation
F2: Oh, my gosh! Is it that far back? This was in the eighties? F: Yes. F2: There are some people still have these. People still have these. F1: Oh, [happy] [xxxx]. F2: Uh-huh. [xxxx]... cabinets. My mum still … You know mum took everything with her when she went back to Jamaica? She still has some of these chairs. She still has those chairs. Oh, look at these! Do you remember these? [chuckles]. My god! … And I used to …. Oh, man, I used to hate ironing these things. That's one thing my mum would say okay, she'd let me off ironing these because I just couldn't get it to the way that she liked it. F: And it's amazing how they were skillful and used this to make this. [cross talking]. F2: And every single one was like ducks. They'd have like the mother duck and all the little baby ducks and… F: [xxxx]… keep them in the [xxxx] shade, isn't it, and then the mother duck used to be in the centre… F2: Centre, yes, with all the little babies. F1: And there was like a little corner and you had [xxxx]… F2: Oh, my god! F1: I used to make these when I was little. Well, not this one. There was a smaller one and my mother used to make them and everybody used to make them as presents and they all wanted them in different colours. And I've got one of these half-made. F2: Still at home? F1: Yes. F2: How long? F1: It's because I couldn't quite understand the shape of it. The other was more probably a round, but this … And I thought 'Oh, I'm losing the shape of this.' Because I think it's called a [xxxx].	F1: And like the paraffin heater, you know, even though I was back in the late eighties here I mean early eighties here and, you know, we still had paraffin heaters in them days and I remember running round to the Indian lady's shop to get the paraffin or something. We still had to buy the paraffin and that, so that's what I can remember the paraffin heater. But they used to keep you warm, you know. [cross talking]. F2: They were good because you can put your kettle on there, live in a warm room … put your kettle on there so you can make a cup of tea and because you live in these houses, one room, you had to cook on the landing, near the landing, and I remember when I first came here and I saw that I was shocked. I was really shocked. I: Yeah, I bet. F1: Because, you know, you think you're coming to England for like … Like 'Oh, it's going to be … it's going to be like…' You know, you think 'Oh right, well people in England probably do live better' and then you come in and there's no bathroom, you know, and… F2: That was a real shock to me that. F1: Hmmm, because in the West Indies, you know, you don't have like probably maybe … Well, we didn't have a bathroom in grandfather's house, but, you know, even if you didn't have a bathroom and you lived in a house you'd have like a shower built outside and stuff like that and you'd got the water coming through, so my mum was really shocked when there was like no bathroom, there was nothing going … It's like … I: And you had to make do. F1: And you had to make do with what was there. […]

(Continued)

Table 6.6 (Continued)

Family museum talk	Post-tour conversation
F2: Okay. F: But we used to dip them in sugar and water and put the glass, like a tumbler, in the stem and turn it up and then put it on a board and pull this part out and pin it down until it dried and then it'd be stiff and you'd put a handle on. F1: And how would you use sugar and water? F2: Sugar and water? Okay, I thought it was just starch. F1: I know. We used starch which was made from wheat. F2: Yeah, in Jamaica. But over here they had that starch, isn't it? They've got that… F1: We did have starch in a packet which we used to put on, well, sheets and things. F2: Yeah, yeah. We used to, yeah. F1: But we used to use sugar and water for our skirts. Remember we used to do skirts with all the nets underneath, the underskirt underneath in the sort of fifties? F2: So that'd make it stiff, did it? F1: Yes. F2: I had no idea! F1: [cross talking]… I remember I used to put the underskirt in the sugar and the water… F2: … while we were using starch! [laughs]. F2: I hope that never used to attract all the honey bees, the sugar! F1: I wasn't expecting it to turn up in a museum quite so soon! (family 4)	F2: To us Caribbean people an English front room was rather dull you know, got no colour. Actually, when I first came here I thought 'Oh' and I had to write back and tell my father. 'The houses are dull.' And everything at that time when I came everything was sort of painted cream and brown. The paintwork was brown, you know, just like you would find in government buildings in the Caribbean at that time cream and brown. (family 3)

list, personal synthesis, analysis, synthesis and explanation, with each reflecting an increasingly demanding level of talk (see Table 6.7).

Using this form of analysis, it became evident that the dominant structure of discourse was one of personal synthesis and list for the family museum talk (respectively covering approximately 50% and 20% of all the family museum talk), while the dominant form of discourse for the post-tour conversation was one of personal synthesis, explanation and synthesis (respectively covering 33%, 29% and 26% of all the family post-tour conversations). Clearly, personal synthesis was dominant

Table 6.7 Leinhardt and Knutson's (2004, p. 86) list of structural codes

List	Brief labels and evaluation of objects/stations or partial label reading
Personal synthesis	Identifying and linking the object or experience to something personal
Analysis	An object or idea is pulled apart and its attributes focused upon (usually including an invitation to others in the group to either find a like instance or offer a different one) – conversation focused on and directed towards a kind of analysis of effect, method, material or intention
Synthesis	Selecting one or more dimensions of an object and relating them to the same dimension of an object or set of objects in the exhibition or to something seen elsewhere
Explanation	Answer to an explicit or implicit question about intent, purpose, mechanism, or some other aspect of an exhibit/display that described how or why something looked the way it did or happened the way it did, and often used language that suggested causality

in the family museum talk (see Table 6.8). Almost every stop in the exhibition was followed by some sort of personal synthesis activity. This indicates that engaging in personal synthesis was important for their meaning making. As highlighted in the museum list section above, engaging in personal synthesis activity was an important aspect of the introspection list on which the WIFR exhibition featured for all ten families and was consistent with the expectations as well as with the personal experience families with the exhibition subject. Engaging in personal synthesis activity also related to the experiential nature of their knowledge. As families reported, they did not often have access to resources that relate to their history and community heritage. In the context of this discussion, it is clear that there is a 'fit' between the museum/exhibition lists and the family list, on the one hand, and a smooth 'fit' between the family visiting activity and the exhibition setting, all of which facilitated the making of meaning.

Another interesting aspect of the structure of the family museum talk was that personal synthesis and list type of discourse drop at the post-tour conversation (from 49% of all the family museum talk to 32% of all the post-tour conversations for personal synthesis; and from approximately 20% of all the family museum talk to 3% of all the post-tour conversations for list). While the analysis (see Table 6.9) and synthesis (see Table 6.10) ones rose drastically (and from approximately 5% of all the family museum talk to approximately 10% of all the post-tour conversations for analysis; and from 12% of all the family museum talk to 26% all the post-tour conversations for synthesis). It is important to note that both personal synthesis and list type of family discourse were used to focus attention on a common object in the exhibition. It may also be the case that the interpretation provided and the resources of their social group gave them the language and means to synthesise and analyse their ideas, which demonstrates the role identity plays in constructing meaning.

Table 6.8 Examples of family museum talk and post-tour conversations for personal synthesis

Family museum talk	Post-tour conversation
M: Oh, my gosh! The paraffin heater and hot comb! F: What is that? M: That's a paraffin heater. F: Oh really? M: Me and my brothers, we used to … I was like about 4 or 5. We used to stand over paraffin heaters. I remember standing round it like that, all the fumes going up in those, yeah, and we were just standing there chatting away like our meeting place over here. [cross talking]. Yeah, I remember all that. I remember, yeah. I can remember, yeah. [cross talking and laughter]. And we'd always stand over it in our dressing gowns, so the heater'd burn off our dressing gowns. Luckily no one died! [chuckles]. The same green heater and it would always go yellow. Yeah, I remember. We had that same one along with the carpet. F: I mean one thing I can remember of this picture is this [xxxx] which was a nice [xxxx]. M: We never had that. Oh yeah, yeah. The dressing gown. The dressing gowns would get burnt up. Well, I never did that. [laughter]. F: Remember this? M: Oh yeah! Yeah, the glass [xxxx]. F: I remember that. [xxxx]. M: Oh yeah, there's a little bit of it on there. F: So you know when you used to have the heater [xxxx], was it the only heater or did you also have like central heating or …? M: No, there was no central heating. There was just a heater and erm... I can't remember if they had those gas ones on the wall, but generally, it was that. F: Do you remember [the wick]? You had to go and change [the wick]. M: Yeah, yeah, 'cos it used to go yellow or something, didn't it? F: Yeah, and you had to take it out and [xxxx]. M: Yeah, uh-huh, and someone had to carry the can to the paraffin shop. [laughter]. No, so that was it and like they'd have to move it from room to room and everything so everyone gets heated up and either someone would come round with the paraffin and they'd fill up your little plastic containers or like my elder brother had to carry the thing to go and fill it up in like a petrol station. Yeah. And they used to have black-outs because of the miners or whoever it was, you know, there were always strikes like with the electricity board and the lights would all go out and they would have little lanterns as well. Yeah. (Family 10)	F1: Oh, like this cabinet here with all the little shot glasses where you have like your rum and stuff. I: In the drinks cabinet. F1: Yeah, in the drinks cabinet; or a little bar or something. Sometimes you have a little kind of bar with all your rum and stuff on there. And you see these, right? I'm surprised you didn't have … I: Oh, the doors! F1: Yeah. I'm surprised you didn't have maybe a little toilet in the corner because they have the toilet with the … I mean my aunt still has that now a doll that covers the toilet roll. That's what we used to have because I was telling my mum when we were back, I said 'Oh mummy, are you surprised they didn't have a toilet…' You know, because you'd have that little crochet doll and you'd have her there protecting the toilet paper? I don't know why, but, you know, it was part of something. (Family 3)

Table 6.9 Examples of family museum talk and post-tour conversations for personal analysis

Family museum talk	Post-tour conversation
F2: You know, a lot of us lived in one room right?	M: It's mainly memories for and just to see maybe where you've come from. Sometimes in isolation, people can think that everything is either very, very good now or very, very bad now and maybe you look back and you think 'Well, the tellies were a bit and the settees were a bit horrible and maybe things aren't so bad now.' And then again…
G: Yeah.	
F2: But you used to have it real cosy and on a Sunday, you know, your friends would come round and [xxxx]… you would cook food – that's if you're cooking on the landing over there and you cooked food and it used to be really nice.	
F1: Yeah.	
G: I remember that because she always used to keep it locked until a Sunday or a special occasion.	
F1: Yeah, when a guest comes. You know, when a guest comes. [cross talking].	
G: That's it, [xxxx].	F: But we didn't know any different, did we?
F2: Right now people coming into the country, the refugees, they're getting council flats, but we never got nothing and we were [asked] to come in and we never got nothing like that.	M: No, that was it, yeah – we didn't know any different. And then you may look back and think 'Well, maybe things were a lot better then. They were definitely simpler.'
G: Yeah, that's true. 'Cos I was reading that there as well. My nan used to tell me about the [partner drawer] and that's what she used to have to do.	
F1: Hmmm. You had to do the [partner].	F: Less complicated.
G: You used to buy a first [pass] and it's amazing how we were so organised to be able to do something like that to help ourselves.	M: Yeah, which usually means [better], but every passing generation always looks back to the past and thinks that their one's better, but it doesn't always necessarily mean that that's so.
F2: And we weren't working for much money.	
G: No.	
F1: Especially coming over from somewhere that's nice and hot and then you come over here and then you get a shock of having to live in, you know…	(Family 6)
G: [xxxx]…	
F2: That [partner], she like if you will go and put it in the bank, you'll say well 'Oh, this week I wouldn't put [xxxx]. I will go and buy something,' right, and you wouldn't, but in fact you had to put that money there. Do you see what I mean? [cross talking].	
G: And it seems like … I don't know what you think, but it seems like we've lost that.	
F1: Yes and, you know, a bit of a community as well.	
G: We've definitely lost it because we don't do things like that.	
F1: Yeah, and we don't kind of look after each other in that way anymore.	
F2: Yeah. [cross talking]. And it's just like when we were living in one room. I mean you may have a friend who is in the same [xxxx] living in a room. Like single men and single women, from there they come to your room, have a nice [xxxx] meal and it used to be real togetherness. (Family 3)	

Table 6.10 Examples of family museum talk and post-tour conversations for synthesis

Family museum talk	Post-tour conversation
F2: And every single one was like ducks. They'd have like the mother duck and all the little baby ducks and…	F1: It was different. Of course, it was different. It was different in the sense that for a start it was a wooden house, it was warm, it wasn't cold, you didn't have to be stuck indoors all the time, you know.
F1: [xxxx]… keep them in the [xxxx] shade, isn't it, and then the mother duck used to be in the centre…	
F2: Centre, yes, with all the little baby ….	I: So the house felt bigger somehow if you were, you know, outside…
F: And there was like a little corner and you had [xxxx]…	F1: Well, the West Indies it was different, wasn't it? I mean England was totally different. In England, you didn't have the space.
F2: Oh, my god!	
F1: I used to make these when I was little. Well, not this one. There was a smaller one and my mother used to make them and everybody used to make them as presents and they all wanted them in different colours. And I've got one of these half-made.	I: You had more space…
	F1: …In the West Indies than you had in England because when you first came you just was in two rooms. It was like a three storey house, two rooms.
F2: Still at home?	
F: Yes.	F2: I suppose in the West Indies it depends on what you could afford because some people just have one room as well, some would have two rooms where they would rent a little house, so it's not everybody. Unless your parents were well off and had a bit of land and had their own house, then you would probably just have two or three rooms and you wouldn't have necessarily an indoor toilet – your toilet would be outside and your bathroom and your shower. You'd have like a place where you could shower, you know. So it depends on people's situation. That was how it was because I remember where eventu…. Because at first where I was living, when I remember my mum, we only had like two rooms and your kitchen was outside. The kitchen was separate.
F2: How long?	
F: It's because I couldn't quite understand the shape of it. The other was more probably a round, but this … And I thought 'Oh, I'm losing the shape of this.' Because I think it's called a [xxxx].	
F2: Okay.	
F1: But we used to dip them in sugar and water and put the glass, like a tumbler, in the stem and turn it up and then put it on a board and pull this part out and pin it down until it dried and then it'd be stiff and you'd put a handle on.	
F2: And how would you use sugar and water?	
F1: Sugar and water? Okay, I thought it was just starch.	
F2: I know. We used starch which was made from [xxxx].	
F1: Yeah, in Jamaica. But over here they had that starch, isn't it? They've got that…	
F2: We did have starch in a packet which we used to put on, well, sheets and things.	I: Back in Jamaica you mean?
F1: Yeah, yeah. We used to, yeah.	F2: Yeah, in Jamaica separate, you know, and then you'd be outside playing most of the time and the cooking and everything was done out there and then you'd take your food inside to eat. That sort of thing, you know. (F11, 570–592)
F2: But we used to use sugar and water for our skirts. Remember we used to do skirts with all the nets underneath, the underskirt underneath in the sort of fifties?	

(*Continued*)

Table 6.10 (Continued)

Family museum talk	Post-tour conversation
F1: So that'd make it stiff, did it? F2: Yes. F1: I had no idea! F2: [cross talking]… I remember I used to put the underskirt in the sugar and the water… F1: … while we were using starch! [laughs]. F2: I hope that never used to attract all the honey bees, the sugar! F1: I wasn't expecting it to turn up in a museum quite so soon! (F4, 75–137)	

Synthesis

The analysis of the family discourse demonstrated that there was a 'fit' (Lave, 1988; Lave *et al*., 1984) between the lists on which WIFR featured and the family list and also a smooth 'fit' between the family visiting activity and the exhibition setting. The families were able to draw on the resources provided by the museum as well as their own recourses as a family and their Community Cultural Wealth (Yosso, 2005). Once again, there was a fit between these elements as the exhibition built on and celebrated the cultural wealth of the African-Caribbean community. Specifically, it showcased their ability to imagine and realise different possible futures for themselves and their families as well as their resilience, despite the considerable challenges they faced (aspirational capital). Drawing on a shared tradition of storytelling, family members told stories about their family and wider community (linguistic capital). Often, these stories were about common problems such as racism and discrimination across every aspect of their life (from work and education to housing and policing practices) the community faced (familial capital, also referred to as funds of knowledge in some literature) and how they came together to overcome these (navigational capital). Playing music both at family gatherings and other socialising events demonstrated their ability to resist oppression and challenge inequality and expressing themselves through developing their own music culture (resistance capital). No aspect of the visiting activity in the setting of WIFR was perceived as problematic, nor was it registered as such in the conscience of the families. In this context, meaning making was facilitated and shaped by both the activity and the setting.

The immediacy of the experience and connection to the culture of their community offered by WIFR was what made these families choose to visit and reflect about 'home' and their past. It is the type of experience that helped them 'understand backwards' by visiting the 'home' of their childhood and having a sense of pride and achievement, rediscovering a sense of community and of family and community history. 'Understanding backwards' refers here to their wish to understand themselves through taking part in a shared, temporally extended practice. The visit to WIFR gave families the opportunity not only to do and display family (Finch, 2007;

Morgan, 1996) but, maybe more importantly, to display community. For example, doing and displaying family practices included seeing everyday objects associated with their culture/history and telling family stories about them; telling stories about 'doing household chores' and 'displaying family aesthetics and cleanliness'; and stories about the display of intimate interpersonal relationships fostered at home through family meals, parties and other types of gathering which included (biological and fictive) family members. An important aspect of family practices enacted through family discourse was 'family *paideia'* as told through stories about values, beliefs and attitudes; the promotion of culturally relevant roles as, for example, girls were tasked with tidying up the front room and the privilege of being chosen to put the music on; or the role music played in reaffirming people's cultural identities and resisting oppression. Beyond doing and displaying family and reaffirming their family identity, they expressed a strong desire 'to show the world who we are.' In other words, to display the cultural wealth of their community. This was enacted through their physical presence in and support of exhibitions like WIFR and galvanising the community into participating. This in itself was a political act of resistance, as they were aware of the assumptions of people from dominant communities that the perceived gap in cultural participation was equated with a 'cultural deficit.'

Notes

1 Formerly known as the Geffrye Museum of the Home. The museum changed its name in 2020 following a £12.3m capital development funded by the National Lottery Heritage Fund (see Name change for Geffrye Museum 2020).
2 See section on West Indians in the UK and in the West Indies, ways of living and societal changes below.

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7   At home with the family

The previous chapter examined family discourse and practices in the public set-ting of the museum during the visit. This chapter investigates everyday family practices outside the symbolic boundaries of official cultural institutions such as museums. Instead, it focuses on the private space of the home and on semi-public spaces such as the school. It draws on research[1] that I and my research team have carried out with families from nondominant communities and discusses how everyday practices are situated in social, temporal and physical contexts and are embedded in everyday talk and concrete everyday life activities. Theoreti-cally, it is inspired by Morgan (1996; 1999; 2004; 2011), Holstein and Gubrium (1999), Cheal (2002) and Finch (2007) who argue that family relationships are not fixed, they are emergent and family members need to continuously work on them. Specifically, I borrow the concepts of 'doing family' (Morgan, 1996) and 'displaying family' (Finch, 2007) which emerge from, and reflect, members' eve-ryday discourse and their personal everyday experiences. Taken together, doing and displaying activities establish and maintain family identity and, as such, en-able me to discuss their significance in relation to their 'location in wider systems of meaning' (Morgan, 1996, p. 190). They also help me to examine how the fami-lies renegotiated and redemonstrated the family like qualities of their relationships as personal identities change as a result of changing circumstances (e.g. transition to adolescence or parents' separation).

In developing the analysis, I address four research questions in this chapter: *who* constitutes 'my family'; *how* is doing and displaying family done; *what* is the importance of doing and displaying family practices; and *who* are the audiences of the display of 'my family relationships'? This chapter consists of two parts. The first part introduces the four families who participated in this study. This is presented in narrative format, illustrating the stories of each family and providing a context for the analysis presented in the second part of this chapter. The second part focuses on the family practices of doing, displaying and family *paideia* which together constitute 'my family' for the members of the four groups. Family *paid-eia* is highlighted here as this is an element that emerged from my analysis of the data. The chapter closes by synthesising and discussing key findings, drawing on relevant theoretical concepts.

The families

All four families were part of kinship networks located in London and/or close links to their locale. They all lived in flats in large housing blocks which were located very close to the children's school. Place, community and social relations seem to play a big role in how the families identified themselves. Place refers both to where the family lived as well as the place of origin. Regarding social relations, 'family' could include extended family members and friends or close blood relations exclusively. Community was also a fluid term used by the families to refer to people having common culture and ethnicity, religion or just to a group of people living in the local area, neighbourhood or the same estate. Additionally, it was used as a way to identify with, or to differentiate themselves from the local community(ies) and hence strengthen a sense of family identity. Ideas about family identity and its intersection with place and community are expressed through three main categories: 'being a Londoner,' seeing one's family place of origin as 'home' and religious affiliations.

The Taylors: a 'London family with Caribbean roots'

The Taylor family consisted of six members, mother, Lisa, father, Mick and their four children: Michael (aged 11), Pearl (aged 9) and twin boys, Joshua and Elijah (aged 3). The family lived in a three-bedroom flat in a housing block located on a busy road in the borough of Wandsworth. Both parents worked full time and led very busy lives but family always came first. The Taylors often refereed to themselves as 'Londoners' or a 'London family.' The parents, who were born in Jamaica and came to the UK as children, see themselves as Londoners with strong Jamaican roots. Lisa and Mick came from Jamaica when they were very young and met each other and had their children in London. Many members of their family, as well as other families with Jamaican roots, live in the same area in south London. The community feel of their locale gives it a sense of 'home':

> In Jamaica everyone knows everyone and in London most people don't know the people right next door to him… Around here people know each other a bit, there's lots of Jamaican people around that we know, we say hello to people on the street. It's a community feel.
>
> (Mick, 03/05/2016)

> I've lived most of my life in London and all my kids were born here. London is my home. It's my home because lots of my family and friends are here, and we all share the same Jamaican roots. So, Jamaica is a big part of my life, it's part of home in London, it's where my heart is, but it's not like I'd want to live in Jamaica. I like London with a bit of Jamaican flavour, my Jamaican family are here.
>
> (Lisa, 03/05/2016)

Here is south London you get great Jamaican food, you can buy all kinds of things to make great curries. You can get your hair done, I've been with Pearl too. I've got lots of Jamaican friends, friends who have Jamaican roots too. They are my sisters.

(Lisa, 31/03/2016)

As the last quote above suggests, Lisa and Mick have a broad understanding of family, as signified by their use of the term 'Jamaican family' which describes the way they construct the familial. It is a term that includes both blood relatives but also very close friends, a type of fictive kinship network often found among adoptive and sexual minority families (e.g. Nelson, 2020; Tasker and Delvoye, 2018). For example, Lisa considered her best friend as her sister and several friends as her cousins. Similarly, her husband, Mick, also referred to some of his close friends as 'brothers.' Establishing a strong kinship network in their local area connects them to their locale and blends family and place identity together.

They also expressed strong ties to their blood relatives in Jamaica and a commitment to follow family traditions and rituals that kept family bonds alive. Family ties were maintained through both intangible and tangible objects and the family tradition of naming one's children after close relatives, as discussed in the following sections. The elder son, Michael, reported being proud of his family's Jamaican roots but that he did not feel as much connected to his Jamaica-based family as his parent, nor did his Jamaican heritage shape his concept of 'home.' Michael's identity as a 'young Londoner' reflects that of his friends and how friendship groups are formed.

A distinct aspect of the family identity was that they all saw themselves as 'music loving family.' Music was woven into everything that the family did together and separately. Indeed, listening to and playing music was an all-pervasive part of everyday life. Music provided the Taylor family life with its soundtrack. As Pearl noted 'we have it on all the time.'

The Millers: 'religious, spiritual people'

The Miller family was a single-parent family consisting of the mother, Sandy and her two daughters, Vanessa (aged 11) and Polly (aged 2). They lived in a two-bedroom flat on a council estate located in the borough of Kensington and Chelsea. The Millers identified as White British working class. The mother, Sandy, described herself as 'born and bred in London,' 'a proud single mother' and 'working class.' They lived in a two-bedroom flat on a council estate, adjacent to which was a small Salvation Army building where Sunday church services were held. The family's social life and practices revolved around the Salvation Army building, a small shop, a café and a launderette, all of which are located on the estate. Sandy referred to heir flat and the estate as 'home sweet home' and the Salvation Army as their 'church and spiritual home.' Moreover, she felt safe and valued by the locals. The family had many close friends on the estate and are known and liked by staff working in the local shops she frequented. By contrast, the family's experience of the area

surrounding the estate is one of exclusion and was described as 'very different because there are lots of posh people and posh shops that we don't ever go to.'

Religion and 'spirituality' – as the mother, Sandy, put it – played a pivotal role in the family life and everyday practices. Both Sandy and Vanessa identified as 'religious, spiritual people' and the space that was closely associated with their family identity was the Salvation Army building. Sandy would take Polly, her younger daughter, to a playgroup ran there almost every day. While her daughter played with the other children, Sandy talked with other parents and family friends who also attended the same church as well as the vicar. The family regularly attended Sunday worship and other religious services and events at the church. They would typically spend the whole morning in church, attending the service, joining in with prayers and songs and socialising with other church goers at the end of the service. The older daughter, Vanessa, would then join a small Sunday school run by the vicar in an adjacent small room with three other children aged between 6–14 years. Vanessa reported that she enjoyed the Sunday school, describing it as a place where she felt at home, as well as being understood by the other children and vicar. Like her mother, Vanessa described herself as 'more than just religious, I'm also spiritual.' She explained that she and her family do not follow a specific set of religious rituals or guidelines, but rather that they are 'spiritually aware in everything we do.' Both Sandy and Vanessa underlay the close link between their religious beliefs with their aspirations and Vanessa's work ethic at school, as detailed in the family everyday practices section below.

Other members of Sandy's immediate family lived both in and outside of London. Sandy spoke in positive terms about her mother and sisters but reported that she only had very little contact with them. She had no relationship with her father, nor with the father of her older daughter, Vanessa and very little contact with Polly's father. Beyond the family's London roots, being geographically close to their church and connected to the social life of the council estate where the Miller family lived seemed to shape their identity as Londoners. Once again, family, community and place intersected in the formation of family identity.

The Kellys: a second generation 'Catholic Irish' family

The Kellys comprise the mother, Siobhan, the father, Greg and their three daughters: (aged 17), Aileen (aged 16) and Chloe (aged 12). They lived in a flat in a housing block located in the borough of Wandsworth, very close to the Taylor family home. The Kellys was the other family whose identity was filtered through the prism of their country of origin and the traits associated with it, all of which were used to differentiate themselves from other families in their local area. An important aspect of being Irish, according to the parents, is being hard-working, supporting one's family and not relying on state support. These aspects of the Irish identity were also used to frame what differentiated them from other families:

> The Irish are hard-working people. I mean, Greg's got a good job, he works
> hard in the garage and he can support our family… We'll never want to rely

on the state, I wouldn't do that… There's lots of families that take lots of state handouts and I don't want to be like that.

<div align="right">(Siobhan, 03.08.2016)</div>

It was not just the parents who saw themselves as Irish. The whole family had a very strong identity associated with being Irish even though none of them have lived in Ireland. Only Siobhan's and Greg's parents were brought up in Ireland, but they moved to England in the early 1970s. Siobhan and Greg have visited Ireland a few times, once with their two older daughters. Even the youngest daughter, Chloe, who had never been to Ireland, also described herself as 'Irish' because 'that's where my family are from, my grandparents lived there.'

The Catholic Irish aspect of the families identity was quite strong. Nevertheless, it seemed to be used as a cultural rather than purely religious identity. For example, they were not practising Catholics, nor did they reach out to or tried to socialise with other Catholic or Irish Catholic families. Siobhan had close family in London, an older sister and her family, some members of which would visit the Kellys once a month to have Sunday lunch.

The Gómezes: a cultural Catholic 'South American' family

The Gómez was a single parent family and consists of the mother, Maria, and her son, Fernando (aged 12). They lived in a two-bedroom flat in Southwark. Maria worked as a teaching assistant at a primary school and had separated from Fernando's father when Fernando was three years old. The Gómez family drew on Maria's family linguistic and cultural Catholic 'South American' identity to build and sustain their own identity. Maria's family, her parents, two older sisters and a younger brother, came from Mexico originally and moved to London when Maria was 12 years old. Maria described her cultural background as 'South American.' Maria and Fernando speak both Spanish and English at home and Maria placed great emphasis on her son's linguistic heritage and ability to speak both languages fluently. She was aware of the benefits of bilingualism reported in educational research and was keen to foster Fernando's bilingual development from a young age. She was also happy that his school supported different languages and that it would be possible for him to study Spanish in higher grades. She saw Fernando's ability to speak Spanish as an 'asset' in his education and life more generally. Maria did not see herself as religious. However, she believed that Catholic values were an important part of her son's education. This is further discussed in the section on family practices associated with *paideia* below.

Family everyday practices

Family practices encompass the concepts of 'doing family,' 'displaying family' and 'family *paideia*'[2], each referring to activities carried out by family members and which are situated within 'wider systems of meaning' (Morgan, 1996, p. 190). Definitions of the first two concepts were drawn from the work of Morgan (1996),

Finch (2007) and Henze-Pedersen and Järvinen (2021), with 'doing family' referring to family practices that demonstrate that one is a 'good parent,' while 'displaying family' refers to the social processes through which families are constituted; the type of activities that convey that certain type of relationships are family relationships and the tools of display can be both verbal and visual. 'Displaying family' is a particularly important concept for exploring the fluidity, diversity and multifacetedness of contemporary families. Family *paideia* is a concept that emerged from the analysis of the data and refers to practices that demonstrate the moral and ethical agency of the members that make up a family. It defines their ability to make ethical and moral decisions based on notions of right and wrong; of what it means to do right and wrong by one's family, wider community and community culture as well as by other non-human beings. Another important element of family practices that this study looked at was how these were enacted across settings, including the private setting of the home, semi-public settings such as the housing estate where families lived, or a community centre, as well as public settings such as parks and shopping malls.

Both parents and children were actively engaged in 'doing family,' 'displaying family' and family *paideia* activities. Doing activities include 'doing the school run,' bedtime routines, sibling relationships and doing household chores. Displaying activities constitute interpersonal intimacy, homework, significant objects and family stories and at-school involvement. Since family relationships need to be displayed as well as done, a number of activities entailed both 'doing' and 'displaying.' These include keeping children safe, family meals, wellbeing and development and 'being both a mother and a father.' Finally, family *paideia* entails living according to one's moral, religious and spiritual values and beliefs, caring for other human and non-human beings, promoting culturally relevant gender roles, music as a form of cultural expression and interacting with authority figures.

'Doing family' practices

'Being a good parent' was an important part of the identity of the adult family members who participated in this study and, although its meaning varied, it was invariably associated with being present and engaged in children's lives and spending quality time together. Another key aspect of good parenting was that adults chose to engage in activities they valued in terms of the short, medium and long-term benefits they had in their children's wellbeing and success.

'Doing the school run'

All parents reported taking or having taken their children to day care and to primary school when they were young. The families reported choosing local schools in relation to the importance taking one's children to school plays in 'doing family.' In other words, on the one hand, making the school run part of the family daily routine professed the importance they placed on children's education and safety and, on the other, choosing a local school facilitated how parents came to see the 'school

run' as a routinised activity. In this way, setting, family practice and identity work together in tandem with each other, making the school run a smoothly repetitious activity. At the same time, the routinisation of the school run facilitating parents' transition to other routinised activities, such as going to work, or running chores like shopping and so on.

For example, the Taylor family home is approximately ten minutes' walk from the local primary school that Pearl attends and the twins' childminder. Both parents commented on the convenience of the school being within walking distance of the family home. The father, Mick, also noted the important role school location played in establishing and maintaining the family routine of dropping off and collecting the younger children. Similarly, Michael's secondary school was located within a short walking distance from home. Once again, the school's location facilitated other aspects of 'doing family,' notably making sure that he stayed safe. Furthermore, Michael's short school commute meant that he was able to spend more time on his homework and also maintain close links to the local community, which played such an important role in the parents' identity of Londoners with Caribbean roots.

The Miller and Kelly family did not take their children to school. However, they all commented on the importance of the schools' proximity to their home. For example, the Kelly parents were happy that all daughters were at the same school and could walk together. The Gómez mother, however, would meet her son at school and walk home together. On those occasions, she would briefly visit the school (see at-school involvement section below for more details).

Bedtime routines

Keeping a strict bedtime routine was particularly important for the families with young children. For example, in the Taylor household, the end of dinner would signal the beginning of a sequence of bedtime routines during which one of the parents would bath the twins, put them to bed and read them a story, while the other parent would help Pearl with homework, clear away dinner and tidy up. Pearl and Michael's bedtime routine was more loosely managed by the parents. Pearl would sometimes be allowed to watch TV or play and go to bed around 8.30 pm. The co-ordination and execution of all these family practices took a lot of effort and were stressful for the parents, despite their routinised nature, as Lisa reported. She and her husband would then enjoy taking a little time to relax after the three younger children are in bed. This made weekday evening family practices run smoothly and feel repetitious rather than problematic. After dinner, Sandy would put Polly to bed while Vanessa generally spent time using her phone, watching TV and relaxing.

Sibling relationships

One of the ways in which the children seemed to contribute to 'doing family' was through entertaining and/or taking care of younger siblings. This happened more often when parents were busy cooking or doing other weekly chores, or at

weekends, especially, on Sunday, when rules as well as all family members relaxed. For example, in the Taylor family, Pearl would take the lead and turn on the TV and get herself and her twin brothers something simple breakfast, such as cereal or simple snacks, while their parents slept in on Sundays. Michael, who would typically sleep in and stay in his room until lunch time on Sundays, would prepare and eat his own breakfast by himself and spend the morning (and most Sunday afternoons) playing computer games or using social media. Being a day when normal rules did not apply meant that children were able to shape their version of 'doing family.' The parents recognised that this was important for children's wellbeing. The Kelly sisters sent most of their time together cooking or watching favourite TV shows. In the Miller family, Vanessa would play with her younger sister, Polly, while her mother prepared dinner during the week.

Doing household chores

Lisa Taylor and Siobhan Kelly involved their daughters in food preparation and cooking. For Siobhan this particular household chore was explicitly mentioned as an opportunity to have regular communication and bond with her daughter as well as to socialise them into healthy eating habits. Lisa also expects Pearl to accompany her to the weekly shopping she does on Saturday morning. She felt that it was important for Pearl to learn about and get used to doing shopping and cooking. Pearl also helped with some chores, such as setting the table, and often baked with her mother:

> Pearl likes cooking and baking, and I think it's important for her to come shopping to see what to buy and learn these things. We bake together: cakes, biscuits.
>
> (Lisa, 05/01/2017)

On the other hand, the twin boys were expected to help clear their toys away, while Michale was expected to tidy up his own room once a week. Mick would sometimes help tidy up after dinner during the week and had some involvement in the preparation and cooking of Sunday lunch. Greg was not involved in any household chores, but he was very involved in gardening together with the rest of the family.

'Displaying family' practices

Emphasis on the quality of family relationships and the degrees of intensity in the need for display at different points in time (linked to kids age and type of activity; nature and intensity of 'displaying family' with younger kids, or young and old teens (Taylors – football club)

Significant objects and family stories

As mentioned above, the way the families talked about family identity and its intersection with place and community included many instances of 'family display'

through which identities and family relationships were legitimised and routinised. Family ties were maintained through both tangible or visual objects and stories about these, or more generally family stories.

Keeping in touch with members of a transatlantic family was particularly important for the Taylor parents, whose Caribbean roots were an important part of their identity. For example, Mick kept a picture of his Jamaican grandfather in his wallet as a lucky charm, a way to maintain emotional ties to diminish the geographic distance. In addition, the family followed the tradition that dictates the first-born son to be named after his father and their twin sons after uncles in Jamaica:

> My father was called Michael, my grandfather was called Michael, and I'm Michael and so is my son. It's a real family tradition, and lots of families do that in Jamaica. It's very important to me… I'd like to see Michael also calling his first son Michael.
>
> (Mick, 02/08/2016)

> I do really want to carry on traditions from Jamaica. We named Michael to follow an important family tradition, and we also named Joshua and Elijah after uncles in Jamaica… We've never met the uncles and grandad Michael died before Mick was born so it's not like we really know them… It's a family tradition, and we wouldn't want to break that.
>
> (Lisa, 02/08/2016)

As seen from the above quotes, there is also an expectation – or at least wish – that their children will follow family traditions. The elder son, Michael, reported being proud of his family's Jamaican roots, but he did not feel as much connected to his Jamaica-based family as his parents. He did, however, had some stories about the Jamaican part of his family based on the last trip the then seven-year-old Michael and his family took back 'home.' His recollections include elements of the physical context as well as family traditions regarding the obligation of having to visit family friends and relatives, which he characterised as 'a bit boring.'

Similarly, the Kelly family used both objects and narratives to display their religious beliefs and spirituality. Sandy highlighted the importance of the Maria figure in the family everyday life across settings. Of particular importance in the family practice in the church setting was one of the Maria figures located in one corner of the church. The special bond that Sandy and, increasingly, her older daughter, Vanessa, had with this particular Maria figure was enacted through their touching the figure on entering the church on Sundays. Sandy, in particular, would spend more time standing in front of the figure with her eyes closed while she frequently touched the figure and smiled. The Maria figure had a special meaning for Sandy as it also connected her to her late grandmother, who introduced her to religion and had also given Sandy a small wooden Maria figure as a gift when the later was a young adult. Sandy had a very close relationship with her deceased grandmother who had inspired her strong sense of religious and spiritual life. The Maria figure played an important role in the family home setting as it sustained Sandy's religious and spiritual beliefs and practices, but also kept her relationship with her

grandmother alive. To illustrate its importance, Sandy had placed it above her bed and used it as a point of reference for her religious devotion, source of wellbeing and happiness – triggered by her touching it and displayed by her smiling – and spiritual connection with her grandmother. The impact of her Marian devotion was displayed by her smiling and was closely related to the sense of touch, which was heightened by closing her eyes. As Sandy put it:

> My grandmother was very spiritual and introduced me to religion when I was very young… She gave me Maria, and now when I'm in her (Maria's) presence I'm instantly connected. I can feel my grandmother, and it's like I'm with her again, I feel quite calm and happy.
>
> (Sandy, 16/12/2016)

For Sandy her 'time with Maria is very holy.' Her deep devotion to Maria touches every aspect of her life, her approach to raising her two daughters and her expectations of them. Venessa's schoolwork ethic was closely related to the family's religious beliefs and enabled her to visualise and create stories about her aspirations and future self. Vanessa, who would like to become 'nurse, doctor or teacher' when she grows up, was quick to explain that such professions require having good grades at school and working hard. Her mother encouraged her to work hard:

> My mum is always telling me to work hard and get good grades at school… I know that I'll need good grades to get a good job and my mother wants me to get a good job so she's encouraging me to read my schoolbooks and do my homework. […] I think that you should try and do the best you can, you shouldn't just be sitting around, but you should be helping others and trying to do good. I want to work hard to be a nurse and help others. It's part of what my religion and our spirituality guide us towards doing the best we can.
>
> (Vanessa, 09/06/2016)

Both the Kelly and the Miller families had created narratives associated with their religious affiliations to establish and display family relationships and to explain how these worked. For example, the Kelly family's narratives revolved around the Irish Catholic identity, shaped their everyday practices and established family relationships. Such family narratives were framed in terms of their 'difference' and distinguish themselves from other religious minorities. Having a strong identity as Catholic Irish in a culturally and religiously diverse part of London seemed to create a sense of unease and difficulty in managing social situations where 'difference' was likely to be encountered. This social unease was mainly expressed by the parents, as the Kelly children seem to be able to routinely manage and negotiate difference at school and local spaces such as the park and shopping centre. For example, Siobhan, along with other parents whose children received pupil premium[3], had been invited to attend a parents' coffee morning event at Chloe's school. Siobhan reported not feeling comfortable being in the same space

with parents from different cultural, religious and linguistic backgrounds, experiencing feelings of isolation and not being able to find common topics of conversation with other parents, despite teachers' efforts to facilitate the conversation. Siobhan suggested that, although the teachers and the school engage with and are inclusive towards diverse religious and ethnic minorities, they did not particularly consider Irish Catholic families like theirs. This may well relate to differences in the way families from different cultural, religious and linguistic backgrounds 'display family' and their need to have that recognised. Similarly, Chloe's sense of Catholic Irish identity differentiated her from her classmates. She reported having many school friends from different backgrounds but being the only person with a Catholic Irish identity meant that 'my family are always going to be my best friends.' In this context, the Kelly family home appeared to be their refuge. They all referred to the intimate space of the home as exclusively reserved for very close family members. It was where all of the Kelly family members spent the majority of their leisure time. This led the Kellys to have a rather cocoon-like family life that enabled them to self-insulate from their social surroundings.

Similarly, the Millers 'displayed family' through narratives that set them apart, although not to a self-isolation point, from other families, including religious ones. Religion and the heightened level of spirituality achieved through being devoted to their religious beliefs shaped every single activity, their daily routines, future plans and aspirations. To underlie this, both Sandy and Vanessa explicitly set their family apart from other people who visit church only for specific celebrations, such as Christmas or Easter, and to socialise rather than 'to connect with spirits and pray.' As was the case with the Miller family, the Kellys had constructed their family identity as different from that of other local families, even those sharing the same faith, through a process of assessing and commenting on, or even criticising other families displays of family. This also featured in the way Millers displayed family and established the qualities of family-like relationships amongst themselves. By making a clear distinction between being religious and the rather elevated state of being spiritual, the Kellys felt they were both. Religion was an all-pervasive part of the family's life and played a significant part in deciding Vanessa's secondary school, a choice over which Sandy agonised and drew on her friends and local priest for advice. Religion simply defined who the Kellys were and how they wanted to 'display family' to others:

> We're religious, spiritual people, it's who we are at our core. We don't just practice religion, we're very spiritual in what we do, and I try to show that to other people around us… It's very important to all of us.
>
> (Sandy, 16/12/2016)

The Millers had a very close relationship with the vicar and their church friends, all of whom were part of the family's social network and a source of support, information and guidance to Sandy. Although not explicitly considered part of their fictive kinship, both Sandy and Vanessa described the Salvation Army as the place that made them feel at home, their 'church and spiritual home.'

Interpersonal intimacy

Interpersonal intimacy is key to maintaining family relationships and 'displaying family' both in biological kinship and fictive kinship. Intimate relationships, enacted in private and semi-public spaces, were displayed in different ways depending on the nature of the relationship and the member of the family concerned. For the members of the family living in the same household, intimacy was expressed through the time, space and day-to-day communication, interactions and activities they shared in the family home. A key element of the display of intimate relationships with members of one's extended or fictive family was cooking together or for as well as sharing meals on a regular basis.

As noted in previous sections, all families shared stories of how they retained the connectedness of family relationships through spending time with each other, playing with younger siblings, or cooking and baking together, listing to music and watching TV. It is worth noting that, for the Kellys, music played a very important role. Listening to music facilitated the parents sharing of intimate moments while cooking lunch on Sunday. Indeed, part of the Sunday lunch cooking routine for the parents was the enjoyment of taking their time to cook, while listening to music and leisurely chatting to each other. I return to music and it's important to the Taylor family practices in the section on *paideia* below.

Sharing food played an important part in maintaining family relationships and displaying intimacy towards members of one's extended family as well as family of choice. For example, once a month, Lisa and Mick would invite family and close friends, members of their fictive family, to join them for Sunday lunch. The Taylor family would also be invited to others for a Sunday lunch around once per month. The Miller family would have lunch with their fellow churchgoers on the first Sunday of the month, while once a month Sandy and Vanessa would have dinner with close friends on the estate. Similarly, Siobhan's sister and the two youngest of her four children would visit and have Sunday lunch together around once a month. On these visits, the family would also spend talking and sometimes do gardening or go to the park together. These family gatherings would give Siobhan the opportunity to seek her sister's advice about issues that are of concern to her, such as which mobile phones are best for teenagers and what food is good to take on a packed lunch. Siobhan shared moments of intimacy with her sister through soliciting her advice.

Sustaining an intimate family relationship with her son, Fernando, as well as with her parents, her siblings and their families was very important for Maria. She reported that she would always keep the time immediately after dinner free from household chores to spend time with him during the week. Equally important was her relationship with her parents as well as her support for Fernando's relationship with his grandparents. Fernando's grandparents had been involved in his upbringing and supported Maria, who as a single mother was glad to have them help. The Gómez family had Sunday lunch with Maria's parents every week. On occasion, Maria's siblings and their families would join family meals. Sometimes these trips include attending a church service, on the initiative of Maria's parents. Maria reported that part of Fernandos transition to adolescence and need for independence

was his reluctance to visit his grandparents weekly. Maria acknowledged that this was a normal aspect of growing up. The Gómez family also rely on and spend time with Maria's sibling and their families. Maria was very close with her family but she also believed that it was good for Fernando, as an only child, to have a close relationship with his cousins. For example, they would go on holidays together.

As noted in the previous section, it is important to underline the role that maintaining a sense of intimacy with family members not living in the UK or even with a divine presence. For the Miller family, fictive kinship seemed to include the Maria figure. The intimate relationship and devotion that Sandy displayed towards Maria is a testament to that. Also, for the Taylor parents, their Jamaica-based relatives were very much part of the family. The intimacy of the relationship was displayed through photographs and child-naming family traditions and included family members whom some of the family members had not met as well as deceased members.

It is worth mentioning that children's intimate relationships with close or best friends tended to be site specific and were routinely monitored and managed by parents. For example, both Michael and Fernando reported being part of a very close friendship group. However, these friendships were developed and sustained in semi-public spaces like the school and shopping mall and public spaces like the local park. The children's social intimacies with school friends did not appear to extend to the intimacy of the home space. The Taylor parents were explicit about their aspirations for Michael and emphasis they put on him doing his homework as soon as he got back home from school. Michael spent most of his school day with a small group of four boys, all of whom he met at the beginning of Year 7, and all of whom shared an interest in technology, in particular gaming. They all attended an afterschool computing club and a football club, which built their relationship further. Like Michael, Fernando was also part of a tight friendship group consisting of two boys whom he knows from primary school and with whom he spends most of the regular school hours. They all shared an interest in science, technology and music and attend the same three afterschool clubs: football, guitar and science. For her part, Fernando's mother was happy for her son to socialise with pupils who shared the same interests and, most importantly, valued education highly. She felt that this also protected Fernando from socialising with other groups of pupils whom she described as being uninterested in school and 'trouble.' While Maria did not know the boys' families well, she thought that they come from 'good families,' meaning that they shared the same values, and hence encouraged their friendship.

Finally, both the Miller and the Kelly children had a limited social circle and, although they did have school friends, they were not very intimate relationships and they were almost exclusively situated outside the family home. As noted in previous sections, both families had constructed their identities in contrast to other families living in the local area. The family stories the Kellys, in particular, told alluded to an idea of the family home as an intensely private space where they did not have to negotiate with and manage the diversity and cultural differences they encountered in other parts of their everyday life.

Homework

Children's homework activity constitutes a display practice conducted both by adult and child family members and is the subject of continuous (re)negotiation. In other words, although the activity appears to be the same, both its nature and the intensity of the need of parents to 'display family' and its values through their children's homework activity is fluid. This is particularly prominent during transition periods and, in the case, of this study, the children's transition to secondary school and adolescence, as time when family relationships get redefined. As stated, all adult family members had high aspirations and saw education as part of the future success of their children. In addition, a focus on education was seen to act as a protective influence against 'trouble' and 'people' parents do not want their children 'mixing with.' The practice of children completing their homework and getting 'good marks' as a result, on the one hand, and parents monitoring the homework activity, on the other, displayed what family members tried to accomplish for each other at that particular stage of the family life. As a 'family display' activity, it also had an audience which included the children's teachers, other families, friends and acquaintances as well as the children's siblings. The following quote is a typical example of parents' views regarding the role of education and good school performance in children's ability to get a 'good job':

> I'd like him to have a good job of course, any parent would. It's not easy, it can be a bit of a tough world I know that. But he's got all the credentials needed to do really well at school. I think he's bright and interested, he's in an excellent school with good teachers. I've got nothing to complain about at the moment.
>
> (Maria, 14/08/2016)

All the parents who participated in this study agreed that studying hard, doing one's homework and getting good grades was very important. However, their approach to 'display family' in relation to their children's homework varied and seemed to be influenced by the age of the children, their ideas about education, learning and how they perceived the role that institutions, such as the school, and significant people, themselves included, played in the education and/or learning process. Furthermore, all the parents commented on their children's need for independence which was further supported by the emphasis secondary schools typically place on pupils' assuming responsibility for their learning and reducing parental engagement with the school community to termly parent-teacher conferences. As a result, most parents used regular communication and/or some type of top-down monitoring with their secondary school age children to ensure that homework was completed. The only exception was Maria Gómez, who seemed to rely more on having a good communication with her son and providing him with an environment and routines that supported learning, including a good desk, a quiet room and ensuring that he get enough hours of sleep. Other strategies some parents (e.g. like the Millers and the Kellys) used was to discourage their children from doing

afterschool activities so that they had more time for homework. Parents of primary school age children were more involved in homework. For example, Vanessa Miller completed her homework with help from one of her parents. This aligned with ideas of display of appropriate parenthood and parents' identity as someone who had aspirations for their children.

It is worth noting that in some cases, the Kelly and Miller children did not take part in after school clubs as this was perceived as taking time away from doing their homework:

> If you work hard, you get good grades and do well, you can go to university and get a good job… I prefer to stick with what the school says. I don't know about the subjects enough to do anything unstructured with Vanessa so it's better to follow the teacher's lead.
>
> (Sandy, 09/08/2016)

Conversely, the Gómezes believed that, although the projects they did at the clubs did not directly relate to regular school subjects, 'it's all important for learning at school,' as Fernando explained. In the case of the Gómez family display activity was associated with the process of learning, the joy of learning new things or skills and displaying these to each other and, hence, confirming to each other as well as to external audiences that they are a 'family which works.'

At-school involvement

Like homework, at-school parental involvement is a means to 'display family' and how much it valued their children's education through their physical presence in the school setting. Most of the parents did not have many opportunities to engage with the children secondary school, beyond the official parent-teacher meeting organised by the school. Parents with children of primary school age were much more involved in the school community. For example, Lisa Taylor reported that the family contributed to the regular cake sales at Pearl's school, often by baking cupcakes. As mentioned above, Siobhan had been invited to Chloe's secondary school by her teacher, but that was not a positive experience. Sandy did not have opportunities to engage with Vanessa's secondary school regularly but was very much present in Polly's playgroup club. By contrast, Maria would often visit Fernando's school and watch the end of the after-school activities before going back home together. This engagement allowed Maria to have a better understanding of what her son did at school, discuss it with him and make links with other family activities. This type of 'display family' was a typical practice for the Gómez family, as noted in the previous section. It also transcended physical and social settings as they engaged in several leisure activities. This is further discussed in chapter 8. However, it is important to note here that the display enacted by the Gómez family is a means of conveying to each other and others around the family that education and learning activities constitute 'doing family things.' Supporting each other's learning and development through any relevant activity – at school, the workplace,

their leisure time – confirms that these relationships are family relationships. This family display is also closely associated with Maria's moral identity as a parent, as discussed in the following section.

Dress practices

For Lisa Taylor, the family dress code was an important aspect of displaying 'proper' family. She also used that to evaluate other family's dress codes. Dress code referred to one's hair and clothes 'looking smart.' As mentioned above, she would regularly visit her local hairdressers with her daughter, Pearl, to have their hair braided. Pearl roleplayed being a princess with her dolls whose hair she would braid to transform them into princesses. Lisa's and Pearl's hair were very neatly braided and Pearl had many purple ribbons in it. Lisa explained that she liked Pearl looking smart and wearing clean ironed clothes and not looking 'scruffy like some children.' She could not comprehend how other parents did not seem to mind what their children looked like. Dress practices in this case are closely linked to the promotion of gender roles and align with other family practices such as socialising girls to cooking and some housework practices, as discussed in the relevant section above.

Both 'doing' and 'displaying family'

Keeping children safe

This is a key aspect of what it means to be a 'good parent' and the responsibility parents have towards their children. For contemporary families, keeping one's children safe is not confined in the physical world; it extends to the digital realm and refers to both their physical safety and mental and emotional wellbeing. Several 'doing family' activities presented in previous sections, such as taking and collecting younger children from school, and, most importantly, rules, enable parents to meet that most basic parental responsibility. For example, social outings to the park or mall with friends were subjected to certain rules and restrictions, such as imposing time limits, monitoring the type of activities and spaces in which these activities could take place. Both the parents and children in all families agreed on the importance of the rules and adhered to them. Parents needed to keep a balance between keeping their children safe across different online and offline settings and the latter's need to gradually become independent and assume responsibility as well as their need for socialising with friends. This applies to all children and across settings, but particularly so to families with children transitioning to adolescence and to digital rather than physical settings.

Family meals

Cooking and sharing at least one family meal during the week and all or most meals at weekends was another important element of 'doing' and 'displaying family.'

Beyond the sharing part of the family meal, this included many other important elements integral to doing and displaying such as ensuring their physical growth and development, modelling gender roles and healthy eating and culturally relevant food practices.

Routinising food making and sharing practices relied heavily on other routinised family practices and the smooth transitions from one practice to another. To be able to share a family dinner on weekdays, took planning, good organisation and coordination. The process of making and sharing of family meals seemed to be what made it such was an important 'doing family' activity. It also had an important display element. For example, it gave Siobhan Kelly the opportunity to talk to her daughters about healthy eating and for her daughters to learn how to cook. Invariably, all families reported having more family meals together at weekends, especially on Sunday. As Chloe Kelly put it:

> There's more time for cooking at the weekends, so we do that too. We cook more complicated things than during the week. My sisters and I and my mum enjoy it a lot!
>
> (Chloe, 20/07/2016)

Sunday family practices and routines had a distinct feel as the usual rules would ease and family members would relax and spend more time doing the things they enjoyed both as a family and separately. Sunday lunch was not only a special, more elaborate meal. It was also at the centre of the 'doing' and 'displaying family.' Additionally, it seemed to be situated between two different parts of the Sunday family life: a stay-at-home relaxing half and a slightly more physically and/or socially active half. For example, the Taylor parents would relax in the morning and after lunch take Pearl and the twins to the park and playground to play and socialise. The Millers would go to church in the morning and relax at home after lunch, while the Gómez family would have Sunday lunch at Maria's parents and sometimes Maria and Fernando would accompany them to church. The Kellys would not go out very much on Sunday but they were likely to do some gardening in the afternoons and watch favourite TV programmes.

Development and wellbeing

Achieving a balance between their children's physical, social, emotional and intellectual development was at the forefront of all the parents' minds. Several family everyday activities were designed to keep children healthy and promote their wellbeing. For example, these included taking children to the park and the playground (especially younger children); engaging in other physical activities such as gardening; giving them time and space to play, develop their interests and pursue these in their free time; and cooking healthy and nutritional meals. Pets were also seen as a resource for fostering psychological wellbeing[4]. For example, Siobhan Kelly explained that having pets gave her a sense of calm, and companionship during the day when she was alone at home. She also believed that caring for pets enabled her

daughters to learn about animals and develop a sense of compassion and commitment in looking after them.

Being both a mother and a father

As the head of a single parent family, Maria felt extra responsibility, which led to her reflecting on and adjusting her family practices through identifying and drawing a range of resources. Maria's keen interest in education and learning, as well as her professional experience as a teaching assistant, had taught her that parental involvement plays a pivotal role in the education of their children. Maria had worked as a teaching assistant at a primary school for the past two years. Further, since Fernando was born, Maria had to make significant personal and professional adjustments instigated by the failure of her relationships with Fernando's father and subsequent separation. The lack of contact with Fernando's father has led Maria to try to be both a mother and a father for her son. The following quote expresses this point but it also seems to suggest that what is at play here was Maria's perception of normative standards of displaying fatherhood across contexts:

> Fernando's father isn't around so I try to make sure I do all the things a mother does and all the things a father does. I talk to Fernando about football because he likes that, about his computer things, and just generally try to make sure I've done as much as I can to help him develop and learn.
>
> (Maria, 07/07/2016)

Family paideia

Parents' moral identities were at work across all the doing and displaying activities. However, nowhere were these more important than the way in which parents expressed their need to impart ethical, moral, religious, spiritual ideals and stance towards authority in line with their beliefs, values and sociocultural affiliations. This well-rounded and holistic approach to education, which goes beyond what the school teaches, was a central part of what I termed the family *paideia* and was often seen as a central aspect of parenthood and parents' role as moral actors which was enacted across different settings. While the term *paideia* has its roots in ancient Greece and Aristotle's ideal of 'kalos kagathos' citizen (καλός καγαθός roughly translated 'beautiful and good'), where the emphasis was on achieving a harmony between external and internal beauty through physical and intellectual development and education for the few (i.e. the citizens only), the contemporary use of the term gives a nod to that ideal and extends it by positioning freedom as central to the educational process. In other words, a central idea is that people have the right to their own culture and to discover and draw on the strength of their own culture and, hence, be 'bearers of culture and society' (Castoriadis, 1987; 2012; Säfström, 2019, p. 607). In other words, it offers the possibility for change and freedom of and in culture and society.

The exact shape and content *paideia* took in different families might appear to be different but it addressed the same need to be a 'good parent' and display appropriate parenthood through enabling one's children to be bearers of culture and society in a way that schools and other educational institutions do not or cannot. Indeed, an important element of family *paideia* was parents' endeavour to enable their children to become bearers of culture in a way that could lead to the continuation and change of culture and society. As such, this section examines doing and display practices through which family members show their intention for one another to live a liveable life in culture and society; a full life together with one's contemporaries as well as those who come before us, human or divine beings. In this context, family practices embed moral, religious and/or spiritual reasoning, while, simultaneously, they display personal and family identities in line with ideas of a moral actor. They also demonstrated the role of parental intervention in aspects such as how to care for others (both human and nonhuman beings), promoting gender roles, music as a form of cultural expression and one's stance towards authority.

Before examining these aspects of *paideia* below, it is worth noting that the way in which key family values and beliefs found their expression through *paideia* was manifested in a range of family practices which were situated across different settings and which ensured their transferability. The amount of effort and time parents invested in their children's *paideia* shows the important role it plays in consolidating family identity. An important element of *paideia* is that it took place in the family coexistence or 'living together,' which could be seen as an element of conviviality. Furthermore, it relied and built on familial relationships of sharing and trust, starting very early in the children's lives and initially at least took place in the field of the family home; a form of conviviality in the home setting. Being integral to family practices rendered all the aspects of *paideia* habitual, they were normalised and became part of the cultural wealth of family members. In fact, it can be seen as a type of cocreated family knowledge on which its members can draw and use in different settings owing to its transferable character.

Moral, religious and spiritual values and beliefs

Living according to one's moral or religious and spiritual beliefs was one of the ways *paideia* was manifested across all the families who participated in this study, as explained in previous sections. All families engaged in practices that embodied clear ethical and moral codes that governed what is acceptable and unacceptable behaviour towards family members and other people and one's duties towards other family members, supernatural forces and nonhuman beings. Such family practices are intended to lay the way to achieve happiness and harmonious relationships with others. Each family drew on its own cultural and familial resources which offered a particular filter through which ethical, moral, religious and spiritual values and principles were viewed and which intersected with personal and family identity.

A special mention must be made to the intensity of religious or spiritual beliefs or devotion to divine beings that families such as the Millers displayed and how that framed all their family practices and shaped every single aspect of their family

life across all settings. Another important aspect was parents' expectations that they not only would their children fully embrace the family values, beliefs and traditions but that the later would also pass them on to their own children. For example, the Kellys had effectively adopted Catholic Irish identities even though they grew up and lived in England, while Mick and Lisa Taylor wanted their children to follow the family tradition of child naming. Sandy Miller saw as a core part of her daughter's *paideia* imparting religious and spiritual values to her two daughters, like her grandmother had done for her. *Paideia*'s role in the moral, religious, intellectual (including language acquisition and overall curiosity about one's world), social and physical development can be witnessed in the quotes by Sandy and her daughter, Vanessa:

> Taking her (Polly) to playgroups and spending time really playing with her are important. She will learn and develop better, and she'll do better at school later on. I really want her to do well, like what I want for Vanessa too.
>
> (Sandy, 09/06/2016)

> I'm a believer in myself. We're a religious family, and we've always tried to do the best we can. I'm trying my best at school and want to do well. I think it's important to do well even if you don't have so many friends and aren't so popular… I really want to have lots of friends, it's what it's like at school: everyone wants to have friends. But really, when you're older you just want a good job, and I want to be faithful to my religion, so it's important to do well at school.
>
> (Vanessa, 09/08/2016)

Religion and Catholic values were an important aspect of Fernando's *paideia* for the Gonzalez family. Maria did not see herself as a very religious person but, as her family background was Catholic, she believed it was important for Fernando to learn about Catholicism and attend church services. Catholic religion was seen as a way to connect Fernando to his family's cultural background and strengthen his connection to his maternal grandparents.

Caring for other human and nonhuman beings

The ethics of caring for others, both past and present members of one's family and community, is a central component of family *paideia*. But caring for others is not only limited to other family members or other people. It was also directed towards nonhuman beings, like the Kelly family pets, to which the whole family was devoted. The Kellys had three cats, which featured heavily in their everyday lives. The family enjoyed playing with and caring for the cats, such as buying small toys for them, preparing their food and building a scratching post. Many of the family stories revolved around the cats. For example, they recounted that the previous year one of the cats had kittens, and the joy the whole family took in watching the kittens grow and develop, as well as how they cared for them. They told stories

about weighing the kittens regularly and recording their weight in a notebook to make sure that the smallest kitten was getting sufficient milk.

Promoting culturally relevant gender roles

Another aspect of *paideia* was how gender roles and family members' responsibility to each other were promoted from a very young age and displayed across several family activities. For example, Lisa Taylor insisted that her daughter accompanied her to the weekly grocery shopping trip and learned how to shop as well as how to cook and bake at home. Pearl was also responsible for getting breakfast for her younger twin brothers and keeping them entertained on Sunday morning while the parents slept in. Similarly, Vanessa Miller displayed her responsibility towards her younger sister by playing with Polly while her mother cooked dinner. Indeed, cooking for and teaching children how to cook themselves was one of the everyday family activities through which parents displayed their responsibility towards their children: providing them with life skills of how to cook healthy and nutritional food. A common element of these practices among the Taylors and the Kellys, the two co-parenting families, was that gender roles were reproduced by the parent of the same gender as the child towards which the activity was directed. Therefore, Lisa and Siobhan engaged their daughters in cooking and housework related activities. Mick Taylor accompanied his son, Michael, to the football club on Saturday morning. This activity was of great importance to Mick as it was seen as 'special time' with his son but more importantly, he saw football as a way to bond with his son and socialise him into becoming a 'man' as well as continuing the family tradition of its male members:

> I really like taking Michael to football practice and it's very important to have time together to bond… Football is a good thing for him to be into, it's part of becoming a man for me, it's the kind of thing men like and I want him to be part of that.
>
> (Mick, 02/08/2016)

> We love football, all the men in our family do.
>
> (Mick, 03/05/2016)

Michael agreed with the gendered aspect of it by responding: 'Everyone likes football. My friends do too.'

Music as a form of cultural expression

Music played a key role for the Taylor family as it expressed the totality of the ethical and cultural identity of its members and, hence, it was a key element of the children's *paideia*. Music was an inseparable and fundamental part of their personal and family identity and was an integral part of the family everyday practices. All family members owned or had access to music playing technology and instruments, such

as a small radio in the kitchen and a larger stereo in the sitting room. Michael would play music in his room using his mobile phone, while the younger children owned a small CD player that they used to play CDs and listen to the radio. Other elements of the material culture of music were music making equipment. The family had two keyboards on which they stored and played and sing with music. Michael had the other keyboards in his own room, where he played and digitally altered songs. In fact, Michael would often engage in several music activities simultaneously and he would link up various technological devices. The keyboard was placed in the family living room and is routinely used by the parents and the younger children. None of the family members had any form of formal music tuition beyond what they were exposed to at school and self-experimentation:

> We're all into music. We like listening to music and messing about on the keyboards and phone. Michael also uses his computer a lot. There's lots of opportunities to play around with sounds on our devices… We've not had any lessons or anything, it's more fun, we just enjoy it rather than wanting to learn an instrument.
>
> (Mick, 05/01/2017)

For the Taylor parents and Michael, who had access to smartphones, these were an important music playing, sharing and making tools. Mobile phones played an important role in the family's music *paideia* and decisions as to which model of mobile phone to buy were associated with its functionality and memory space for storing music and music playing apps.

The parents used their mobile phones to listen to music on the commute to work. Mick said that he spent a lot of time putting together new playlists to keep him entertained, while, since Lisa gave him a new pair of headphones, he found the long journey to work on busy buses more enjoyable. He would also share music with friends and colleagues sometimes.

Stance towards authority

Interacting with authority figures was an important element of *paideia* in the family context. Parents' discourse and everyday practices displayed their stance towards authority and how the family interacted with authority figures. These, in turn, shaped how their children were to interact with authority figures. All families held their children's teachers and schools in high regard and instructed their children to 'listen' to them and respect them. That was echoed by the children, who reported that they 'listen to the teachers and the rules.' Michael Taylor spoke very highly of his teachers as people who tried to help him and other pupils learn. As noted previously, the Miller family was part of a closeknit network associated with their local church. The members of this network and particularly the vicar, played a pivotal role in the Miller's family *paideia*. For example, Sandy commented on the influence that the vicar had on the school choice for Vanessa. Maria Gómez, a teacher assistant herself, and her son Fernando held teachers in high regard. As

a single parent, she was also glad that the school had a 'religious ethos,' which was particularly important during the transitional teenage years in a child's life. Maria also saw the librarian of their local library as a figure of trust. In fact, she had played a pivotal role in the development of the family's interest in arts, culture and museums, hence, extending their concept of *paideia*. This is discussed in more detail in chapter 8.

On the other hand, the families had lower regard and placed less trust in a number of social organisations and figures. For example, Sandy voiced her suspicion towards information regarding secondary school choices, which she found not trustworthy as opposed to members of her local network, such as the vicar and people in the estate whose advice she followed when it came to choosing Vanessa's secondary school. These networks and communities tended to be hyper-local, in some cases consisting of people living in the same estate. Links were typically forged through shared national, cultural or religious backgrounds, such as being 'a Londoner with Jamaican roots.' In some cases, local networks included extended families whose members were part of the biological and/or fictive kinship. All families who participated in this study tended to trust, respect and rely on these local communities more than on official information and guidance, such as provided by local governments, education authorities or schools themselves.

Synthesis

The analysis showed that who constituted 'my family' varied and included both biological and fictive members. Thus, as the literature suggests (Cheal, 2002; Holstein and Gubrium, 1999; Morgan, 1996), family relationships were not fixed. Place and community, the local networks of which the families were members, enhanced the sense of family and family identity. While a strong identification with their country of origin also played an important role in family identity and shaped the family practices of doing, displaying and *paideia*. For example, Maria Gómez described her family identity as South American with being bilingual and cultural Christians as important aspects of their cultural identity. There were also differences in the way cultural identity was perceived and enacted by parents and children of these families. Most importantly, though, it became evident in the way they performed their cultural identity across different private, public and semi-public spaces. For example, the Taylors' concept of 'home' seemed to provide an extended sense of identity, at least for the parents, one that reflected both their past and ancestry as well as their current home in a part of South London where the Jamaican community lived. This approach is very similar to the one taken by the families who visited WIFR and came from a similar cultural background, as presented in chapter 6. For the Kellys being Irish was to the exclusion of any other form of identity. They saw themselves as Catholic Irish first and foremost and, hence, different. They displayed family by making their family home the centre of all their family activities.

Religious beliefs and affiliations with religious organisations played an important role in shaping family identity which, in turn, shaped family practices, values

and the families discourse. Family discourse applied to both in how family members described themselves and each other as well as to differentiating themselves from other families in their local area. All the that contributed to a particular way of 'displaying family,' as discussed in the family everyday practices section below. Two families highlighted religion as a significant element of their identity: the Kellys and the Millers. As mentioned above, Sandy and Vanessa Miller drew a link between their religious beliefs with their aspirations and Vanessa's work ethic at school. Similarly, hard work, getting good grades at school and having aspirations to get a 'good job' was an important aspect of the Kellys' Catholic Irish identity. The intensity with which they narrated cultural identity to 'display family' has been highlighted in several sections above. Another element of the identity of both families that may play a role is that they were working class, as Sandy in particularly proudly pointed out. They had similar aspirations but different visions of how they would make their aspirations a reality as these were articulated in the way they evaluated and commented on other families' family displays.

The analysis revealed a wide range of doing, displaying (Finch, 2007; Henze-Pedersen and Järvinen, 2021) and family *paideia* practices, often overlapping, and always being enacted across contexts. All family practices, even those that are seemingly undertaken by individual members, such as homework, are embedded in their familial and cultural context. A key observation about family practices is the way family members reported these as routinised activities set in the backdrop of the inherent fluidity of family life. Families made a clear differentiation between weekday and weekend family practices, on the one hand, and a further distinction between family practices on Saturday and Sunday, on the other. The settings within which family practices took place (such as the family home, school, place of work, community centre) and their perceived permanence in the family life as well as the intentions of the family members (e.g. taking children to school, going to work, cooking and other weekly chores) created a sense of routinised family practice. However, family practices are more than a matter of mechanical replication from one day, or week to the next. As family members themselves reported, there was ample room for improvisation, often in response to the evolving character of family relationships and personal and family identities as individuals moved through their life course.

Some family practices were gendered, where a parent would direct certain activities towards a particular child, e.g. for their gender, and expecting a response. As McIntosh et al. (2011, p. 185) comment on the activities involved in this dialogical process of display and affirmation: 'That means a particular activity is not only done but it is directed at others and a response is in turn sought from others.' Thus, Lisa Taylor expected her daughter to be involved in all aspects of food preparation from shopping through to cooking, while Mick expected his older son, Michael, to enjoy football as a shared father-son activity. It appears that, in the case of the two co-parenting families that participated in this study, family practices around household chores were closely linked to the promotion of gender roles and align with other family practices such as socialising girls to cooking and some housework practices, as discussed above. Bourdieu (1996–1997; 2001) used the concept

of habitus to address the social aspects of bodies and its gendered formation, a process that very early in the socialisation process points towards how deep-rooted gender differentiation can be. As the above examples suggest, there seem to be particular activities that are routinely performed by men/boys and women/girls which produce configurations of family practices which are gendered. It is also worth reiterating that Skeggs's (1997) work demonstrated that ways of 'doing gender' vary according to class position.

Doing, displaying and family *paideia* practices did not always appear to be part of a conscious project or grant plan in which family members wittingly engaged; they could be implicit as well as explicit. However, in both cases, they were very powerful in modelling and instilling values about class, gender, family and community culture and identity. As such, they entailed traces of the family's and its community's pasts enacted in the present, through references to family objects, stories and other traditions, such as child naming, and religious and moral values. Family practices directed towards children always had the child's 'best interest' and short- and long-term well-being in mind and ranged from supporting good homework practices, sharing food knowledge and common interest (such as music, gardening, caring for pets, learning new things) to participation in physical, religious and/or cultural activities and developing close kinship relationships or intimate friendships. Family *paideia* emerged as a very important aspect of family practice. It is a type of knowledge, which is culturally, socially and historically situated and, at the same time, highly adaptable to different situations and amenable to changes in family relationships. Its co-created nature makes it a highly valued resourse for family members through their life, creates links to family traditions (e.g. all men in one's family liking football) and family stories (naming children, being Catholic/Catholic Irish).

Notes

1 The family study presented here was part of a research project related to the Building Bridges project ran by the Science Museum in London (fand ran from 2016 to 2019. More details about the Building Bridges project are presented in chapter 8 which follows the families on a visit to the museum.
2 The term comes for the Greek term 'παιδεία' or ' παιδεύειν' in its gerund form. I use the noun here as it is the version most commonly used and understood in English.
3 The term refer to a government grant schools receive in order to improve educational outcomes for disadvantaged pupils in state-funded schools in England (for more details see, Department for Education, 2024).
4 For a discussion of the role of pets in family systems and how 'my family' could include pets see Walsh (2009).

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8 The family in the social arena of the museum

In the previous chapter, I introduced the Taylor, Miller, Kelly and Gómez families and their family practices of doing, displaying and *paideia* in the everyday contexts within which these were routinely enacted. The analysis demonstrated the fundamentally social nature of these practices. Family practices are not a mere performance of individual identities for an audience in the course of face-to-face interaction. Instead, they have to do with the nature of the social relationships; they represent the way in which people constitute 'my family' and refer to actions that are meant to convey and be understood by relevant others specifically as 'family' practices. Furthermore, the diversity of the composition and the fluidity of the relationships of the Taylor, Miller, Kelly and Gómez families, as well as the range of everyday contexts family members inhabited, necessitate that family practices themselves were flexible and fluid to respond to the demands of different contexts or situations families found themselves in and of changing relationship between personal and family identity.

This chapter examines what the everyday practices of these four families looked like in the social arena of the Science Museum in London. The questions I ask are to what extent were the families able to apply their highly contextualised yet transferable family practices in the decontextualised setting of the museum; and to draw on the repertoire of their family practices to make meaning from the exhibits and resources they engage with? Both aspects of the family study (i.e. the one presented in chapter 7 and in this chapter) were part of the Building Bridges project ran by the Science Museum. I start my presentation by introducing the project. The rest of the chapter presents a thematic analysis of the museum visit, following the families from their anticipation of the visit throughout the visit itself. It closes by providing a synthesis of the key findings and discusses them in relation to the relevant theoretical concepts and findings from other similar studies.

The Building Bridges project at the Science Museum

The findings of the family study presented in this chapter are part of a larger study associated with the *Building Bridges* project ran by the Science Museum from 2012 to 2019. *Building Bridges* involved working with Year 7 (11–12 years of age) secondary school pupils, their science teachers and the schools which were

part of the project. These included mainly schools from five London borough's located near the museum. Each school chose one Year 7 class to take part in the project. The overall aim of the project was to create links between the science learnt at school, the science encountered at the Science Museum and everyday science as enacted in family activities. The project consisted of a structured sequence of activities carried out at school and at the museum for the duration of the school year and everyday family activities at home. Activities included teacher continuing professional development (CPD) courses, outreach visits to the schools, visits to the museum, a family event at the museum and resources for families as well as for the teachers to use with their students before, during and after the museum visit.

The family study presented here ran in parallel with the second half of the project (from 2016–2019) and examined how families from nondominant communities might engage with STEM in everyday life. The aim of the family study was to understand the link between cultural references, values and aspirations as well as their interest in and engagement with (Western) science content as manifested in everyday family talk and activities. What these families had in common was that one of their children participated in the Building Bridges project through which they were recruited to participate in this study. As noted in chapter 7, all four families lived very close to the schools, three of which were located in South London and one in West London, with two of them being part of Inner London and one of Greater London: the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea (1 family); and the Borough of Southwark (1 family), and the Borough of Wandsworth (2 families).

The families' museum visiting patterns

For the Taylors, the Millers and the Kellys the Science Museum (or any museum for that matter) was not a place that they would typically visit as a family. That is not to say that they had never been before. In fact, some of the Taylor family members and most of the children of these three families had been before as part of an organised group and had vivid memories. What it means is that the Museum had not become a 'setting' for these families. By contrast, the Gómez family had already turned the arena of the Museum into a family setting. A chance encounter had led to a change in the Gómez family trajectory when Fernando was a baby. By the time the family took part in this study, they were very experienced museum visitors, in general, and regular Science Museum visitors, in particular. All four families were invited to visit the museum accompanied by the researcher. Apart from the Kelly family, the other three families accepted the invitation. All the family accompanied visits took place in August 2016, a few weeks after the family events especially organised by the museum for the children who participated in the Building Bridges project and their families.

Anticipating and preparing for the museum visit

In the course of the field research, members from the four participating families were observed and/or self-reported engaging in activities that would be characterised

as everyday science. They also expressed their ideas about normative science, particularly school science but also the science (or lack thereof) presented in the Museum. These ideas were often expressed through comparing how science is performed at school and at the Museum. Despite the fact that this demonstrated their knowledge of the content and/or the process of science, all families but the Gómezes did not see themselves as having an interest in or any knowledge of normative science. They responded similarly to the proposition that science might have relevance in their everyday life. This first section contributes an insight into the ideas and conceptions the families had about science as a form of knowledge and its relevance to their lives. Ideas about science also serve as contextualised references for the way the families experienced their visit to the museum and the meaning they made during their visit. Taken together, the two sections account for a richer and dialogic analysis of the families' ability to navigate the museum, make sense of the exhibitions and, more generally, feel comfortable in the museum space.

Everyday science and normative science at school

Science was part of the families everyday life across several contexts, including the family home. However, except for the Gómezes, the other three families firmly situated science in the realm of the school and school curriculum. For these families, science and its language is a 'foreign country,' the culture of which they hope that their children would be able to understand enough to be rewarded with 'good marks' at school and a 'good job' later in life. Science is perceived as 'difficult' and preserved for the 'clever children' whose parents are 'professors' and are 'at home' with science culture and can understand its 'foreign' language.

For example, as highlighted in chapter 7, the Taylor family had a keen interest in music technology, while Michael also had an interest in 'the technology of gaming […] how the characters move and how the different layers work' and he used his keyboard to play and digitally alter songs. Music was embedded in all family activities and provided the texture for family life. Yet, when prompted about their views about science, Lisa seemed incredulous, laughed and stated:

> We don't look like we're thinking much about science, do we? We're busy and get on with our little lives.
>
> (Lisa, 03/05/2016)

Then, after a brief pause, she clearly situated science in the only context within which it existed in the family life, the school. A very similar view was expressed by the Kellys. Although they did believe that gardening and caring for pets, were activities they all engaged in their everyday life, they consistently framed these activities as not science-related. None of the Taylor, Kelly and Miller family members felt able to deploy their everyday family practices in a way that might be useful to them to understand it. This can be witnessed in the way Michael Taylor,

Chloe Kelly and Vanessa Kelly tried to explain activities that could be perceived as engaging everyday science and the type of science taught at school:

> Technology is a part of science. We're all interested in technology, but it's very different from the science at school… we don't write things down or have to learn anything, we're just having fun.
>
> (Michael, 03/05/2016)

> There's science involved when we're gardening or looking after the cats, but it's not real science like we do in school. We're not so interested in science. It's not something we think about at home, and I don't think we really expect to find it in our lives at home.
>
> (Chloe, 03/08/2016)

> We (family) don't talk about science normally at all… I do science at school and for homework assignments, so then we might talk about it, but not otherwise. It's a school subject or what people do at work, like scientists, but not something families or friends talk about.
>
> (Vanessa, 16/12/2016)

For the Taylor, Miller and Kelly families, their experience with how science was performed at school had also defined what science is and what is not, as well as who it is or is not for. They all agreed that it is 'difficult,' 'complicated' and 'not easy to understand' and not for them. At the same time, all the parents believed that science was a very important part of their children's education at school and wanted their children to do well at it. However, they did not feel confident in helping their children with science homework.

Alongside perceptions of science as difficult ran views of science as a gendered interest and/or for the 'clever' students who come from particular social backgrounds, as the following quotes highlights:

> I don't like science lessons, they're tough and nerdy and there are some really geeky boys who are all into maths and science… I'm not that kind of clever. I prefer like English and PE and other things at school too… There are girls who are into science, they are very academic and are really clever. They're just different… They have lots of friends who are into science too, and parents who like that kind of thing. I think there's a girl in Year 8 whose father is like a professor.
>
> (Vanessa, 09/08/2016)

It is worth mentioning that Sandy Miller said that she was interested in how science relates to religion and spirituality and had a small collection of books on the science of spirituality. Sandy also expressed an interest in the existence of spirits and life beyond planet Earth, while Vanessa added that scientists would eventually

discover 'intelligent life' on other planets. The Millers' identities as a religious and spiritual family intersected with an interest in science in a way that closely aligns with their family identity as opposed to the identity of a science learner. This is explored further in the second section of this chapter which examines the families' experience of the Museum visit.

Everyday science and normative science at the museum

The Taylor family associated the Science Museum with science at school, or normative science and did not make any links with their interest in technology, or everyday science. This, coupled with the family's approach to Michael's age-appropriate right to have more autonomy and to take responsibility for his school-work, seemed to lead the Taylor parents not to view themselves as being able to play a role in helping Michael to connect the academic concepts presented in museum exhibits with previously acquired concepts at school or with everyday concepts. These ideas played a big role in the family's decision not to attend the family event organised by the museum, as summarised by Michael:

> I don't really like the idea of going there (Science Museum) with my parents and siblings, I prefer doing things with my friends… I'd be doing the things there in science lessons anyway, and we did the things at the Science Museum too. I wouldn't need to go to the Science Museum again with my family.
>
> (Michael, 05/01/2017)

The final point Michael makes refers to the Taylors relation with the museum. Prior to taking part in the project, Michael had visited the Science Museum twice with his primary school and once with his family three years ago. Lisa reported having visited the museum with her children while she was on maternity leave with the twins. The visit itself was organised by a local community centre where she volunteered and attended sessions with her children. Both Michael and Lisa had vague memories of what they did and saw at the museum but it was an overall positive experience because it was planned, organised and ran by the community centre and they all went as a group. Lisa said that she never considered visiting the museum on her own accord, primarily because she perceived it as a place most suited to organised group visits. She did not feel that she had the resources or tools needed to organise a family visit:

> The community centre organised the visit, they suggested this show that we all went to… I'd say that the museum is more for educational groups to learn about science, I wouldn't know where to go and what to do. It's better to come as a group on an organised visit.
>
> (Lisa, 03/05/2016)

Both the Taylor parents and Michael placed the Building Bridges project firmly in the realm of school, and a very important part of it for that matter. However, it was not perceived as playing any part in the family's social life:

> I think the project is good because it gives the children enrichment… The Science Museum is a good place for schools to take children. I think it's better for the school to take them (children) to the Science Museum and do the activities. It fits with what they're doing at school.
>
> (Lisa, 02/08/2016)

Very similar views were expressed by Sandy and Vanessa Miller. In fact, Sandy thought that, by highlighting the importance of science, the project would encourage Vanessa to do well at science at school. Once again, the link was between normative science performed at school and the museum, rather than the family's everyday life. However, Sandy recognised that there was a difference between school science and the science presented at the museum:

> The project is great. I think it can make her (Vanessa) more interested in science at school. I wouldn't say that what they do on the project, like from the book and the visits and things, is about the science that she does at school. I think it's quite different from what I can tell.
>
> (Sandy, 09/08/2016)

Vanessa and her mother thought that the project, as well as after school or holiday clubs were 'fun' but had no direct links to science lessons at school, or any impact on her science performance. The Miller family's relation with the museum went back to Sandy's visit with her primary school child in the 1980s. Sandy, who did not visit museums with her family as a child, attended the Building Bridges family event with her daughters. Before the family event, Vanessa had visited the museum with her school as part of the project and, before that, she had been with her primary school. The Millers had an overall positive experience during the family event, with Sandy describing it as 'full of fun, interesting science that we can do together.' However, the event did little in the way of helping them make any links to school science. If anything, it seemed to reconfirm their existing views, with Sady noting that none of the activities presented at the family event related to the science that Vanessa did at school. Vanessa agreed and explained that 'we've never made headsets or seen a planetarium during lessons. It's just not something that you do in lessons, there's no connection.'

The Kellys perceived science as further away from their family life as it could possibly be. Their view that science featured in the girls' education at school exclusively shaped their perception of the Building Bridges project: not intended for families in any way. Consistent with that view was also the decision not to attend the family evening event or the accompanied visit with the researcher. Since Chloe had already visited the museum with her school, the parents trusted that this was a fruitful learning experience for her as the teachers would be able to explain the

content provided and relate it to learning at school. Neither parent viewed the museum as a setting in which they might possibly ever consider visiting as a family. Chloe expressed similar views about the possibility of a family visit, especially at the stage of her adolescent life. Chloe and her mother seemed to indicate that family visits may be associated with the child's age, usually associated with primary school age:

> A few years ago, I might have begged my parents to go to the Science Museum, to take me there to play with the all the exhibits and things, but not now… I'd rather go with my class. It would be a bit embarrassing with my parents, they'd be so out of place.
>
> <div align="right">(Chloe, 20/07/2016)</div>

> If Chloe had been really keen on going on the event (Building Bridges family event) I would have gone with her, and I think Greg might have too. But she wasn't that bothered. To be honest I don't think she really wanted us to go.
>
> <div align="right">(Siobhan, 20/07/2016)</div>

Linking up everyday science with normative science at school and the museum

The Gómez family, by contrast, drew very close links between the museum and the Building Bridges project, school science, their own interests and everyday family life. Maria described the project as an enrichment activity which related to and at the same time extended school science through the inclusion of practice-based activities and information provided by the Science Museum:

> It's all the information and skills he can get by not just sitting around, and he takes in what he sees and experiences. Most of his interests in things at school come from things he's seen in a museum… I'll try and make connections, if we see something in a museum that is about something that he's done at school or might do then I'll talk to him about it, make sure he's understood that.
>
> <div align="right">(Maria, 16/08/2016)</div>

Fernando and Maria also both spontaneously noted that the project offered families opportunities to engage in activities together, such as provided by the 'Try this' booklet and the family evening. Maria consistently spoke of the interactions between parents and children on the project as being educational, with parents having an important role in their children's learning experiences, including at home:

> The project is such an important opportunity for parents to engage with their children's learning. Parents can take part in activities with their children, parents can find out what their children are interested in. Parents can help their children understand things… It's about having fun with science at home

and at school. By having fun children learn science because they're tinkering with things, they're thinking about things in new ways, and they're asking questions that help their understanding… Parents can have a really big role in the project and they can learn too.

(Maria, 28/06/2016)

Attending the Building Bridges family event as a family was a natural choice for the Gómezes:

I think the event (family event) really gets families to take part in activities together. It's a great way to have fun together and be a part of all the things the children have done on the project (Building Bridges project).

(Maria, 14/08/2016)

Unlike the other three families, the Gómez family were very experienced museum visitors, a habit which they developed over a long period of time and evolved from museums being a place where you could take a very young boy to run around to an intentional cultural activity of educational and social value for them:

I was alone with him, and not working, and had a lot of time. I didn't have much money but I did have a bus pass so I thought I can use that to get to places around London… That's how it started. I just went to the London sights: to St Paul's, or past the parliament. When Fernando was a toddler, he loved nothing more than being on the top deck of the bus… I remember in winter going to Tate Modern with him for the first time. It was just this huge place for him to run around. I think it wasn't until he was maybe four or five that I started looking into what's on, and actually planning a visit… Now I'm working and I try to be organised, I'll look things up to do and book them if necessary.

(Maria, 07.07.2016)

Steps associated with planning and organising a museum visit, which seemed overwhelming to the other parents, had over time become part of the Gómez family practices:

I spend some time during the week looking into what's on in London. I look at different websites, and I've subscribed to some things, and I pick up leaflets or write things down when I see things in the places that we go to… After a while you start to know what's on where. At the moment the Southbank Centre has a lot of things for children that we like. If we don't like something we'll not go again. It doesn't matter, it's not a big deal… I'll filter for free activities, and there's a lot. We take the bus there, even if it takes a while. I have a bus pass and I'll always bring food and drink and things we might need… It doesn't cost us hardly anything.

(Maria, 07/07/2016)

Maria reported never visiting museums as a child with her family or her school. Her interest in museums started with a chance encounter at a time when Fernando was a baby and her relationship with his father had broken down:

> When Fernando was a baby, a tiny baby I pushed the pram around here, there's not many places to go. I went to a small local community library. I'd never been before; I'd not heard about it. I didn't borrow a book or anything at first, it was more just a place to go with a baby… One day I was chatting and one of the people working there said that there are museums that are free and great to go with a baby. I don't think I would have thought about going otherwise. I didn't know they were free, but also I wouldn't have thought they are good for me with a baby, it's not the kind of thing I had on my horizon… The thing was that the lady knew who I was, she knew the area I live in, that I was a single mother with no job. And then I thought that if she thinks I should go, I'll give it a try.
>
> (Maria, 15/12/2016)

Maria was aware of the place of museum visiting in the social order and how that sets them apart from friends and family while, at the same time, she was quick to draw distinctions between her family and middle-class museum goers. Perception of museum visiting (or being good at science at school, as mentioned above) as a typically middle-class activity was one of the reasons Maria thought that makes some families not feel comfortable in museums and prevents them from imagining themselves visiting:

> I'll sign Fernando up for events and things at museums, most are free. Most people around here, their kids just go to school. Then that's it, they just come home and watch telly and do homework… They don't do much else in the holidays, they're not interested, not even in the free things. Their kids just sit around and play by themselves. My friend and I were talking about what our kids would be doing in the summer holidays… I said that Fernando and I would go to a museum or two, that they have activities for kids in the summer… She said "oh, that's posh, isn't it?" I'd say we're different to most families who come to museums. They don't have to think much about spending money there, and they have all their friends and family coming to museums. For them, visiting museums is normal, it's just what they all do. It's different for us because we're the only ones round here who go. Most people just wouldn't think it possible to go, like there is some kind of invisible fence stopping them. Even if they know it's free they wouldn't go.
>
> (Maria, 16/08/2016)

Walking and talking: the museum as an arena or as a setting for family practices

This section examines the family experience of their visit in the social arena of the Science Museum. The aim is to situate the setting for family activity in the

arena of the museum in relation to which the families acted. To do this I draw on Lave's (1988, p. 148–152) conceptualisation of the interrelation between setting and arena, or family experience and system. I borrow Aikenhead's (1996) concept of border crossing to apply it in the context of the museums, where the family practices and ideas about science (including everyday science) are considered in terms of crossing cultural borders, from their own culture into the culture of science at the museum. In other words, I use it here to examine the instances where the family cultures meet the culture of science as performed at the museum as well as the social norms or dominant expectations within the arena of the museum.

As mentioned above, the accompanied visits of the Taylor, Miller and Gómez families took place in August 2016. The Taylor family visit was organised on a Sunday in August 2016, with Lisa, Michael and the twins attending. Pearl went to a birthday party and Mick preferred to follow the usual family Sunday routine and relax at home. The Taylors had not attended the family event but had been to the museum before, as noted in the previous section. Yet, they were not familiar with the space nor very confident museum visitors. The Miller family who reported feeling very welcomed and at ease during the family event, were enthusiastic about visiting the museum approximately three weeks later. At Sandy's suggestion, the researcher met the family at the main entrance at opening time, with Sandy taking the lead and walking through the entrance donation barriers without hesitation. Similarly, the Gómez family were keen on the idea of the accompanied visit. Having been to the museum many times in the past, they were very confident in the museum, they had been to all the permanent galleries and knew their way around the exhibition space.

How the families experienced their visit paying particular attention to the instances where the family practices met the arena of the museum and how they navigated the border crossing from their own culture into the culture of science as well as the social norms within the museum.

These include approaching the museum, hidden costs associated with the visit, the family vs the museum discourse, navigating the museum space, ideas about 'normative visitor' behaviour and family food practices. I present each of these themes in turn in the following sections.

Approaching the museum

The Taylors met with the researcher at the South Kensington underground station and walked to the museum together. On the way, Lisa remarked how 'smart' the area was. The family seemed at ease and enjoyed the sunny morning, with the twins walking along the pedestrianised road happily chatting away, while Michael and Lisa talked about a film they recently watched together on TV. On approaching the museum, however, Lisa and Michael somewhat abruptly stopped talking and waited for the researcher to lead the way into the museum. Their earlier sense of being at ease changed and they were both disconcerted by the entrance gates and asked the researcher which queue they should join. Lisa walked behind the researcher, ushering her children in and quietly telling them to stay close together. In a later interview, she said that she does not remember the entrance gates from

her previous visit and did not see a sign stating how much to pay. It is evident that the entrance gates are not only disconcerting to her, but also reinforce the family's previously documented views that the Science Museum is most appropriate for organised visits rather than individual families:

> For groups you'll get ushered in, but if you're a family it's not so easy at the gates. I think it's better if you're part of a group with someone who knows where to go.
>
> (Lisa, 14/08/2016)

Hidden costs

The Taylor family expected the researcher to take the lead and suggest which exhibitions to visit. Consulting the map as a means of identifying possible interests resulted in them selecting to see the IMAX film and being disappointed when they realised the associated cost. They quickly tried to find which exhibitions were free of charge. In a later interview, Lisa explained that she had not realised that certain activities and exhibitions were fee paying and realised that she should have checked before visiting. This echoes Dawson's (2014) study, which reported people from minoritised backgrounds with no prior museum experience did not perceive visits to museums that did not charge an entry fee as 'free' of charge. They pointed at costs associated with the travel, buying food and drinks in cafés, as well as gifts in shops. Dawson outlines that it is difficult to avoid some of these costs, and that such costs can inadvertently provide signals to some audiences that museums are not 'for them.' In the case of the Taylors, Lisa had already mentioned that she thought the museum was for organised groups, not for family groups like themselves.

The family vs the museum discourse

The language museums and museum professionals use to refer to exhibit elements, as well as the language used in the interpretation of the exhibits, can also be at odds with the language of people who are not frequent museum visitors. For example, Lisa referred to large objects like, a giant globe and a model of a spaceman in the Space Gallery as 'statues,' a term art museum professionals would use for a category of artworks. Commenting on the terms used by the museum, including the term 'interactive' which appeared on the map, Lisa seemed uncertain what they meant and which type of exhibition elements they referred to and used her everyday experience with objects to define them:

> I'm not so sure, they're words I don't use much. What do they mean by something interactive? It said that it's an interactive gallery here (on Science Museum map). Something you can touch? Statues you can't touch. I think that's a difference. I think that objects are things that the people use in life, like a table is an object, but I don't really know.
>
> (Lisa, 14/08/2016)

Another example where textual interpretation failed to facilitate meaning was when Vanessa Miller engaged with the *What Sex is your Brain?* exhibit at the *Who Am I* Gallery. This exhibit asked visitors a series of questions that supposedly indicated whether their brain is 'male' or 'female.' Vanessa duly answered the questions, and when the final score allegedly revealed that she thinks more like a man than a woman, she expressed her annoyance by stating:

> Why is it saying that I'm a man? My brain isn't like a man's! How stupid, it's a silly thing to say… What do the questions have to do with it anyway?
>
> (Vanessa, 02/08/2016)

Sandy read parts of the exhibit text and tried to explain to Vanessa that men and women think differently, so their brains are different, by which time Vanessa had completely disengaged, walked off and looked at her phone. This particular exhibit had attracted negative attention by the national press and scientists. However, when told so by the researcher at a later visit to the family home, Vanessa showed no interest, while Sandy blamed themselves because her daughter 'didn't understand the exhibit, and I couldn't explain it.' The Miller family's experiences at this exhibit and their subsequent reflections on these experiences indicate how Sandy is unwilling and unable to critique information provided in the museum, taking it as a definitive source of authority rather than an opportunity to discuss and reflect on information:

> There's lots of scientists working with the Science Museum so they'll know the right information. It's just a fact of science, if you like it or not. I don't think it's right for us to come along and think we know better.
>
> (Sandy, 09/08/2016)

In fact, this reflected Sandy's overall assessment of the accompanied visit and her inability to cross the cultural border of the science subculture, as Aikenhead (1996) suggested, while being aware that her family resources are not adequate for the task:

> I'm really a confident person, even in new situations and places. I don't feel I have to pay a donation, and I ask for directions if I'm lost. But I still didn't get the success I wanted in the museum. I can come here to the Science Museum and try and find something that's interesting, but I couldn't explain the information to Vanessa… It's not easy for me there.
>
> (Sandy, 02/08/2016)

This discussion underlies the actual or perceived need to understand the museum discourse and to have prior knowledge, as well as the resources needed to enable families to perform gap closing. I discuss this in more detail in the synopsis section below.

Navigating the museum environment

The Taylor family found it difficult to identify exhibitions suitable for 'families.' This was particularly hard for Lisa, who wished to please the twelve year old Michael and the five year-old twins, especially when trying to do this while walking, keeping an eye on her children and looking at the map. While Lisa and the twins visited the Space Gallery, Michael followed them looking at his phone because, as he reported, he had already visited it with his school. After spending some time in the Pattern Pod Gallery to which the twins were drawn, as well as consulting the museum map and the researcher, Lisa suggested visiting the Energy Gallery. Michael had expressed an interest in seeing the large ring which the family saw when they entered the museum. However, it took the family to be able to find their way to the Gallery and, by the time they got there, the twins were tired and Michael was hungry. The disorienting nature of the experience made Lisa characterised it as 'a bit of a jungle' and reconfirmed her view that it would be best to visit as part of an organised group rather than a family:

> I enjoyed today, but it was also very tiring and difficult to know where is best to go… I think next time we'll come along to the organised event… We should have just gone to the family event, it's better if it's organised for families so that they know where to go and what to do… It's a bit of a jungle otherwise, so it's clear they (museum) want you to come with a group or special event.
>
> (Lisa, 14/08/2016)

Maria Gómez had looked up what the museum is offering in terms of special activities or events but the visit consisted primarily of spontaneous joint decisions about what to see and do. In addition, the family spent some time wandering around and taking in what attracted their attention, with Maria encouraging Fernando to lead the way and respond to and talk about anything that he found interesting. Maria would ask 'where do you want to go?' or 'what's most interesting today?' Fernando commented on a cut in half Mini car exhibited in *Making the Modern World*. He was surprised by how much smaller the Mini was as compared to the cars one saw on London streets. Fernando also made connections between objects and information presented in the museum and school lessons, such as different sources of energy presented in the Energy Gallery. All the while, Maria encouraged him to elaborate on such connections and asked him questions. This ability to use the museum resources to ask questions instead of providing answers comes in contrast to parents in the other families. In fact, questions generated much information from the museum resources, hence, question posing was a process of gap closing for the Gómez family. Visit plans and paths were generated as part of the family visiting activity in the setting of the museum and they varied from one visit to the next, depending on a number of factors associated with setting or the family activity. For example, at a subsequent meeting with the researcher at the museum on the family's request Fernando brought a notebook with his notes and reflections on the

activities he was doing at school as part of his chemistry afterschool club. Maria encouraged him to think which parts of the museum might be particularly relevant to these activities and his notes. This element of the family activity shaped the path they fashioned during their visit. An interesting element of the Gómez family visiting activity is how it transformed the information-rich arena of the museum into an information-specific setting for their family activity over the previous ten years or so. Not only that, they had also mastered the 'rules of the game' both in the exhibition as well as the other areas of the museum. Witness the following:

> At first, we ate our picnic outside. Sometimes we'd come back in, and sometimes we didn't. There weren't the entrance checks then so it was easier to come back in… After many visits I realised that we could eat our picnic here inside the museum, and that many other families were doing the same… We've been to the museum so many times that there's no question now about the café, we just don't eat there. It's the same with the shops, Fernando wouldn't ask because he knows that I wouldn't buy anything. If he wants to use his pocket money that's fine, he has done that a few times. He bought a bouncy ball and a game. But normally he doesn't buy anything. It's not an issue for us.
>
> <div align="right">(Maria, 15/12/2016)</div>

I come back to the concepts of gap closing and understanding the 'rules of the game' of the museum in the synopsis section below.

Ideas about 'normative visitor' behaviour

As indicated in the previous sections, families touched on the notion of a '*normative visitor*' both directly and indirectly during and after the accompanied visit or, in the case of the Gómez family, when they referred to past museum visits. For example, it was alluded to in Lisa's conviction that the museum is for organised groups rather than families and her difficulty at navigating the space and its knowledge-rich content. The latter was an issue that the Millers faced as well. In addition, Sandy and Vanessa Miller seemed to experience their visit differently. Sandy's embodied behaviour made Vanessa feel self-conscious, often appearing uncomfortable with her mother's actions and ways of talking. On several occasions, when Sandy offered brief comments or explanations of exhibits, Vanessa either did not respond simply did not respond, or commented 'that's not what you're meant to look at,' 'that's not for young kids,' and 'it's better if we go on.' There were several occasions during the visit when Vanessa was visibly awkward and uncomfortable because of her mother's behaviour, as witnessed by her quote from a follow-up interview:

> Sometimes my mum is really annoying… In the museum she kept on trying to explain things and did all the wrong things. It's embarrassing.
>
> <div align="right">(Vanessa, 09/08/2016)</div>

Once again, this seems to echo what I discussed in the previous section about knowing the 'rules of the game' and being able to enact visiting practices that reflect that.

Family food practices in the museum

Food consumption, both in terms of the cost involved and the family food practices, seemed to be an important aspect of understanding the 'rules of the game' and the fear of embarrassment associated with not conforming with *'normative visitor'* behaviour. Family food practices are also an important element of doing and displaying family and, hence, it is important to highlight as a separate section here. The way family food practices were enacted in the museum demonstrated a clear uncertainty over food consumption norms on the part of the Taylor and Miller families. As Maria Gómez commented, it took her a long time to figure out that they could bring and consume their own food in the museum. As frequent visitors, they were able to observe other families doing that and realising that this is an acceptable behaviour of the *'normative visitor.'* Other families did not have that experience to draw on.

Even though all families had been offered a free lunch as part of their accompanied visit, Lisa Taylor decided to make sandwiches for her family and the researcher to have together on benches outside the museum. She reported that she had changed her mind about having lunch at one of the cafés because she was not sure if these would be suitable for the twins. She was uncertain about what was appropriate conduct in the café and her younger children's behaviour, where to queue, when to pay and where to sit:

> I'm not sure about going to the café with the twins. I'm not sure if they'll sit still and be good, they can get a bit restless and I don't want other people there to be disturbed.
>
> (Lisa, 14/08/2016)

Sandy Miller had also prepared sandwiches but, in contrast to the Taylors, had no hesitation handing them out to her children and the researcher to have as soon as they arrived at the *Who Am I* exhibition. What is common in both cases (as well as in the case of the first few museum visits of the Gómez family) is that their visits were shaped by misunderstandings about the museum's 'rules of the game' and the restrictions this imposed to their ability to make meaning and to feel that 'it is easy' for them to 'get the success' they wanted in the museum, as Sandy noted (see quote in section on the family vs the museum discourse above).

Synthesis

The question I posed in this chapter was to what extent were the families able to apply their family practices (as detailed in chapter 7) in the setting of the museum and to draw on them to make sense of their visit? To paraphrase Lave (1988), were

the families able to transform the densely woven texture of the object information and display situated within wider exhibition narratives from information overload into an information-specific setting for each other?

Chapter 7 produces a detailed account of the range and nature of the practices of each family. They all had a flexible notion of 'family' based on norms of reciprocity and extended kinship. Family members were able to draw on a wealth of cultural resources which supported their development and wellbeing, made them feel safe and enabled them to freely express themselves. Family *paideia* practices, in particular, demonstrated their ability to cocreate knowledge with deep connections to the family identity, social class, cultural background and values. The generative variability of these practices made it possible for family members to use them effectively across different contexts. Let us examine how these practices fare in the museum setting.

Of the four families who participated in this study, one declined the invitation to visit the museum. Chloe Kelly, one of the daughters, cited as a reason for this decision a desire to save her parents from embarrassment: 'It would be a bit embarrassing with my parents they'd be so out of place.' Anticipating her family practices to be 'out of place' indicates that Chloe's ideas about 'normative' family practices and 'normative visitors' behaviour did not align with her own family practices. There is indication that Lisa Taylor and Vannessa Miller were hyperaware of that. For example, Lisa Taylor's decision to have packed lunch outside the museum indicates that she was not prepared to expose and have some family practices 'questioned' by other audiences. Further, several times Lisa expressed the view that the museum wanted them to visit in organised groups in her effort to adjust the practices of her family to perceived expectations of normative standards of 'good' parenting and/ or visitors. She seemed to be aware of 'the gaze' of other visitors or of museum staff who imposed certain social rules (Fyfe and Ross, 1996). The idea that one or one's family might be 'out of place' and the social distance that is perceived to exist between one's family and/or community and 'normative' museum visitors (as in people who are perceived as being able to deploy the resources/habitus required of a museum visitor) has also been highlighted in other studies carried out by Dawson (2014) and Archer *et al.* (2013; 2016). We also know from Bourdieu (1984, p. 471) that a person's habitus conveys 'a sense of place' in a social world, which leads one to exclude oneself from the goods, persons, place and so forth from which one is excluded.' Also, as family studies researchers (Henze-Pedersen and Järvinen, 2021; Morgan, 2011; Nelson, 2020) stress, parents define what kind of family theirs is and weight their practices against prevailing normative standards of proper versus improper and functional versus dysfunctional family relationships. Museums, like other public spaces, are the type of world contexts where parents would feel that they have to adapt their family practices to normative standard of 'good' parenting, despite the fact that, even if such a thing were to exist, very few parents would 'live up to an idealized notion of what they believe they should do' (Nelson, 2020, p. 7). Yet, this seemed to create a type of uncertainty as to how to 'be family' and what appropriate 'family-like' practices might look like in the museum, leading some families to choose to 'stay true' to their family practices rather than compromise

them in the presence of each other and/or put family members in an awkward position owing to the inevitable comparison with other visitors. Archer *et al.*'s (2016) study also found that some families do not understand the 'rules of the game' in museums and they were often unsure which objects and exhibits they were allowed to touch and whether it was necessary to remain quiet.

The analysis also highlighted other elements that created a sense of being 'out of place': the 'normative' science as presented in the exhibitions and the technical language used. Both the Taylor and the Miller mothers seemed to suggest that the disparities between the family everyday practices and the science culture, necessitated the mediation of the school/teacher, the Building Bridges project, or organisations like the community centre to which Lisa referred in order to facilitate the family's crossing of these worlds, especially for the benefit of their children. The idea that science is a particular type of culture that is not part of their 'little lives,' as Lisa Taylor stated, echoes Skeggs' (2004, p. 173) argument that 'cultures are valued differently depending on who can deploy them as a resource.' As noted above, the Taylor, Miller and Kelly families perceived 'real' (i.e. normative) science as being part of somebody else's culture (scientists, or 'clever' students who grew up in an academic family). In fact, they all expressed distinctly gendered views of science, as reported by other studies in the UK and the US (e.g. Archer *et al.*, 2013; Carlone, 2003). Beyond the gendered perceptions of science, however, it is clear that the members of these three families did not believe that science was a form of knowledge and the vocabulary used to communicate it were part of their family life. This type of knowledge was not part of their family *paideia*; it required a certain type of habitus. The families' views of normative science knowledge and its technical language aligned with Bourdieu's (1998, p. 8) description of habitus being a product of social position that 'retranslates the intrinsic and relational characteristics of a position into a unitary lifestyle.' Mehan (1993) commented on technical language as a source of power and authority in professional settings such as the museum, which delegitimise the situated understanding of families from non-dominant communities. Aikenhead (1996) stressed the amount of effort and skills required for these audiences in making these transitions across different 'cultures' work. Placing science outside of their family culture rendered it imperceptible in family everyday practices and, at the same time, made any possibility of them crossing the border of their family 'subculture' into the 'subcultures of science and school science' (Aikenhead, 1996, p. 2) inconceivable.

Similar views regarding everyday science were recorded in a study carried out by Zimmerman (2012) who outlined the case of a teenage girl who was engaged in various activities and interests that could be viewed as related to animal science but who characterised her activities and interests as 'caring for animals' and consistently denied any relationship to science. While various aspects, including gender and age, may have contributed to these findings, Zimmerman's research demonstrates how people may re-frame their science-related activity as non-scientific. Although the definition of everyday science is rather nebulous, researchers would typically frame these types of activities as 'everyday' science talk in that they are infused with normalised expectations and beliefs about the world (Ash, 2004).

These may, for example, include the belief that animals belong to particular groups, have babies and need food (Ash *et al*., 2007). This finding echoes Vygotsky's (1978, p. 147) ideas about everyday concepts, which he saw as arising from the simple situations of daily life and that, when given assistance, everyday concepts and ideas become more scientific over time, as they are practiced in formal and informal educational settings. As children's first 'educators,' parents are ideally positioned to support their children make this link. As Guberman (in Ash 2004, p. 857) noted, 'with extensive information of their children's knowledge and everyday experience, parents are well-suited to help children connect the academic concepts presented in museum exhibits with previously acquired, everyday concepts.' However, for that to happen parents need to be able to appreciate what difference these parent-child interactions can make. This is not down to 'lack of knowledge' but due to having forms of cultural capital different from the dominant culture. That makes crossing highly demarcated cultural boundaries almost impossible and makes it appear that some groups do not access dominantly valued activities by choice. Consequently, it makes the distance between social groups who possess dominantly valued cultural capital and those with less valuable characteristics appear to be a 'culture deficit' on the part of the latter (Foley, 1997).

Unlike the Taylors and Millers, the Gómezes were already comfortable crossing cultural borders and were very familiar with the 'rules of the game in the museum.' This echoes Archer *et al*. (2016) study, where a family from a nondominant community was able to navigate the museum space and its social norms drawing on the father's pre-existing educational 'capital,' including a university degree. Further, the Gómez family was able to draw of previous visit experiences to generate visit paths, to draw on the resources offered by the museum as well as on their own family's wealth of resources. Maria played an important role in helping her son to 'connect the academic concepts presented in museum exhibits with previously acquired, everyday concepts' (Guberman in Ash 2004, p. 857) and school science over a long period of time, leading to Fernando being able to do that for himself and devising mnemonic tools (e.g. his chemistry notebook) to record and reflect on his knowledge. Very much like the families at WIFR (see chapter 6), the Gómezes were able to perform gap closing and, thus, they did not perceive any aspect of the visiting activity in the museum setting as problematic, nor was it registered as such in their conscience. In this context, the meaning making was facilitated and shaped by both the activity and the setting.

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9 Inside-out and outside-in

Transforming the family-museums relation

This book has been a long time in the making and the longer it took to complete the more complex the story about the relationship between families and museums became. To tell this story, I draw on empirical research I have carried out with families across different museum types and everyday settings over the last three decades. This means that I had to weave through and reanalyse a substantial amount of data and, in the process, try to make sense out of all these family studies. From this vantage point, I was able to reexamine this evidence base and situate it in a wider theoretical context than the one in which the individual studies were originally framed. I was also able to situate it in the context of current issues and debates in academic research and the museum sector. This helped me identify broader narratives that my family research can tell but also to broaden the narrative about the cultural participation of a wide range of families, including single-parent, blended and families of choice, both from dominant and nondominant communities. Sadly, part of the story I am able to tell has remained largely unchanged in the last three decades. Specifically, families from dominant communities not only represent the vast majority of frequent museum visitors but they are also able to draw on existing cultural capital to make the most out of their experience during those visits. In the long term, the distinct social space of lifestyle associated with museum visiting maps their space in the different social positions they occupy. Museum participation studies have consistently been recording similar trends in that frequent museum visitors come from a White middle- and upper-middle class background with a higher education degree. And, even though we want to see these trends change and museums to become more inclusive at the same time we have become used to seeing this type of inequality that the research captures. In some cases, it has directly or indirectly been normalised. For example, in chapter 3, I reported on segmentation models which group people in categories that reflect (often unconscious) deficit thinking and 'ethnic absolutism' on the part of the organisation which is then translated into museum policy as well as fundings priorities and provision that perpetuates inequalities and exclusion. Deficit thinking theses are invariably based on cultural deprivation, inadequate socialisation, accumulated environmental deficit, or a combination of the above, effectively attributing deficits 'to ways of life that serve to bind together identified groups (common values; parenting patterns;

ways of looking at the world; distinctive use of language)' (Pearl, 1997, p. 134; Foley, 1997). As a result, what it achieves is to take attention away from what the real issue is: lack of funding for museums as well as a lack of moral commitment from funding bodies. Reporting on a decade of funding cuts, Adams (2019, p. 12) observed that these have 'gutted museum services across the UK' with some museums closing down, others losing staff and expertise, cutting salaries and changing the nature of museum work since it has become more commercialised. Museums outside of London have disproportionately borne the brunt of cutting cuts as they tend to get much less government funding than London-based arts and culture institutions (Dorling and Hennig, 2016). Further, funding cuts and the short-term nature of funding disproportionally affect families from nondominant communities (Whitaker, 2016). As the trajectory of the Gómez family revealed, people who have not been habitualised into visiting museums at a young age would probably need more time and support to even feel comfortable in the museum space. Funding bodies need to make a long-term moral commitment for their funds to have any real impact.

Conversely, research that takes a culturally responsive and critical perspective towards research with families from nondominant communities has been carried out across different social contexts, including museums, over the last 30 years. The accumulated evidence of this body of work paints a very different picture. Far from having some type of deficit, families from nondominant communities have a wealth of cultural resources which enable their members 'to survive and resist macro and micro-forms of oppression' (Yosso, 2005, p. 77) and to thrive. At the same time, practice-based research has also examined the cultural practices of people from nondominant communities (e.g. Garibey, 2011; Garibey and Huerta Migus, 2017; sloverlinett, 2021; 2022). This book significantly contributes to this intellectual agenda in two main ways. At a macro-level, it investigates the relation between families and the museum as an arena within which the visit activity takes place. In other words, it examines how the arena of the museum provides 'a higher-order institutional framework within which setting is constituted' and how for frequent family visitors the museum 'is a repeatedly experienced, personally ordered and edited version of the arena', a setting for their activity Lave (1988, p. 151). At a micro-level, by examining the practices of families from nondominant cultures, this book highlights the cultural wealth they develop and enact across contexts. This makes it possible to explore the differences and commonalities between the visiting practices of families from nondominant and dominant communities and understand how family activity and museum setting interrelate. To help me examine these interrelations and interdependencies, I developed a dialectical theoretical framework (see Figure 2.2 in chapter 2) which draws together several theoretical concepts that address everyday practice on the macro and micro levels. The aim was to use this framework to better understand the role museums play in family life through an analysis of the family's everyday social practices that motivate museum visiting and the meaning families make of their visits. Approaching museum participation and meaning making as part of the conduct of the family everyday

life is at the core of the original contribution of this book. Since families constitute and participate in the ever-changing everyday life across different contexts, including museums, it is only reasonable to want to theorise the everyday in relation to museum participation and meaning; in other words, to situate these in the everyday family life of which they are a constitutive part. Because, as Pink (2012, p. 13) noted, the everyday is 'at the at the centre of human existence, the essence of who we are and our location in the world.' The following sections discuss how I applied this framework to address key outstanding questions related to family museum participation and meaning making with reference to families from dominant, as well as nondominant, communities.

The cultural specificity of cultural capital

It may be self-evident that cultural capital is culturally specific. Indeed, this is one of the key aspects of Bourdieu's (e.g. 1986) work. However, as Yosso (2005) commented, the traditional interpretation of cultural capital does not go far enough since it takes a narrow focus looking at socioeconomic characteristics while it ignores the wealth of the accumulated assets and resources individuals have. In the previous chapters, I used both concepts as well as the concepts of museum arena or list and family list in the analysis of the museum participation patterns of families from dominant and nondominant communities. With respect to the frequent family museum visitors from dominant communities that I examined in chapter 4 and 5, I found Bourdieu's theory particularly helpful as I could examine how their ability to draw on dominantly valued cultural capital enabled them to make sense of their experience during the visit. Specifically, it helped explain how dominantly valued cultural capital is translated and recognised as dominant culture through a process of selecting and privileging the cultural capital of families from dominant communities while, at the same time, it distances them from families from nondominant communities who, in the museum context, possess characteristics that are not valued. In this case, there was a 'fit' between the museum capital and the family capital. I also found Lave's (Lave, Murtaugh and de la Rocha, 1984; 1988) concepts of lists, arena, setting and gap closing useful as they helped me analyse the relations between the museum as list (i.e. arena) and the family list. For frequent visitors from dominant communities, museums feature on particular lists associated with the role museums are perceived to play in dominant culture. These included education/participation, social event, lifecycle, place, entertainment, biophilia, political/participation and therapeutic. Frequent museum visits created expectations about subsequent ones, which enabled these families to fashion a specific visit path through the museum. Although this path was not fixed, the routinised nature of museum visiting enabled them to see their visit as a smooth ordered sequence of interactions with the exhibition elements. Yet, following a routine path involved a large number of complex decisions and resolving problems they encountered on the way. In other words, it involved a great deal of gap closing. Once again, for families from dominant communities, there was a 'fit' between the museum list and the family list ensuring a smooth visit.

The museum experience of the families from nondominant communities who participated in the studies presented in chapters 6 and 8 was more variable, creating a rather mixed picture. For the families at the Museum of the Home, the West Indian Front Room exhibition featured two lists: political/participation and introspection. One could say that these lists were the same or very similar to the ones on which the case study museums in chapters 4 and 5 featured. I note here that the families visited that one exhibition only, so it is hard to infer from that whether the museum as a whole would be on the same lists for these families. The important point to make, however, is that there was a 'fit' between the exhibition list and the family list. Since the exhibition represented everyday objects of their culture, they were also able to draw on their cultural wealth (aspirational, linguistic, familial, navigational and resistance capital) to create a smooth path through it and make meaning, as evidenced by the family discourse. The analysis of the family discourse examined through a family practice lens (Finch, 2007; Morgan, 1996) demonstrates that they were able to do and display family through, for example, telling stories about the objects they saw and the role these played in their social life and the people they had become. In fact, an interesting aspect of these stories was that invariably family members would start recounting events of their own family's past and would then highlight the commonality of the experience and history of the African-Caribbean community in the UK, making broader statements about the past and future of their community. The interrelation of the family and community stories was reflected in other aspects of their museum participation. Most notable of all was their resolve to 'display community,' the cultural wealth of their community, as this was represented and reaffirmed through their physical presence in the exhibition. As noted, this in itself is a political act of resistance against dominant assumptions that a gap in participation in dominantly valued culture was due to a 'cultural deficit' among members of the African-Caribbean community. And so were the family and community stories they told, with all their nuances and deep understanding of black history they demonstrated. The interconnectedness of the 'I'/'my family' and 'We' witnessed in this study was markedly different from the discourse of families from dominant communities whose stories focused on themselves/their family (see chapter 4 and 5).

By contrast, the visit to the Science Museum was not as smooth for two of the families who attended the accompanied visit. Firstly, the Kelly family declined to visit anticipating that their family practices would be 'out of place' and would make them feel embarrassed. Family practices associated with avoiding embarrassment were also enacted by the Taylor mother who brought lunch which the family had outside the museum, hence avoiding possible embarrassment that would be caused, for example, if her younger children's behaved inappropriately in the museum café. This avoidance practice seemed to be related to the families perception of a 'normative' museum visitor and perceived expectations of normative standards of 'good' parenting, especially when one is under the 'gaze' of others. Navigating the physical and intellectual environment of the museum was also problematic for the Taylors and the Kellys due to a combination of the use of technical language, not being comfortable with science culture while, at the same time, viewing their

everyday family practices far removed from 'proper' science and (at least the perception) of not having the required knowledge to understand the exhibits. Gendered ideas about science (i.e. being for boys) and lack of science capital (i.e. it is for clever people, or for those who 'have lots of friends who are into science and parents who like that kind of thing') may have played a role too. Like all traditional museum spaces, the Science Museum is situated in the fields of production of elite disciplinary knowledge (Bourdieu, 1993). Lave (2019) explained how this type of knowledge, together with its specialised language represents the 'elite' knowledge and 'high' culture. Ashworth (1994) noted that governments use state structures, education, socialisation and media and museum representations and narratives to seize on dominantly valued capital and promote it as the dominant form of knowledge. What follows from this process is the suppression of the cultural capital, values, viewpoints, meanings and experiences of families from nondominant communities. Parents are not able to assist their children in making the move from everyday knowledge to elite knowledge that institutions of knowledge like museums expect of them, as this would require traditional cultural capital. The museum, thus, becomes a place that nurtures someone else's imagined future possibilities.

By contrast, the Gómez family had a 'routine' smooth visit experience very much like any other frequent family visitor. They were comfortable with the museum space, knew 'the rules of the game' and were able to cross cultural borders (Aikenhead, 1996). They effortlessly drew on previous visit experiences to generate consequent visit paths and, as they went around the exhibitions, they were able to draw both on the resources offered by the museum but also on their Community Cultural Wealth, as defined by Yosso (2005). Maria used questioning practices to build on Fernando's interests and encourage him to make links with school science and actively use the exhibitions to find answer, effectively providing him with tools for gap closing rather than feeding him with information. In fact, as Lave et al. (1984, p. 83) noted, the process of gap closing requires 'a good deal of knowledge about what would constitute a solution' and, hence, it can be effectively applied by those who are able to access dominantly valued cultural capital. Therefore, the interesting thing about the Gómez family was that they were able to access that as well as their own Community Cultural Wealth across different settings.

Cultural wealth in everyday family practices: doing, displaying and family *paideia*

One of the main aims of this book is to advance an interpretation of family museum experiences as a constituent of everyday family practices, particularly for families from nondominant communities. Shifting the focus on family practices allows us not only to recognise the fluidity of everyday life practices but also to examine 'family' as a contextualised set of activities that constitute the entirety of life experiences. However, a focus on family practices entails studying both the context of activity and activity in context. This, in turn, necessitates studying family practices across contexts. The characteristics of the family visit activity of the families in the setting of the *West Indian Front Room* exhibition (chapter 6) and in the setting of the Science Museum (chapter 8) demonstrated how activity and setting constitute

each other. It was possible to see how some of the families were able to draw on the resources provided by the museums as well as their own resources and fashion a smooth path across the exhibition space and make meaning, while being able to resolve any problems that would emerge (gap closing). It was also possible to see that for some families the process of gap closing was not made possible, meaning making was interrupted, they became conscious of the museum gaze and were left feeling 'out of place.' Had I not analysed the practices of these families beyond the museum setting it would have been impossible to imagine the wealth of cultural resources they have available. Let us, therefore, focus our attention on what they do have and can do routinely across different contexts.

Firstly, I examined 'doing' and 'displaying family' practices as well as family discourse to discern what constitutes family and family relationships and how they shaped meaning and maintained family identity. I would like to reiterate that family practices represent the way in which people constitute 'my family' and refer to actions that are meant to convey and be understood by relevant others specifically as 'family' practices. The Taylor, Miller, Kelly and Gómez families were done and displayed in a range of activities. Doing family included 'doing the school run,' bedtime routines, sibling relationships and doing household chores. Displaying activities constitute interpersonal intimacy, homework, significant objects and family stories and at-school involvement. While family practices that entailed both 'doing' and 'displaying' included keeping children safe, family meals, wellbeing and development and 'being both a mother and a father.' The analysis demonstrated the fundamentally social nature of these practices. It also showed that, despite them being perceived as routine activities by the family members, there was a generative variability of family practices. Furthermore, the diversity of the composition and the fluidity of the relationships between the members of the Taylor, Miller, Kelly and Gómez families as well as the range of everyday contexts family members inhabited necessitate that family practices themselves were flexible and fluid to respond to the demands of different contexts or situations families found themselves in and of changing relationship between personal and family identity. The latter was an important consideration since the transition to adolescence of one child in each family meant that family practices had to be adjusted. As Morgan (1996) noted, such changes contribute to the ongoing process of building family identity. This brings me to my next point. Family practices are not a series of unrelated mechanically reproduced activities families perform routinely from one day to the next. Family practices instil values associated with traditions and the culture of their families of origin and their wider community, all of which are part of the family identity. In the first part of chapter 7, I detailed the strong sense of cultural and/or religious identity all families had. But, how do everyday routine family practices enable that?

Family *paideia* emerged as family practice enacted through everyday mundane activities such as playing music or caring for pets alongside more sublime activities like attending to one's spiritual needs. But the value of family *paideia* is far from being mundane. Family *paideia* functions as an 'archive' for the moral life of its members; it encompasses 'who we really are' and 'what we stand for' as a family. It is what every 'good parent' would do for their children to enable them to be 'bearers of culture and society' in a way that formal educational institutions do not or

cannot. Yet, it is particularly important for parents from nondominant communities because they know that their values and (class, family of choice and cultural) identity is not reflected in the dominantly valued culture and its social institutions. Family *paideia* for the four families entailed living according to one's moral, religious and spiritual values and beliefs, caring for other human and non-human beings, promoting culturally relevant gender roles, music as a form of cultural expression and interacting with authority figures. A key characteristic of family *paideia* was that, although the parent provided its general shape and drew where the lines were, it was cocreated by all family members. This was done through routine everyday actions and interactions that can be seen as discreet cocreation activities amenable to inputs from all its members, past and present. Another important point to make is that there are clear links between family *paideia* and the six forms of cultural capital, Yosso (2005) identified in her work with people from nondominant communities. The cocreated and malleable character of family *paideia* could indicate that this is the process through which families produce their cultural wealth, although more research would be needed to support this.

Finally, I would like to close this section by highlighting that *paideia*, as a family practice, is closely related to the idea of coexistence or 'living together,' a constructive and compassionate coexistence. It is a form of conviviality which starts at the home setting and gradually extends to one's kinship networks and community. The notion of conviviality is a powerful one as it allows for the 'paradoxical coexistence of racism and multiculture' that emerges particularly in urban spaces (Back and Sinha, 2016, p. 518; Gilroy, 2004; 2006) despite notes of multicultural and immigration 'crisis' being reproduced in public discourse (Neal *et al.*, 2013). In Gilroy's (2006) view conviviality can be used to approach culture not as a way of differentiating people and placing them in ethnic compartments based on their cultural origins. Instead, it focuses on culture in terms of what people do in everyday life, on 'the 'unruly, convivial multiculture as a sort of "Open-Source" co-production' (Gilroy, 2006, p. 40). Illich (2009 [1973]) emphasised the tools or toolbox which comprise a set of capabilities and resources available to people from nondominant communities that enable them to live and navigate everyday life and social institutions designed with dominant communities in mind. This formulation of the tools of convivial capabilities is reminiscent of Yosso's concept of CCW as well as the notion of *paideia* as it emerged from my analysis of the families everyday practices across contexts (see chapter 7). As mentioned above, *paideia* is co-created by family members in everyday life as they draw on their family history and the communities to which they belong and look to the future trying to imagine a better life for their children. In the next section, I explore the interrelation between the everyday family practice of *paideia* and conviviality and how they apply in the museum context in more detail.

'Mundane' encounters in an extraordinary setting

For family visitors from dominant communities museums feature on several lists leading to high frequency of participation. Their visits are seen as habitual and

get assigned the character of a routine activity in the sense that these families are able to draw on previous visits to fashion a smooth sequencing of their visit activity through gap closing processes. Thus, although museum visiting is not strictly speaking an everyday activity, for certain families it has an element of the 'mundane' character that routinised everyday activities have. I argue that focusing on family practices and supporting different types of 'mundane' family activities in the extraordinary space of the museum may be a good starting point for transforming the family-museum relation, one that would look from outside the museum and into families rather than from inside the museum and out towards families.

This would involve moving beyond ethnic or other types of categorisations which differentiate families from dominant and nondominant communities by making the former's ways of *being* in the world matter while the latter make them stand out as different. It would involve moving towards (un)shared practices, such as taste, lifestyle and leisure preferences, as Gilroy (2006) suggested when developing his approach to conviviality. It would involve welcoming different types of families, supporting different family practices and different social norms, hence, rendering difference mundane, normal. Conceiving museums as hubs of conviviality (see Figure 3.1, chapter 3) employs doing, displaying and family *paideia* practices as entry points to transform the family-museum relation. This is a complex task that would require considerable effort, skill and (re)training of the museum workforce as well as those working with and for museums. Above all, it would also involve moving away from deficit thinking through continuous reflective and reflexive thinking. But also, as Barker *et al.* (2019) suggested, convivial culture needs to be constructed and supported; it is not a mere consequence of proximity to difference. Therefore, the question for museums is: how can they transform into convivial spaces and become part of the everyday contexts where families from nondominant communities can use to carve a life and a different future for themselves and their children in a more sustainable way?

Taking the lead from family *paideia*, a good starting point would be the adoption of an ethos of *paideia*, an ethical-political education as a form of cultural action and a means of bringing about socio-political change and transformation. *Paideia* ideals vary with cultural and social imaginaries, but a key element is its call for reflexivity, radical openness to difference and linking vision and praxis. In Castoriadis' (1987) interpretation of *paideia*, education plays a central role in shaping the concept of the 'public' in a democratic society. *Paideia* refers to the notion that only ethically grounded education of citizens in their role as citizens can imbue the public sphere with genuine and authentic content. However, to bestow the public sphere with such authenticity, several crucial elements are required. First, it is essential for people to have equal rights to express their true meanings and, second, to be duty bound to speak freely about everything that concerns the public (i.e. what builds our world in common). In this sense, the political context of a democratic society is consistent with its idea of education.

This means that the educational role of the museum is not a simple matter of a technical problem of learning. Education should provide the possibility of change and freedom, situating at the centre of society and culture. It means moving away

from education as a regulation system involving a 'limited idea of educational change as a positioning within the socio-economical structure' (Säfström, 2019, p. 610). *Paideia* ideals can provide, what Pearl (1997, p. 152) called, 'powerful models of equity' that can address both past and current injustices and replace the *discourse of deficit* – in its many forms and guises that reappears in the museum discourse – with the *discourse of difference*.

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