

# **Museums visiting and social inclusion: the geography of school visits to museums**

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by

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## **Abstract**

This thesis takes as a starting point the results of three large scale evaluations of museum education programmes, which presented an unexpected and potentially highly significant geography of school visits to museums, with 46% of school visits in one evaluation made by schools located in areas classified among the 20% most deprived areas in England. These research findings appear to challenge the widespread popular perception of museums as rather elitist and exclusionary, drawing attention towards the potential for museums to contribute to social inclusion. The findings also chimed well with contemporary government social inclusion agendas.

The study combines both quantitative and qualitative investigations to examine and explain the social geography of school visits to museums. Application of the Townsend index and Experian MOSAIC to the original datasets suggests that the pattern of school visits remains broadly similar when each of these measures are used. Pupil postcodes and free school meal (FSM) data are also used to address the ecological fallacy, concluding that analysis at school level is useful to appreciate school contexts at a finer spatial level. Through further quantitative analysis it is concluded that the location and size of museums is particularly significant, emphasising the importance of the local.

An interpretive framework based on the concepts of economic, social, cultural and emotional capital is also used to consider the impacts that museums may have on teachers and pupils, which might contribute to social inclusion. Analysis of qualitative data reveals the interplay of the different forms of capital, particularly how each form influences and conditions school visits. It is concluded that in the museum setting social, cultural and emotional capital are potentially more likely to be acquired. It is argued that discussions presented in the research substantiate the results of the original evaluations and help to move discussions beyond the shorthand thinking of museums as either elitist or non-elitist.

*For Doris Lilly Woodham & Florence Ethel Webb*

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## List of Abbreviations

<b>ABDI</b>	Area-based deprivation index
<b>AIM</b>	Association of Independent Museums
<b>AMC</b>	Area Museum Council
<b>BMAG</b>	Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery
<b>BME</b>	Black and Minority Ethnic
<b>CASE</b>	Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion
<b>CSR</b>	Comprehensive Spending Review
<b>DCMS</b>	Department for Culture, Media and Sport
<b>DCSF</b>	Department for Children, Schools and Families
<b>DfES</b>	Department for Education and Skills
<b>DWP</b>	Department for Work and Pensions
<b>EAZ</b>	Education Action Zone
<b>ECM</b>	Every Child Matters
<b>EPDP</b>	Education Programme Delivery Plan
<b>FSM</b>	Free School Meals
<b>GLLAM</b>	Group for Large Local Authority Museums
<b>GLO</b>	Generic Learning Outcome
<b>ICOM</b>	International Council of Museums
<b>ILFA</b>	Inspiring Learning for All framework
<b>IMD</b>	Index of Multiple Deprivation
<b>MLA</b>	Museums Libraries and Archives Council
<b>MUD</b>	Moral Undertones Discourse
<b>NDPB</b>	Non Governmental Public Body
<b>NfER</b>	The National Foundation for Educational Research



<b>ODPM</b>	Office of the Deputy Prime minister
<b>Ofsted</b>	Office for Standards in Education
<b>PAT10</b>	Policy Action Team 10
<b>PHSE</b>	Personal Health and Social Education
<b>PRU</b>	Pupil Referral Unit
<b>PSA</b>	Public Service Agreement
<b>RBSA</b>	Royal Birmingham Society of Artists
<b>RCM</b>	Royal Cornwall Museum
<b>RCMG</b>	Research Centre for Museums and Galleries
<b>RED</b>	Redistributive Discourse
<b>SEU</b>	Social Exclusion Unit
<b>SID</b>	Social Integrationist Discourse
<b>SRB</b>	Single Regeneration Budget
<b>TWM</b>	Tyne and Wear Museums
<b>V&amp;A</b>	Victoria and Albert Museum
<b>USI</b>	Understanding Slavery Initiative

# Chapter 1: Introduction

## 1.1 Museum visits by schools in areas of high deprivation

In three large-scale evaluations stemming from two government funding initiatives of the impact of museum education programmes during 2004-2006, the Research Centre for Museums and Galleries (RCMG) at the University of Leicester, discovered that surprisingly high levels of museum visits were made by schools located in areas of deprivation and child poverty.<sup>1</sup>

In the first RCMG evaluation, 46% of school visits to participating museums were made by schools located in wards in the 20% most deprived areas in England (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2004a: 43-44).<sup>2</sup> In the second RCMG evaluation, 30% of school visits came from these highly deprived areas (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2004c:10), whilst in the third evaluation this figure was 32% (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2006a: 9).<sup>3</sup>

The index of child poverty (IDACI) reinforced this picture, with 42% of the visits in the first evaluation being made by schools located in wards classified as among the 20% most deprived (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2004a: 43-44), with almost a third (30%) of schools in the second evaluation falling into this range (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2004c:10).<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> These government funding initiatives are entitled *Renaissance in the Regions* and *The Strategic Commissioning* programme. They will be fully introduced in Chapter 2 of this study.

<sup>2</sup> Using the Index of Multiple Deprivation 2000.

<sup>3</sup> Using the index of Multiple Deprivation 2004

<sup>4</sup> The index of child poverty (IDACI) was not applied to the data from the third evaluation.

The RCMG research team, the Museums Libraries and Archives Council (MLA) and the Department for Culture Media and Sport (DCMS), who commissioned the evaluations, all appeared to be somewhat surprised by this research finding, which runs counter to the popular opinion of museums as rather elitist and exclusionary places. The finding was particularly welcomed as an outcome of the research, as it suggested that museums had a potential role within social policy.

The RCMG evaluations were commissioned at a time when, in a cultural policy context, the social role of museums was a matter of particular interest. They can be seen as involved in a shift towards what Hooper-Greenhill (2007:15) terms the 'calibration of culture', whereby the election of the New Labour Government in 1997 led to museums and cultural organisations being increasingly charged with addressing government social policies and demonstrating accountability for the money invested in them. However, belief in the social agency of museums is not universal (Newman and Mclean, 2004c), and little is known about the specific impacts experienced by visitors. One question this thesis aims to address therefore is what impact museum visiting may have for schools, teachers and pupils which might contribute to social inclusion.

The RCMG evaluations also provide a unique and, to the researcher's knowledge, unparalleled dataset which records the details of 2940 distinct school visits to museums. Prior to the evaluations, there was no evidence on this scale that suggested a relationship between museums and areas of deprivation. This finding prompts questions concerning the geography of school visits to museums, why is it that a high proportion of visits are made by schools located in some of the most deprived areas of England?

The following thesis takes as its central focus a particular spatial pattern. By examining and exploring this pattern and considering the wider impacts of museum visiting in terms of social inclusion, the research draws attention to the relationship between museums and geographic areas of deprivation.

This research aims to contribute to the debates within museology and cultural policy concerning museums as agents of social inclusion. The study also brings museum studies and social geography together in a way that has not been considered before, adding to the area of academic enquiry which considers museums as highly spatialised organisations. This research also relates to the geographies of education, considering access to museums by schools in areas of high deprivation. This introductory chapter therefore has three aims, i) to situate the research within these wider debates, ii) to introduce the research aims and objectives, and iii) to outline the structure of this thesis.

Section 1.2 of this chapter establishes the museological context of the RCMG evaluations by first introducing the cultural policy environment in which they were commissioned.

This introduction to the policy context outlines the current social inclusion agenda and the debates surrounding it, it also considers the reactions to this agenda from both inside and outside the museum sector.

Leading on from this discussion, section 1.3 of this chapter considers why museums have acquired a rather elitist image and also how this image is being challenged. The section follows three lines of investigation; the first discussion investigates the elitist history of the museum, considering how this has been challenged not only by the social inclusion

agenda but also by internal shifts in the character of museums. The second discussion takes museum visitors as its central focus, considering the more traditional demographic profile of museum visitors, but also introducing how museums have been encouraged not only to broaden their audiences and understand their differing needs, but also to look at the diversity of their own workforce. The last discussion considers the issue of representation, particularly the recognition that museums have the potential to exclude through the practices of collecting and exhibiting. It should be noted that these lines of investigation are not mutually exclusive of each other; therefore issues discussed in one investigation will also have an impact on those considered in another. Overall, the discussions in section 1.3 emphasise that there is an awareness in both museological literature and in museum practice, of how museums have the potential to act as an agent of exclusion rather than inclusion. These exclusionary practices are being successfully challenged to varying degrees but there are significant differences between individual organisations. It is concluded that although museums have the potential to act as agents of social inclusion their image of being exclusionary spaces is still present.

## **1.2 The cultural policy context: instrumental and intrinsic views of culture**

In the past thirty years, museums have been valued by governments for a variety of reasons. As AEA Consulting (2005) consider, broadly speaking it was the contribution of museums to the economy that the cultural policy of the Thatcher government of the late 1970s and 1980s particularly emphasised. During this period cultural policy decisions were made using primarily economic rather than political rationales (Gray 2000).

However, the value of cultural organisations slowly shifted from being viewed in terms of their benefit to the economy, to recognition by government that the arts could potentially contribute to aspects of social policy such as regeneration (AEA Consulting, 2005).

After the 1997 General Election, tackling social exclusion became a policy priority for the New Labour Government (Belfiore, 2002).<sup>5</sup> The then Prime Minister, Tony Blair, swiftly established the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU)<sup>6</sup> to report on how to develop an integrated and sustained approach to social exclusion across all government departments. Subsequently, the Policy Action Team 10 (PAT 10) was formed to consider how arts and sport could contribute to the social inclusion agenda. The PAT 10 report concluded that ‘arts and sport, cultural and recreational activity, can contribute to neighbourhood renewal and make a real difference to health, crime, employment and education in deprived communities’ (DCMS, 1999:8). Further key documents published by DCMS (2000, 2005) sent a clear message to the museum sector concerning their social purpose and direction (see also Morris, 2000).<sup>7</sup> Museums were expected to demonstrate the contribution they make to social change through measurable indicators of social impact. In this respect they retained the emphasis on demonstrating ‘value for money’ and accountability that was identifiable during the Thatcher years (see Durrer, 2008).

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<sup>5</sup> It should be noted however that tackling social exclusion was one of several different agendas; others include modernisation and regionalisation, see for example Newman, 2001.

<sup>6</sup> Now known as the Social Exclusion Task Force, see [www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/social\\_exclusion\\_task\\_force.aspx](http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/social_exclusion_task_force.aspx) (accessed 19.08.09).

<sup>7</sup> It would be wrong to suggest that the economic impact of museums was no longer of interest, see Anonymous (2000a & 2000b).

The shift towards the socially inclusive museum reinvigorated discussions concerning the value of culture to society, which is a much debated area with a long history. Arguments tend to emphasise either an 'instrumental' or 'intrinsic' value, although there is no firm consensus regarding what each of these constitute (Gibson, 2008). Belfiore (2002) considers that New Labour's use of culture emphasised an instrumental view. However Durrer (2008) suggests that in New Labour policies, both an intrinsic and instrumental value is present. An instrumental view of culture considers culture as a social tool capable of having particular defined impacts, whereas the intrinsic view values culture for its own sake rather than for the social (or economic) value it may have. As Coles suggests (2008: 330), the intrinsic value of culture focuses on the personal way culture is experienced. The intrinsic value is popularly associated with an old fashioned elitist view of culture, neglecting issues of access and inclusion (Holden, 2004: 22-24).

Critics of the instrumental view of culture suggest that this has almost been forced upon cultural organisations at the apparent expense of intrinsic value, with the perception that organisations must demonstrate an instrumental value in order to receive public funds (Holden, 2004: 19). Others perceive the term 'instrumental' as being meaningless and unhelpful: 'Call it culture, call it civilisation – but do not call it instrumental because it is not ancillary to some greater purpose – it is why public cultural institutions exist' (Coles 2008:334). Illustrating that for some, the social benefits of museum visiting is core to what a museum does, rather than simply a way of demonstrating accountability for public funds.

A further criticism of the instrumental view of culture is that many authors consider there to be a lack of evidence to support this association (see for example Appleton, 2001a; Mirza, 2006; Belfiore; Selwood, 2002a). Furthermore, there is little agreement about how best to measure the social impact of museums (see for example Merli, 2002 and Scott, 2002) and even whether it is possible to do so comprehensively. Short term quantitative indicators have been criticised for their inadequacy at reflecting the complexity of the museum experience and the potential long term impacts (Scott, 2002). Similarly qualitative data, although its value is accepted (Selwood, 2002b), has been considered anecdotal and unsubstantiated (Ibid).

The RCMG evaluations occurred within this policy context and represent a clear product of museums being valued against social policy objectives and funding streams. The studies were funded to assess the impact of specific initiatives and to see that government funding was producing value for money. The scale and methods of the evaluations (using both quantitative and qualitative methods) also reflected a research strategy which, as Reeves (2002:38) indicates, there is growing recognition for amongst people working around the 'social dimensions of cultural activity'. In fact, Holden (2006: 35-6) suggests that the methodology used in RCMG evaluations demonstrate an increase in the sophistication of data gathering techniques.

Having introduced the social inclusion agenda and the cultural policy context that the RCMG evaluations are situated in, section 1.3 now turns to the debate concerning



whether museums are agents of social inclusion as the RCMG research findings appear to suggest.

### **1.3. Museums as agents of social inclusion?**

If museums are losing their reputation for being elitist, this is happening only slowly – as is their gaining of a reputation for being relevant (Fleming and Rogers, 2009:74).

#### **1.3.1 The elitist history of the museum**

This section looks first at the discursive history of the museum from the Victorian era onwards, suggesting that an elitist image can to an extent be traced back to this period when the first public museums were opened in Britain (Whitehead, 2005a) However, various shifts in the internal character of the museum sector over the twentieth century have helped to dispel this elitist association, although it is arguable as to the extent to which they have altered wider public perceptions of museums.

Davies (1994:69), for example, argues that the elitist and exclusionary image of museums and galleries is the most important deterrent to visiting today and that this image is ‘deep rooted’ in the collective consciousness of society. In order to understand this perception it is necessary to look back at the development of the museum during the nineteenth century, particularly at how its ‘social mission’ helped to establish this elitist legacy (Merriman, 1991:84). Also, an elitist image, according to Smith (2006, 2009), remains one reason why some individuals visit certain types of museums today.

The history of the museum, as Taylor (1999) indicates, can be told in many different ways to many different ends. However, there is general agreement that the Victorian era marked a new governmental relationship with culture as a tool for social management (see Bennett, 1995, 1988; O'Neill, 2002; Prior, 2002 and Taylor, 1999).

Prior to the Victorian period, museums, based on the encyclopaedic cabinets of curiosities and later the private collections of kings and nobles (for example the Louvre), were publically accessible but in a more limited sense than we would understand the term. The British Museum, for example, was accessible to the public but there was a long and bureaucratic procedure in order to gain entry (Merriman, 1991:85). However, during the Victorian period there emerged a different view concerning public access to museums. This was based on a belief in the civilising effects of culture, whereby museum visiting by all sections of society was actively encouraged for its supposed civilising impact. Henry Cole, first director of the South Kensington Museum famously suggested that in contrast to the Gin Palace which will lead an individual to '...brutality and perdition...' the Museum '...will certainly lead him to wisdom and gentleness' (Cole quoted in Bennett, 1995:21). Considered to be a place where the people could be instructed and find recreation, Bennett (1995) argues, drawing on Foucault's concept of governmentality, that this era signalled the museum's inclusion in a new strategy of directing and regulating the populace.<sup>8</sup> In this respect the nineteenth century public museums were considered in

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<sup>8</sup> Foucault's concept of governmentality can be summarised as the way in which governments endeavour to create suitable citizens for the fulfilment of their specific policies through mechanisms which encourage citizens to act upon themselves, see Foucault in Burchell, 1991.

connection with other regulatory institutions such as courts, prisons and poor-houses (Bennett, 1998:109), as tools for population management.

According to Bennett (2004a:27), culture was employed, not as a tool for promoting morality, but as a way of providing the optimal contexts in order to encourage people to 'act upon themselves'. The idea behind this social role for museums in the Victorian era may have been essentially based on Christian philanthropy (Merriman, 1991:85); but it was premised on an unequal notion of culture presented by the elite minority to the masses. Museums provided a way of promoting acceptance for the authority of the ruling classes (Bennett, 1988:64), as Mason (2004: 53) suggests, '...the lower classes were usually being invited to participate in the culture of their superiors rather than participate on equitable terms'.

It is clear that in the history of the museum, the culture of some groups was regarded as more 'legitimate' than others. In the 1960s, Bourdieu considered this relationship through his theory of 'class reproduction'. In this theory, as in the Victorian period, museums are seen to support and reproduce dominant power structures. They appear (in the western world) as naturally part of the everyday social world, validating how that world is presented through their construction of knowledge in a particular way (Bourdieu and Darbel, 1991). As Duncan suggests:

To control a museum means precisely to control the representation of a community and its highest values. It is also the power to define the relative standing of individuals within that community. Those who are best prepared to

perform its ritual – those who are most able to respond to its various cues – are also those whose identities (social, sexual, racial, etc.) the museum ritual most fully confirms (Duncan, 1995:8-9).

In Duncan's description of the museum, those that can respond to the various cues in the museum and who can interpret its codes are those who have the right form of cultural capital and the ability to operationalise it. Bourdieu (1971: 175) suggests that a person with a lower status profession for example, is unable to differentiate between works of art in a museum without a guide as they are not equipped with, '...this principle of separation and the art of applying it...', therefore the cultural world appears as, 'merely an indeterminate undifferentiated chaos'.

The question remains as to how far this exclusive image of the museum influences the perception of museums by current visitors and non visitors. It can be argued that this image is still very much in the minds of non visitors (Ross, 2002:12), and can act as a deterrent to museum visiting as evidenced by Mori (1999:31).

In contrast, as explored by Laurajane Smith (2006, 2009), for some visitors the 'exclusive' image of particular heritage sites, such as aristocratic country houses, can become a conscious reason *for* visiting. Smith suggests that for a proportion of visitors to country houses, the visit acts as a performance reinforcing their social identities (structured around class), and their place in the world. It is argued that visitors particularly like to think they are associating with 'like people' in the country house venues. There is also minimal interpretation of the objects on display; visitors therefore need, to an extent, to

rely on their existing stocks of cultural capital in order to make sense of what they see. In addition to this, Smith notes that the 'middle class' entrance fees means that there is arguably a prerequisite for visitors to have a certain level of economic capital, therefore excluding a section of people from visiting. Smith's interpretation of why some individuals choose to visit country houses to reaffirm their class identity is however just one reading. It should be recognised that visitors may have other motivations such as nostalgia and a sense of security that interaction with the past may offer (see for example Lowenthal, 1985).

However, in contrast to the notion that museums' association with elitism persists, there have been particular internal shifts in the way that those museums perceive themselves which appear to imbue an inclusive philosophy. For example, the ethos of social inclusion is not new in museums (Sandell, 2000a) and some argue that working within an inclusive frame work has a long history within their organisations (Dodd and Sandell, 2001).<sup>9</sup> The different manifestations of the concept can be traced back in the historical development of the museum. Sandell (2002:20) indicates that the progression of the social inclusion philosophy in museums can be linked to the rise of social history curation and the democratisation of history in the 1980s. Arguably, the idea that social history focuses on the everyday experiences of ordinary people and not exclusively on histories of the rich and famous demonstrates particular inclusive underpinnings.

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<sup>9</sup> For example, Alec Coles (pers. comm.), Director of Tyne and Wear Museums, mentioned that Newcastle-upon-Tyne's Hancock Museum (now part of the Great North Museum in Newcastle) was running inclusive programmes such as dedicated handling sessions for blind visitors and Saturday morning events for children in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The emergence of open air museums<sup>10</sup> and ecomuseums<sup>11</sup> associated with local identity, community and place, were also influential in democratising museums (Davis, 1999, 2005). Davis highlights that the ethos held by these museums has links to a particular shift in museological thinking in the 1980s known as the 'new museology' (see Vergo, 1989 and Stam, 2005). The 'new museology' is a branch of museum studies concerned with the ideas that are central to cultural theory (Mason, 2006). This particularly includes a questioning of the use of museums by government in cultural policy and the influential theories of Foucault (see for example Hooper-Greenhill, 1992). In essence, the 'new museology' encourages museums to think critically about themselves and their role in society, with the warning that by failing to do so they may lose their relevance and become 'living fossils'.<sup>12</sup> The philosophy of social inclusion can therefore be traced through different internal developments in the history of the museum towards the end of the twentieth century.

### ***Attitudes towards the social inclusion agenda***

Attitudes towards the social inclusion agenda in museums vary from those that are strong advocates of it, to those that are confused, indifferent and even angered by it. Public demonstrations of support for the social inclusion agenda can be perceived from within

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<sup>10</sup> Originating in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century in Scandinavia, the history, growth and philosophy of Open Air Museums is outlined by Rentzhog (2007). Open Air Museums are particularly valued for their preservation of local skills, technologies and traditions (ibid).

<sup>11</sup> Ecomuseums can be defined as follows: A museum that is an object and databank for the community, an observatory of change which also helps communities to change, a focal point for meetings, discussions and new initiatives, and finally a showcase for the community and region (Davis, 1999:70).

<sup>12</sup> The 'new museology' made an impact in museological debates across both the United States and Europe, having with slightly different interpretations of the concept (see Davis, 1999:54).

the sector, particularly from committed groups of practitioners and organisations such as the Group for Large Local Authority Museums (GLLAM) (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2000) and the National Museum Directors Conference (2004). The academic literature concerning museums and social inclusion has also begun to investigate what impact museums can actually have in making a difference to people's lives. However, although this field is increasing (see, for example, Newman, 2005 and Newman and McLean, 2004c), it is currently difficult to form a sector wide view of the role social inclusion plays in museums and its impacts.

At the introduction of the social inclusion agenda by the New Labour Government, there was some confusion as to how the museum sector should respond to it. As Sandell (1998) indicates, there was little questioning of the concept and its relevance to museums. Sandell's paper sought to stimulate debate around the subject and to put forward a potential framework through which to view museums' relationship with social inclusion. However, shifts in meaning and focus in the social inclusion agenda within wider government policy, suggest that a lack of clarity has contributed to museums struggling to work out where they fit (see Young, 2002; West and Smith, 2005). Confusion stemmed from multiple factors including, as Newman and Mclean (2004b) highlight, a general lack of policy coherence. The GLLAM report on social inclusion, for example, identified that the diversity of language used to discuss social inclusion and the lack of a wider policy framework were among the factors contributing to a sense of 'fuzziness' around the concept (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2000:53).

Social inclusion work is viewed quite differently by different members of the museum profession. As Dodd and Sandell (2001:8) illustrate:

For some, social inclusion work is based on combating the many forms of social disadvantage...for others, it might describe the philosophy that underpins new approaches to practice based on the process of museum democratization. For others, it might be the rationale for decisions aimed at widening access such as the introduction of evening opening hours.

It also seems that the term has often been mistakenly applied to relate to narrow aspects of museum activity such as outreach,<sup>13</sup> access<sup>14</sup> and audience development,<sup>15</sup> rather than museums reassessing their role in society and setting aside existing agendas (Sandell quoted in Carrington, 1999). In support of this argument, Tlili (2008) suggests that the 'audience development' conception of social exclusion formed the majority opinion amongst participants in a study of workers in the museum sector.

There are also concerns expressed by museum workers that the social inclusion agenda has become mundane, meaningless and simply fashionable (Carrington, 1999). Indeed,

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<sup>13</sup> MLA define 'outreach' for the purposes of Renaissance in the Regions as, museum activities occurring off-site which are facilitated by a member of staff. Loans boxes and touring exhibitions do not count as outreach in this context (but may in others), unless they are accompanied by a member of staff trained by the museum. See [www.mla.gov.uk/what/programmes/renaissance/~media/Files/pdf/2006/renaissance\\_hub\\_results\\_2005\\_06](http://www.mla.gov.uk/what/programmes/renaissance/~media/Files/pdf/2006/renaissance_hub_results_2005_06) (accessed 21.08.09)

<sup>14</sup> Access is a term which is commonly used to refer to ensuring physical and sensory access to museums for those with disabilities. However it also concerns breaking down barriers to intellectual, cultural and economic access (Corsane, 2005: 10).

<sup>15</sup> Dodd and Sandell (1998:6) suggest that audience development is about 'breaking down the barriers which hinder access to museums and 'building bridges' with different groups to ensure their specific needs are met'.



Tlili notes that in his interviews, social inclusion was accepted as part of what museums do but, when questioned, some employees were not sure what it involved for museums:

The question seemed to have dislodged the hard crust of familiarity and obviousness that had formed around the concept of social inclusion, prompting one of them to reflect on the vagueness of the term and the way it had become something of a buzzword within the institution and the sector' (Tlili, 2008:134).

There have also been suggestions that the social inclusion agenda has become too closely connected to sources of funding, with Holden (2004), for example, suggesting this reflects the instrumentalisation of culture (see earlier discussions). Furthermore, Planck (2006) in her survey of social exclusion and temporary exhibitions concluded that the commitment by museums to social inclusion is linked more closely to funding criteria than, '...any more lofty idea of what museum work is about' (Ibid: 37-38).

Other arguments surrounding the idea of the socially inclusive museum appear particularly in the media and seem to focus on the idea that appealing to a wider audience means political correctness, oversimplification and 'dumbing down' (see for example, Appleton, 2001b; Delingpole, 2006; Hume, 2007; Layfield 2003; Moorhead, 2007).

Perhaps the strongest objections to the social inclusion agenda in museums have been mainly vocalised by external critics such as Appleton (2001a) and Mirza (2006) rather than from within the sector itself. For example Appleton (2001a) argues that the people centred museum obscures the original purpose of the museum to collect, study and exhibit objects. Collections are therefore no longer seen as valuable in themselves, for

their rarity or beauty, but rather viewed in terms of their relationships with people (ibid). This, it is assured has led to a decline in scholarship and an increase in the museum's role in the areas of health, social services and education. Appleton also argues that the 'new' function of the museum is ever changing to fit the demands of government or the museum authorities rather than 'the people'. As she puts it:

Nobody outside the cultural elite ever demanded that museums become more accessible, relevant, inclusive, diverse and interactive. All these views were hatched within government and the museums world itself and then projected out on to the public (Appleton, 2001a:23).

Appleton argues that as a result of museums trying to second-guess what 'the people' want, the abilities and understanding of 'the people' are underestimated and only the 'lowest common denominator' is catered for (ibid).

Appleton's arguments received a range of responses from senior museum professionals and academics. Arguing against Appleton, Lowenthal (2001) considers that she has a nostalgic view of the history of museums, questioning whether the function of museums has ever truly been static and argues that museums have always been subject to the agendas of museum authorities.

There are those within the sector that consider that the 'access' agenda, has gone far enough and that the balance should be readdressed in favour of museum collections. Sue

Wilkinson<sup>16</sup> mentioned this issue, indicating that in MLA's view, it is impossible to separate access and inclusion issues from those of collections, such as preserving, researching and documenting of information about objects which are integral to their effective use by members of the public (Sue Wilkinson, MLA, interview 28.03.07).

Saumarez Smith (2001:39) suggests that those in positions of power within the museum sector believe that it is 'a self-evident truth' that museums should be used to tackle social problems. In support of this, there does appear to be very few published vocalisations from ordinary museum staff criticising the social inclusion agenda (Appleton, 2001c). However, Appleton believes that there are many who are opposed to it but who do not speak out (ibid). Andrew Brighton (2003) is an exception to this, as he was senior curator of public programmes at the Tate Modern (although not at the time of writing his 2003 article). Brighton appears opposed to the explicit government intervention in museums that the social inclusion agenda involved. He suggests that this has caused museums more harm than good by involving them in wider social, educational and economic objectives, even though they cannot prove that they actually contribute in these areas.

There is a sense that, even if some museums or museum professionals may not engage fully with the social inclusion agenda, there is still a general awareness of it, suggesting that this concept (with a variety of understandings) has succeeded in filtering into the day to day vocabulary of museums. As Mason (2001:47) suggests, 'there are but few museums that have not sought to make themselves more and more relevant to the world in which we live and the public they serve'.

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<sup>16</sup> Then Head of Policy and Advocacy at the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council

There appears to be much variation between the internal philosophies of museums, meaning that it is difficult to generalise whether museums are seeking to be agents of social inclusion across the board. There is also a further argument that suggests that even if museums want to achieve social inclusion they may not be able to because of the demographic profile of museum visitors (see section 1.3.2) and as evident in Smith (2009, 2006) that some visitors may actively visit museums because of their perceived elitist perception.

### **1.3.2 Museum visitors**

This section considers who visits museums and what can be gauged from this about how socially inclusive museums are. The discussion considers what might influence museum visitation considering, for example, regional variation and also the particular type of museum involved. The section also looks at how museums have sought to broaden their visitor profiles through various strategies including diversifying the museum workforce, introducing free entry and working towards a greater understanding of the potential barriers to museum visiting. These discussions suggest that specific groups are underrepresented in museum visitor profiles and that work is underway in some museums to attract these underrepresented groups. However, it is arguable as to how successful these strategies have been.

The classification of museums as exclusionary places focuses to a large extent on who visits them. Understanding who visits museums has historically occurred through the

visitor survey. However, other than largely counting the number of visitors,<sup>17</sup> it was not until the mid 1960s that surveys started to collect information relating to visitor demographics and visitor experiences (Merriman, 1991:43). More recently, due to increased government funding for museums, particularly the Renaissance in the Regions programme (considered in Chapter 2), the collation of methodologically comparable visitor 'exit surveys' has commenced (see Ipsos Mori, 2004, 2005 and 2006).<sup>18</sup> Before this, as Hooper-Greenhill (2006, 1994) indicates it was questionable as to how comparable museum visitor surveys were with each other due to the different methodologies, aims and objectives of each survey.

Despite inconsistencies, surveys do seem to repeatedly suggest that level of education, socio-economic group, and ethnicity are important variables in predicting likely museum visitors (see RSGB, 1991, Eckstein and Feist 1992, Middleton 1999, 1990 and Trevelyan, 1991). The recent DCMS (Aust and Vine, 2007) '*Taking Part Survey 2005-2006*' and the provisional results from the first six months of the 2008/09 '*Taking Part Survey*' (DCMS, 2009) seem to reinforce the picture that there is less attendance from certain sections of society, including black or minority ethnic groups and those from lower socio-economic groups.<sup>19</sup> The data from visitor surveys suggests that there is unequal use of museums by different segments of society.

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<sup>17</sup> See for example the English Tourist Board (1995) 'Sightseeing in the UK' report.

<sup>18</sup> However, Everitt (2009) in her survey of the data gathered by Hub museums suggests that although there has been an improvement in data gathering generally in the Hub museums, there is still a general lack of consistency in available information and the approach used.

<sup>19</sup> The DCMS (2009) Taking Part survey considers participation of adults aged 16 and over who participate in culture or sport. This is defined as using a public library, museum, gallery or archive at least one in the past

### ***1.3.2.1 Problematising museum visitor surveys***

There are several underlying issues concerning visitor surveys which warrant further discussion as they may affect the exclusionary view of museum visiting such surveys appear to present. For example, most visitor surveys tend to focus mainly on those aged sixteen and over and it is rare in the UK that children below this age are included in surveys prior to those undertaken in the RCMG studies. Inclusion of school children may, as the three RCMG evaluations considered here indicate, offer a very different demographic picture of museum visitors (if the school postcode data gathered in these studies is taken at face value). School groups and young visitors make up a considerable percentage of museum audiences, with over one million school visits in 2006-07 just to museums participating in the Renaissance in the Regions programme, known as Hub museums (Medwen Roberts et al, 2008:17). To exclude these groups from visitor surveys may therefore exclude a large audience which may not support the image of a typical museum visitor.

Middleton (1998) points out the necessity of putting survey data in a wider societal context. For example Davies (1994) suggests that, leaving aside the percentage of visitors from the A/B group, the large omnibus surveys of the early 1990s show that the percentage of visitors to museums from the C1, C2, D and E groups actually closely reflects the percentages of these groups in the UK population as a whole. It is argued, however, whether these statistics have been superseded by more up-to-date surveys, which

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twelve months, engaging in the arts at least three times in the last twelve months, visiting at least two historic sites in the last twelve months, or participating in thirty minutes of moderate intensity level sport and active recreation on three or more days in the past week.

indicate that museum visiting is highest within the more advantaged sections of society (Aust and Vine, 2007).

Large population surveys, although giving a general view of museum audiences, do conceal variations between individual museums and regions. Data gathered from the Hub museum exit surveys (Ipsos Mori, 2004, 2005 and 2006), helps to demonstrate this feature. For example in the 2005 report, the social class of visitors surveyed suggests that the proportion of UK visitors from C2DE groups has not increased since monitoring began in 2003. However, if this is broken down by region, the North East has increased the proportion of visitors from these socio-economic groups even if it is only by a few percentage points (33% in 2003 to 35% in 2005). The percentage of C2DE visitors to the participating museums in the North East is also higher than visits from C2DE groups in London (17% in 2003, 19% in 2004) and the South East (16% in 2003, and 15% in 2004).<sup>20</sup> The lower proportion of C2DE visitors to Hub museums in London and the South East is potentially a reflection of the regional population demographics. However, this supports the need for regional and national considerations of visitor profiles. Demographic information about museum visitors does therefore have to be considered in light of each regional socio-economic context.

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<sup>20</sup> The breakdown of visits by region for each socio-economic group is not available for the 2005 Hub Exit Survey.

### ***1.3.2.2 Type of Museum Collection***

Studies also suggest that the type of collection displayed by the museum can affect the extent to which it is perceived as an exclusionary space. This is often measured by the level of visitor's education or number of visitors from C2DE socio-economic groups.

Research from the early 1970s indicated that archaeology, history, natural science and 'general museums' were associated less with highly educated visitors (Cameron, 1971:22).

Subsequently Mori (1999) have found that social history, local history and national collections appear to attract an equal ratio of visitors in socio-economic group DE to AB visitors, showing their appeal to a greater range of audiences. However, the reasons behind this visitor pattern are unclear. Conversely, art galleries and decorative and fine art collections appear to attract a less diverse audience (Desai and Thomas, 1998).

Fleming (1999:310) described how progress in attracting a wider audience was slower in the Tyne and Wear Museums service art gallery sites as opposed to its other museum venues, suggesting that this is due to negative public perceptions of art which are 'deep seated'. Prior (2002) considers a further possible reason for this perception in line with Bourdieu's theory of practice, suggesting that art is perceived as a symbolic resource through which 'elite' groups distinguish themselves from other social groups. Art may therefore have more 'elitist' connotations which have persevered.

However, some art galleries and decorative/fine art collections recognise this perception and are seeking to change it. For example, the 'envision' programme organised by Engage (the National Association for Gallery Education), supports art galleries to develop all



aspects of their practice and policy, so that museums become more inclusive (Wheeler et al, 2008:6).

However, it is identified that contemporary art particularly remains a problematic area in terms of increasing access to a broader audience, as Engage (2004) indicate. This may be because of its newness and also the exclusive behaviour associated with those who advocate contemporary art. Whitehead (2005b: 91) notes how commentators such as James Cuno, ex director of both the Fogg Art Museum (Harvard University) and the Courtauld Institute in London, consider quite adamantly that art museums cannot be anything other than elitist places by definition.

### ***1.3.2.3 Understanding museum visitors***

The desire to understand why some people visit museums and others do not has developed in the museum studies field, as evidenced through models which consider barriers to access. Dodd and Sandell (1998) for example, consider a range of different barriers and suggest ways for museums to overcome them as illustrated in Table 1.1 (over). Awareness of the barriers outlined in Table 1 have also successfully crossed into museum practice and have been incorporated into museum audience development and strategic plans at a range of different museums, such as Harborough Museum in the East Midlands (Matthews, 2005), and the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (V&A, 2005).

<b>Barriers to access</b>	<b>Issues to consider</b>	<b>Possible approaches to audience development.</b>
Physical	Is our museum building physically accessible? Is it open at times which suit different audiences?	Installation of ramps, handrails and seats.
Sensory	Can our exhibitions, events, and facilities be used by people with hearing or sight impairments?	Objects which can be touched. Varied means of interpretation, such as taped guides, subtitled audiovisual programmes.
Intellectual	Do our displays exclude people with limited prior knowledge of the collections of artists on show? Can people with learning disabilities access our services?	Consult and involve new audiences in the production of exhibitions. Evaluate levels of understanding amongst a range of audience when developing exhibitions.
Financial	Does our admission fee deter people on low incomes? Do our shop and café sell items that families can afford?	Offer free admission on certain days and publicise it widely. Take the museum into the community. Provide free transport. Admit schools and community groups free of charge.
Emotional and attitudinal	Is our museum environment welcoming to new visitors? Do our staff have open attitudes to diversity? Is the style of our publicity inclusive or exclusive?	Staff training. Special events and activities to build confidence among new audiences.
Lack of involvement in decision making	Does our museum consult potential new audiences and value the input of external stakeholders?	Development projects in partnership with audiences. Establish a consultative panel.
Lack of access to information	Does our publicity effectively reach and communicate with new audiences?	Develop new and accessible marketing networks and methods of communication. Publicity and orientation in large print/tape/Braille/different

		languages etc.
Cultural	Do our collections, displays and events reflect the interests and life experiences of our target audience?	Proactive collecting, special exhibitions and events, redisplay with appropriate interpretation.
Technological	Does our use of new media facilitate rather than hinder access for our audiences? Do we exploit new advances in technology to enable access?	Use of assistive technologies.

Table 1.1: Barriers to access (from Dodd and Sandell, 1998).

#### ***1.3.2.4 Demographics of museum staff***

An outward-looking focus, examining who visits museums and understanding their needs, has been paralleled by studies which consider that the internal demographics of museum staff needs to change to more accurately reflect the diversity within the population as a whole (see Sandell, 2000b and Moore, 2001). A survey conducted in 1993 discovered that minority ethnic groups were not only under represented as museum visitors but also within the museum workforce, which was largely white and middle class (Sandell, 2000b:215). Believing that workforce diversity enhances the performance of museums, the Museum Association's 'Diversify' scheme was introduced in 1998 (Nightingale, 2007).

<sup>21</sup> The scheme aims to encourage greater diversity in the museum workforce by

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<sup>21</sup> See [http://www.museumsassociation.org/diversify&\\_IXPOS\\_rhs2](http://www.museumsassociation.org/diversify&_IXPOS_rhs2) for information concerning the diversify scheme. The Arts Council England London and the Independent grant-making body the Esmée Fairbairn foundation have also developed a fellowship programme for applicants from Asian, African or Caribbean cultural heritage. The fellowship is based on a work placement in museum or art gallery (see Stephens, 2006).

introducing positive action traineeships and bursaries to encourage entry into the profession for people of African, Caribbean, Asian or Chinese descent. There have been both positive and negative responses to the Diversify scheme. Mirza (quoted in Nightingale, 2007), for example, expresses her scepticism of the scheme, suggesting that the lack of diversity in the upper tiers of museums and arts organisations is due to a range of factors, 'one of which is that people from ethnic minorities traditionally do not aspire to these sectors because they're not terribly well paid, unlike law or medicine' (ibid: no page number). Conversely the Museum Association consider that the Diversify scheme has enabled a significant number of people to enter the profession who may have found it difficult otherwise (ibid). There is the opinion that schemes to broaden the ethnic mix and socio-economic mix of the museum workforce have made little overall impact to the diversity of the sector (Nightingale, 2006). It is, however, arguably an effect that will take some time to be fully recognised, as trainees establish themselves within the profession.

### **1.3.3 Representation in museums**

This section considers how, through the practices of collecting and exhibiting, museums have been considered as spaces of exclusion. MacDonald (2007), drawing on the theories of Foucault, argues that the production, distribution and consumption of knowledge is always political and permeated with unequal power relations. It is therefore recognised that museums, who are active agents in the shaping of knowledge (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992, 2000), have a strong connection to the distribution of power, empowering some people and disempowering others through the processes of collecting and exhibiting.

Lidchi (1997) explores how objects, texts and visual representations can be used to convey particular meanings, suggesting that museums and galleries act as arbiters of meaning and thus systems of representation (see also Hall, 1997a). For example, Karp and Kratz (2000:194) consider historically, how museums have functioned as a 'comprehensive and encyclopaedic coverage of cultures and culture' (Karp and Kratz, 2000:221) where different cultures are presented in a hierarchy that legitimise a specific construction of 'self' that relies on inequalities of power. For example, often ethnographic displays of 'the other' are placed downstairs in a museum space, whilst European and American collections are situated in a more elevated space, symbolically reminding the visitor of the distinction of legitimacy between these cultures (Karp and Kratz, 2000:194).

Through the histories and narratives that museums tell, they can make some communities/groups and individuals visible and therefore others invisible. For example, recent research has identified groups whose histories were previously underrepresented or inaccurately represented by museums. These have included disabled people (Delin, 2002, Dodd et al 2004a, 2008 Sandell et al, 2005), ethnic minority and religious groups (Desai and Thomas, 1998 and Kaur, 2008), and the gay and lesbian community (Vanegas, 2002). Some museums consider that they have a social responsibility to address this imbalance and have actively sought to redisplay and reinterpret their collections in order to more accurately reflect their audiences. Sandell (2002), for example, considers an exhibition at the Nottingham Castle Museum of ethnographic and military material which was subsequently replaced with the 'Circle of Life' exhibition. The original display dated from the 1970s and had an evident colonial reading. However, the new display dispelled

the notion of 'them' and 'us' by considering the different stages of life from the position of a variety of local communities. Objects were chosen to represent the diversity of the local population, including the traditional dress of a Hindu bride and groom, and other objects loaned from the local Jewish, Lithuanian, and Ghanaian communities.

The desire to acknowledge that museums have a social responsibility towards representing their communities can be seen as part of a broader shift in communication practices in museums that Hooper-Greenhill (2000:138) associates with the 'cultural turn' in social and cultural theory. The 'cultural turn' renegotiates the relationship between the museum and its audiences; it recognises that meanings associated with cultural objects are diverse, unfixed and shifting over time. This shift requires that museums redefine their relationship with audiences, listening critically and making alternative narratives available (ibid: 140). This stands in contrast to the 'transmission' approach of the modernist museum, where visitors were seen as passive receptors and museums transmitted knowledge about fixed cultural forms to these 'empty vessels waiting to be filled' (ibid: 125, see also Hooper-Greenhill, 2004a).

It is, however, unclear whether this shift in representational practices can be seen in all museums. Equally, as Stephens (2009:22) remarks, permanent exhibitions cannot be changed quickly (presumably for practical and financial reasons), and therefore he argues, 'museums are prisoners of past collecting and can only display yesterday's identity'. Arguably this is not necessarily the case, but Stephens makes a valid point about the speed at which it is possible for some museums to realistically update their permanent galleries in order to reflect a more open audience relationship.

This section has argued that museums as systems of representation may help to reinforce exclusionary practices by failing to represent different sections of society through what they collect and display and through their interpretation strategies. However, as part of the 'cultural turn', there is evidence to suggest that museums are in a process of redefining their relationship with audiences and beginning to open up to the different needs and representations of their communities, recognising that as arbiters of meaning they are in a position that can validate particular power/knowledge relations. It is, however, unclear whether museums as a whole have engaged with this shift and whether, in some cases, this lack of engagement may be due to resourcing difficulties (e.g. staff, money) as well as the internal philosophy of individual museums.

#### **1.4 Conclusion to section 1.3**

Section 1.3 has considered several important ways that museums have acquired an elitist image, by exploring the history of the museum and who visits museums, along with who and what museums represent. There is evidence to suggest that some museums are successfully counteracting this elitist perception acting as agents of social inclusion. However, overall, the discussion has emphasised that there is much variation in how inclusive different organisations are and how sincerely some museums have committed to the inclusion agenda. O'Neill (2008: 292) expresses this variation when he suggests

...some museum professionals have taken the rhetoric of social impact seriously and worked to realize its ideals (within the psychological and sociological understandings of their time). Others deployed it to conjure a sense of social

relevance and/or to bolster bids for funding, without any sense that it required action.

Arguments presented here also suggest that there may be variables other than the individual museum's ethos, such as where the museum is located and the type of collection it displays, such variables may also have an impact on how inclusive that organisation is. The museum sector as a whole therefore appears to present a picture where a sense of inclusivity and exclusion are simultaneously present. Authors such as Morris and Spurrier (2009) and Fleming and Rogers (2009) infer that moving from being elitist to inclusive organisations is occurring only very slowly. The findings of the RCMG evaluations may therefore provide significant evidence which contributes to this sense of movement away from an elitist perception of museums towards one of inclusion. The following chapters therefore aim to consider whether this is the case.

## **1.5 Thesis aims and objectives**

This thesis has two main research aims. Using the RCMG evaluations, the social geography of school visits to museums will be examined, in order to consider why high proportions of visits are made by schools located in some of the most deprived areas of England. The impacts of these visits will also be explored, considering the effects of museum visits for schools, teachers and pupils and whether or not this contributes to social inclusion.

The RCMG evaluations revealed some surprising results with possible far reaching implications regarding the kind of audiences museums are attracting and the possible effects that they can have on those that visit. However, there was insufficient time in the



original research projects to explore the geography of the findings in any further detail and suggest potential explanations for it. The first objective therefore is to conduct in-depth analysis of the museum school visits data gathered by RCMG. This analysis will consider whether the geography of school visits to museums found in the RCMG evaluations, can be considered an artefact of the particular measure of deprivation used to classify school postcodes. It will also consider other potential explanations of the geography of school visits by considering the museum-school relationship, particularly museum catchment areas, the effect of museum type and the existence of particular museums' targeting strategies.

The second objective considers the relationship between area data and school specific indicators of deprivation, such as the proportion of children eligible for free school meals. All analysis based on aerially aggregated data is susceptible to the so called ecological fallacy and this will be addressed by considering the percentage of pupils eligible for Free School Meals (FSM), which is a school level measure. A deprivation ranking based on pupil home postcode is also considered, as school might be located in an area classified as deprived but its designated 'catchment area' may encompass very little of the deprived area or extend into adjacent areas where deprivation is low.

The final objective is to develop case studies of school visits to museums in order to explore whether museums may have an impact on social inclusion. It may be the case that visiting museums may not have impacts that link to social inclusion. Schools have been selected that are both located in areas of deprivation and intended to visit a museum. Museum visit observation was accompanied by interviews with museum staff, teachers

and pupils. These interviews explored the learning aims and outcomes of museum visits, the social background of the children who went on the visit and the views and attitudes of teachers, museum staff and pupils.

## **1.6 Thesis structure**

Chapter 1 (this chapter), has presented the cultural policy context of the RCMG evaluations and also situated them within debates concerning the socially inclusive museum.

Chapter 2 introduces the RCMG evaluations, exploring their methodology, aims and main findings. The chapter also discusses the Renaissance in the Regions and the Strategic Commissioning programmes as these are the funding initiatives that the RCMG evaluations assessed.

Chapter 3 focuses on the concept of social exclusion and how this differs from other similar concepts. It considers how social exclusion is commonly measured through indices of multiple deprivation and questions whether these indices accurately describe the social exclusion experience.

Chapter 4 introduces the main theoretical argument presented in the thesis. Taking Bourdieu's notions of capital as a starting point, it theorises social exclusion drawing on the concepts of economic, social cultural and emotional capital. The chapter sets up a theoretical framework through which the qualitative data will then be interpreted in Chapter 8.

Chapter 5 presents the methodology used to explore the geography of school visits to museums and their potential impact on social inclusion. The thesis uses a mixed methods approach using both quantitative and qualitative data. A case study methodology is also employed involving participant observations and semi-structured interviews with school teachers, museum staff and pupils.

Chapter 6 is the first of two chapters which present the analysis of quantitative data. It investigates firstly whether the geography of school visits to museums can be explained as an artefact of the particular index of deprivation used, by applying two alternative neighbourhood classifications, the Townsend Index and Experian Mosaic, to the RCMG data. This chapter also addresses the ecological fallacy by examining the geography of school visits using free school meals and deprivation scores based on pupil postcodes.

Chapter 7 presents a discussion of the social geography of school visits to museums, considering the different relationships between schools and museums which may help to understand the pattern of school visits to museums.

Chapter 8 uses the framework introduced in Chapter 4 to examine how economic, social, cultural and emotional capital are present to varying degrees in school visits to museums and how they interact with each other. Through the different forms of capital the ways in which museums may impact on social inclusion is considered.

Chapter 9 concludes the thesis by drawing together the strands of discussion. The importance of considering the relative location of museums to areas of deprivation is emphasised and this adds an additional layer of understanding to the contribution that

museums can make to social inclusion. This chapter also reflects on the research methodology used in the thesis drawing conclusions about the advantages and disadvantages of using particular data sources. The limitations of the study and areas for future research are also reviewed.

## **1.7 Conclusion**

Chapter 1 has served the dual function of introducing the aims and objectives of this study and placing it within the relevant museological and cultural policy context. Museums' relationship to the social inclusion agenda has been established and problematised through discussions of museums' elitist image. This image is particularly relevant to the RCMG research findings as they potentially challenge the notion of museums as exclusionary places. This argument will be addressed in Chapter 9 of this thesis. The following chapter now introduces the Renaissance in the Regions and Strategic Commissioning programmes which were the focus of the RCMG evaluations. Further details are also given about the nature of the RCMG evaluations themselves, including the methodology they used and a summary of their main research findings.

## Chapter 2: The RCMG evaluations

### 2.1 Introduction

The Research Centre for Museums and Galleries (RCMG) has to date conducted four large scale evaluations of government investment in the area of museum education, which stemmed from the Renaissance in the Regions and the Strategic Commissioning programmes. This study considers the particular outcomes of three of these evaluations. The full titles and short hand names that will be used hereon are given in Table 2.1 below:

Evaluation number	Publication name	Shorthand name
1	<b><i>What did you learn at the museum today?</i></b> The evaluation of the impact of the Renaissance in the Regions Education Programme in the three Phase One Hubs (August, September and October 2003)	RR1
2	<b><i>What did you learn at the museum today? Second Study.</i></b> Evaluation of the outcomes and impact of the Education Programme Delivery Plan across nine Regional Hubs (2005), June 2005-February 2006.	RR2
3	<b><i>Inspiration, Identity, Learning: The Value of Museums.</i></b> The evaluation of the impact of DCMS/DfES, <sup>22</sup> Strategic Commissioning 2003-2004: National/Regional Museum Education Partnerships June 2004. <sup>23</sup>	DCMS/DfES

Table 2.1: The RCMG evaluations included in this study and their shorthand names (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2004b, 2004d, 2006b).

<sup>22</sup> The DfES (the government Department for Education and Skills) was renamed the Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF) in June 2007. However, for the sake of consistency with the RCMG evaluations the name DfES will be retained in this study.

<sup>23</sup> The fourth RCMG evaluation (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2007), which was the second evaluation of the DCMS/DfES Strategic Commissioning national/regional partnerships is not included in this study because it was commissioned and published when this study was underway.

The RR1 and RR2 evaluations were both commissioned by the Museums Libraries and Archives Council (MLA), a non-departmental public body (NGPB) which was responsible for implementing and managing the Renaissance in the Regions programme. The third RCMG evaluation considered here, was commissioned by DCMS/DfES. It focused on evaluating the Strategic Commissioning programme. Importantly, both the Renaissance in the Regions and the Strategic Commissioning programmes involved a funding partnership between two government departments: the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), and the then Department for Education and Skills (DfES). The co-funding of these two programmes may appear to be unusual; however it can be seen as part of DfES' continued support of the educational role of museums.

This chapter is in two parts, the first introduces the Renaissance in the Regions (hereon, Renaissance) and Strategic Commissioning programmes, and considers their main priorities. The second part looks specifically at the details of the RCMG evaluations, situating the research finding outlined in Chapter 1 alongside the other outcomes of these evaluations.

## **2.2 Renaissance in the Regions**

The Renaissance programme represented the first time that central government funding has been specifically invested in England's regional museums.<sup>24</sup> Funding for the programme began in 2002, following the publication of the *Renaissance in the Regions: A*

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<sup>24</sup> Lawley (2003:75) considers that local authorities are the most significant funder of registered museums in the UK, with 40% funded by them in 2003. However; others may be independently funded by individuals, charities, organisations or trusts.

*new vision for England's museums* report (Resource, 2001). This report was the outcome of a Task Force set up by the then Minister for Culture, Media and Sport, Chris Smith, responding to increasing media coverage about the state of regional museums.<sup>25</sup> At that time, these museums were considered to be in a state of underfunding and neglect, unable to fulfil their potential and respond to government priorities. Subsequently, at a meeting of senior members of the museum community at the Royal Academy of Arts in December 2000, the formation of the Renaissance Task Force was announced. The Task Force had two main aims: to assess the current situation in regional museums and to suggest a way forward.

### **2.2.1 Findings of the Renaissance Report**

The Renaissance report identified a number of problems experienced by regional museums including lack of national strategy, low morale among staff and the decline of collections expertise (Resource 2001: 18-21). The Task Force also developed a vision for the future of the sector, asserting that museums had the potential to play a much larger role in society. This report suggested that the 21<sup>st</sup> century museum should aim to:

- become an important resource and champion for learning and education;
- promote access and inclusion;
- contribute to economic regeneration in the region;
- use collections to encourage inspiration and creativity;

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<sup>25</sup> Particularly the director of the Tate Gallery Sir Nicholas Serota's Dimpleby Lecture entitled '*Who's afraid of modern art*' in November 2000. A transcript of the lecture can be found at [http://web.archive.org/web/20010306001212/http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/news\\_comment/dimpleby.shtml](http://web.archive.org/web/20010306001212/http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/news_comment/dimpleby.shtml)

- ensure excellence and quality in the delivery of core services;
- implement modernisation and rationalisation;
- measure outputs, outcomes and benefits

(Resource, 2001:35-69).<sup>26</sup>

The report gave equal significance to each of the above priorities. The priorities also appeared to echo several contemporary government agendas, particularly education, social inclusion, modernisation and decentralisation (see Lawley, 2003, Newman, 2000, 2001, Cabinet Office, 1999, Wood, 2001, McCaig, 2001).

To implement these aims, the Task Force recommended the introduction of a network of regional Hubs in each of the nine government regions. Each Hub would consist of partnerships of three or four regional museums, with one museum as lead partner. The Hubs would then be developed to promote excellence and leadership amongst the museums in that region, working closely with other organisations such as university museums and regional strategic agencies to deliver the Renaissance vision. The Hub framework would also be supported regionally by a network of combined strategic regional agencies for museums, libraries and archives, replacing the existing Area Museum Councils (AMCs).

The Task Force considered that an investment of £267.2 million would allow the Renaissance vision to become reality, enabling regional museums to be transformed and

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<sup>26</sup> Wilkinson (2009:10) indicates that these aims do not form the whole Renaissance vision in its entirety, as there are some general suggestions made elsewhere in the report.



equipped to deliver government objectives (Resource, 2001:90). In order to make the most of this investment the Task Force stressed that the sector would need to be prepared for modernisation and reform, particularly concerning museums' organisational culture which had been identified as one of the main barriers to change (Resource, 2001:58).

The report was initially well received across the sector, although doubts were expressed about particular aspects of the vision, such as a perceived lack of benefits for certain groups of museums and also concern around the remit of the regional agencies (see Davies, 2002; Morris, 2002a; Heywood, 2002; Flude, 2002). The possibility of large government investment in the sector appeared to have the backing of the key sector representatives. Sam Mullins, for example, then chairman of the Association of Independent Museums (AIM), urged the members of the Association to support the programme, '...if funded and implemented, [it] would be a huge step forward' (AIM, 2001).

By December 2002 it was confirmed that government would commit £70 million to the programme for the period 2002-2006 (Morris, 2002b). £10 million of this funding was to be ring fenced for delivering museum education programmes with an additional £2.2million contributed by DfES.<sup>27</sup> This significantly smaller investment (a shortfall of £195 million), meant that the Renaissance vision could not be implemented in full as outlined in the Task Force report. The sum proposed in the report had included money for

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<sup>27</sup> There is some confusion as to the sum ring-fenced for the education strand of Renaissance, as the Renaissance Review Advisory Group indicates that this was £15m whereas the figure of £10m is suggested by Wilkinson (2007).

exhibitions, capital investment in displays, marketing initiatives, ICT programmes, local tourism initiatives, and creativity programmes. These initiatives were now cut from the vision altogether (Wilkinson, 2007:4). It was also decided that instead of bringing in a framework of Hub museums across the whole country there would, because of the reduced funding, be a phased implementation of these Hubs in specific regions only, so that:

- the full Renaissance vision would be achieved in some regions;
- the Phase One Hubs would demonstrate the results of the investment, thereby making a case for full funding of the rest of the programme;
- the Phase One Hubs could act as ‘pathfinders,’ testing approaches that could then be implemented in the Phase Two Hubs (Wilkinson, 2007:3).

Some of the Renaissance programme’s aims also had to be prioritised over others.

However, which particular aims were carried forward appears to be a source of confusion, as a review of the Renaissance programme in 2005 indicated (Kinghurst Consulting Group et al, 2005 and Taylor, 2003). A number of consistent messages emerged from the museum staff consulted for this review, including the need to clarify the Renaissance vision and clearly articulate its priorities:

Many of those consulted were concerned that either the Renaissance vision lacked coherence as the programme had developed, were unclear what that vision was, or were uncertain as to whether or not it had changed from that articulated in the original Task Force report in September 2001

(Kinghurst Consulting Group et al, 2005: 4).

In 2008, a further appraisal of Renaissance was commissioned by MLA to guide the direction of the future of the programme. This review panel also came to a similar conclusion,

It was inevitable that the implementation of Renaissance would depart from the Task force's proposals. But unfortunately, MLA has never produced a formal, forward plan setting out which of the Task Force's proposals it accepted, which it rejected, and what it hoped the various strands would achieve... (The Renaissance Review Advisory Group, 2009:38).

In the Renaissance report, the Task Force specified that 'Alongside learning, the two biggest challenges that museums and galleries need to address in their community are social inclusion and cultural diversity' (Resource, 2001:43). Arguably, the education strand of Renaissance became the programme's main focus, as will be discussed. However, an emphasis on social inclusion could also be observed occurring in varying degrees as the programme was implemented, although social inclusion was rather more of an implied priority than an explicit one. The following section focuses on the confusion concerning

what Renaissance's priorities were in practice, and how they shifted and changed over time.

### **2.2.2 Renaissance priorities.**

The documentation available from MLA provided little in the way of critical intelligence. It was not always able to deduce why Renaissance's priorities had evolved as they did

(Renaissance Review Advisory Group, 2009:8).

Although the priorities of Renaissance are not specifically identifiable from the Hub selection criteria which primarily focused on the 'stature and reach' of the applicants (Wilkinson, 2009 see also Morris, 2002c), they are of interest when considering the importance of the social inclusion agenda. The Hub museum applications were assessed against the following five criteria (see Table 2.2) developed by MLA:<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> The Renaissance in the Regions report suggested that a weighted ranking system should be developed to select the Hubs, using criteria very similar to the five listed here (Resource, 2001: 117). It is unclear whether this weighted ranking system was then applied during the selection process.

Criteria	Description
Status	Hub members had to be registered museums, represent high status collections, include designated collections and reflect regional, national or international collecting, be able to demonstrate high standards in collections management, have a track record of research, be recognised as centres of expertise, have a history of using collections to support lifelong learning and audience development.
Location	The lead partner of the Hub must be located in a place with acknowledged status as a regional or sub regional centre; in a significant population centre. The Hub partners should reflect the geographical breadth of the region, considering the regions demography and cultural diversity. They should also have the potential to impact on areas ranked within the top 100 district level indices of deprivation 2000.
Infrastructure and capacity	The museum should have no less than 75,000 visits per annum in the five years leading up to Renaissance. The lead partner should have evidence of successfully leading collaborations with other museums. The Hub should demonstrate it has organisational capacity and, at the level of governing body will undertake the change needed for the programme. The Hub should demonstrate that they both have had appropriate financial arrangements for managing public funds and managers with the necessary skills and experience necessary.
Commitment	Hubs must be committed to contributing to national and regional agendas, <sup>29</sup> modernisation and change, maintaining core investment and funding, working in a consultative and consensual manner and providing activities across the range of subject matter.
External Endorsement	Hubs had to show how they had contributed to regional strategies, have endorsement from their governing bodies, regional agencies and other museums in the region (Resource, 2002:2-4).

Table 2.2 Hub Application Key Criteria (Resource, 2002).

Arguably, the criteria for selection of Hub museums are fairly specific and would have greatly restricted which organisations could apply. For example, under the ‘status’ criteria,

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<sup>29</sup> Resource (2002) specify that in particular these should be in the areas of learning, access, social inclusion, tourism and regeneration.

there are only 131 designated collections in England's non-national museums, libraries and archives, which means many museums would not be eligible for Hub status.<sup>30</sup> The selection criteria do hint at what MLA aimed to achieve through Renaissance at that particular stage of the implementation process. In terms of the social inclusion agenda, it is potentially significant to this study that one of the selection criteria is 'location,' as the location of the selected Hub museums may have influenced the audiences that they attracted and therefore the schools that visited them. The location criterion also specified that the Hub museums should have the 'potential to impact' in areas of high deprivation (Resource, 2002). Potentially therefore, MLA may have considered that by selecting museums that were located in the same physical space as communities at risk of social exclusion, they were maximising the potential to engage with these groups.

However, due to the reprioritisation of the Renaissance goals after the announcement of a shortfall in government investment, the nine Hubs selected (see Appendix 1 for a list of the Hub museums) went through a further selection process to be included as one of only three Phase One Hubs.<sup>31</sup> Significant responsibility to deliver results and, therefore, to help to secure more funding from DCMS, rested with the Phase One Hubs. Thus MLA needed to select Hubs who could demonstrate that their own vision was already closely aligned with the Renaissance vision and were therefore most likely to show success quickly. The

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<sup>30</sup> The MLA's designation scheme recognises a collection as designated if it is considered to be of international or national importance, see [www.mla.gov.uk/what/raising\\_standards/designation](http://www.mla.gov.uk/what/raising_standards/designation) (accessed 22.08.09).

<sup>31</sup> The Phase One Hubs were the focus of the first RCMG evaluation, Hooper-Greenhill et al (2004a).

selection of the Phase One Hubs was made by an expert panel assessing Hubs against eight criteria:

- Expert panel's rating of the Hub's credibility;
- Number of designated collections held by the Hub and in the region as a whole;
- Number of visits to Hub applicants;
- Deprivation;
- Rurality;
- General state of regional infrastructure;
- Commitment to partnership;
- Co-operative Hub working,

(MLA, no date, a).

Many of these requirements appear similar to the criteria used for initially selecting the Hub museums and it is unclear how they differ significantly from these initial selection criteria. However, it does appear that the Hub museum's location was now considered both in terms of deprivation as it was in the initial criteria, but now also rurality. The Renaissance Strategy Group indicated that the inclusion of rurality as a criterion reflected the DCMS priority to make collections more accessible both socially and spatially with recognition of both issues of deprivation and the problems of access for rural communities (Wilkinson, 2007:15). There are however clear variations among rural areas and within districts characterised as deprived and the identification of such criteria might be viewed as rather underspecified. Similar comments might be said about the expert panel's rating

of the Hub's credibility as it has not been specified what this encompassed. This is significant given that the Renaissance Review Advisory Group (2009) analysis of notes taken at the original assessment panel's meeting suggest that this criterion was given the greatest weighting during the selection process.

Furthermore, again implying that the way in which Phase One Hubs were selected was rather blurred, there are some discrepancies between what the Renaissance Strategy Group consider to be criteria for selecting Phase One Hubs and what was published on the MLA website. The Renaissance Strategy Group does not seem to have included commitment to partnerships and co-operative Hub working, whereas it does appear to have included a criterion based on an expression of support from the Hub museums funding bodies (ibid). Thus, overall it is somewhat unclear as to how the Phase One Hubs were selected.

Once announced, Phase One Hubs<sup>32</sup> were asked to prepare plans outlining how they would deliver against the MLA's priority areas. Very little explanatory information is given about these priority areas and on the MLA website<sup>33</sup> they were outlined simply as:

- creating a comprehensive service to schools;
- reaching a wider community;
- developing a programme for the re-display of the permanent collections;
- enhancing the care, management and conservation of the collections;
- improving access to knowledge and information;

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<sup>32</sup> The Phase One Hubs were the North East, West Midlands and the South West.

<sup>33</sup> [www.mla.gov.uk](http://www.mla.gov.uk)



- developing the workforce;
- reaching/implementing existing standards and frameworks;
- ensuring that the Hubs operate in the most effective and efficient way to deliver high quality services to users,

(MLA, no date, a).

The priority areas appear to be broad in focus, and social inclusion is not specifically mentioned, rather it is implied through priority areas such as 'reaching a wider community'. Noticeably absent from MLA's priorities is the aim of increasing museums' contributions to economic regeneration, which was one of the Task Force's original priority areas. Economic regeneration did re-emerge in the 2006/8 Renaissance programme guidance, as the Renaissance Review Advisory Group (2009: 42) indicates. However, the emphasis given to economic regeneration had shifted away from the Task Force's original focus to one influenced by contemporary government priorities, 'By that time, its emphasis was on socially focused neighbourhood renewal and community cohesion agendas, in line with government priorities that had evolved in the intervening years' (Ibid: 42).

Overall, the Renaissance programme had three government departments as stakeholders: DCMS was the main funder of the Renaissance programme, with DfES as co-funder, while arguably the Treasury was also involved, as the department with overall responsibility for the investment of public funds. The later department would be the body that the MLA and DCMS would need to convince in order to release funding for the Renaissance programme (Sue Wilkinson, MLA, Interview, 28.03.08). It is not surprising then that the Review

Advisory Group (2009) reported that the priorities of these departments distorted the original Renaissance vision. For example, in 2003/04, DCMS set two main PSA targets focusing on increasing contacts with children and other under-represented groups, which became targets for Hub museums to deliver on by specifically:

- 1) an increasing in the number of contacts between children and regional Hub museums by 25% by 2005/06;
- 2) add 500,000 new-user visits to regional museums by 2005/06, predominantly from social class C2, D and E and ethnic minorities (MLA, 2006: 3).

Arguably it was particularly important to deliver on the first of these PSA targets in the Renaissance programme, as the DfES was co-funder. Perhaps recognising this, the first of MLA's own priority areas for the Phase One Hubs (see above), was to develop a comprehensive service to schools. In the original Renaissance report, for museums to become an important resource for learning was also a priority area. However, it is arguable that this priority area seemed to be raised to even greater significance during the implementation of Renaissance and as the Renaissance Review Advisory Group (2009:41) suggest:

Despite the fact that Renaissance was conceived as a 'comprehensive programme', DCMS and DfES ring-fenced £15m<sup>34</sup> for schools education. Their insistence that 50% of Renaissance's funding should be committed to education outputs skewed its ethos and direction. Although the 2003/4 guidance emphasised eight

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<sup>34</sup> See footnote 7, this chapter.

‘Renaissance priority areas’, education was one of only three priority areas applied to the Phase 2 Hubs.

Wilkinson (2009: 6) also notes that, concerning the relationship with government departments, DCMS and DfES had a larger than may have been expected influence over the Renaissance programme. This influence, Wilkinson notes, resulted in the programme moving further away from its original priorities and towards an emphasis on education outputs (Ibid).

As further evidence concerning the prioritisation of the education strand of Renaissance, in a letter from the then Secretary of State for Culture, Tessa Jowell, to MLA, which accompanied the Renaissance Funding, it was outlined that the funding should be used to,

- i) build capacity in regional museums;
- ii) modernise the museums;
- iii) deliver on DCMS’s strategic priorities around children and communities;
- iv) deliver a new national strategic partnership for museum education (Wilkinson, 2007:2-3).

As these four priorities appear to indicate, in the Secretary of State’s view, the Renaissance funding was invested in museums in order to both modernise museums, a priority that connected to a broader government wide modernisation agenda (Lawley, 2003; Newman, 2000) and to also develop a sector that was able to contribute to DCMS

priority areas around education, children and communities. Although not specifically mentioned, the social inclusion agenda may also be implicit in the last two priorities. In summary, the Renaissance programme, initially designed to be wide-ranging in the developments it proposed to transform the regional museum sector, largely focused on its education strand, focusing particularly on developing a comprehensive service to schools and broadening access to underrepresented groups. Indeed, Sue Wilkinson (MLA, Interview, 28.03.08) commented that, 'the first and the biggest [expectation of Renaissance]... was around participation...increasing participation and creating this sense of entitlement...' This priority appears to have eclipsed many others. Indeed, some proposals for example economic regeneration, which had been included in the original Renaissance vision, failing to appear at all in the list of initial MLA priority areas.

It can be argued that the predominant theme of Renaissance was a broad vision to modernise regional museums and increase their profile, although perhaps these elements occurred more in the background. Certainly when the MLA reviewed the achievements of Renaissance to date, impacts surrounding change in museum culture generally appear secondary to those concerning the improvements in schools programmes and broadening audiences:

Visitor figures in Renaissance museums have increased, school services are vastly improved, and there is increased usage by people from hard to reach groups... Sustained funding will help complete the comprehensive transformation that the original Task Force visualised. This will ensure museums continue to develop as

confident, ambitious institutions, focused on continuous improvement, equipped to articulate the value they create for society (MLA, 2009).

Social inclusion is also, to an extent, present in this assessment and was an implied priority of Renaissance as it came to be implemented. It is primarily visible through priorities that have been developed to increase participation for school children and underrepresented groups. However, it does appear that there may have been some strategic thinking surrounding the selection of Hub museums, especially those with a potential to reach deprived and rural communities. Nevertheless, other than this consideration of location as potentially broadening audiences, the connection to deprivation and rurality was not taken forward explicitly into MLA's Renaissance priorities. The following section now introduces The Strategic Commissioning Programme, which also focused on broadening access to museums for school children and underrepresented groups.

### **2.3 The Strategic Commissioning Programme**

The Strategic Commissioning programme ran alongside the Renaissance programme and was designed to be complementary, targeting children and the national curriculum. Two million pounds was made available from DCMS and DfES to fund partnership projects between DCMS sponsored national museums<sup>35</sup> and regional museums. A further £0.6 million was made available from DCMS alone for community building projects (Stewart, 2003).

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<sup>35</sup> National Museums were not specifically included in the Renaissance programme.

As well as contributing to the Renaissance programme, the DfES had previously demonstrated a belief in the contribution museums can make to learning with the establishment in 2000 of the Museums and Galleries Education Programme (MGEP), by the DCMS and the then Department for Education and Employment (DfEE). The funding of the Strategic Commissioning programme in 2003-2004 and again in 2006-2007 was a further expression of this belief in the value of museums.

There is little available documentary evidence outlining the thinking behind the programme and its priorities. However, in a letter (Stewart, 2003) and accompanying guidance notes (DCMS, 2003) from DCMS and DfES to all directors of DCMS sponsored museums, regional agencies and regional Hub museum directors, the museums were invited to bid for funds to support the DCMS' strategic priorities of increasing access to museums for children and young people and for building communities.

As a result of this application process, 12 partnership projects were funded, receiving between £50,000 and £350,000 each (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2004b: 6). As Hooper-Greenhill (2007:73) suggests, the partnership projects were ambitious and some involved multiple strands. Partners had the flexibility to pick themes that interested them and, as a result, a diverse set of projects was funded, ranging from projects concerning the transatlantic slave trade to processes of animation (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2004d: 37-73).<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> See Appendix 4 for a list of the Strategic Commissioning projects and their partnership museums.

The Strategic Commissioning programme was designed to fit with Renaissance priorities, particularly, as noted previously, with broadening access for children and communities (Renaissance Review Advisory Group, 2009). A similar programme of creating national/regional partnerships had been suggested by the Renaissance Task Force as part of the original Renaissance vision (Resource, 2001: 133). However, the emphasis on partnership-working with national museums appears, to a large extent, to have been lost in the implementation of the Renaissance vision. There are definite similarities between the national/regional partnerships outlined in the original Renaissance report and The Strategic Commissioning partnerships. However, the two programmes are not the same. The national/regional partnerships in the Renaissance vision would have had a much broader remit than the Strategic Commissioning partnerships, including the opportunity for the exchange of staff between national and regional museums. Another benefit of the partnerships, as espoused in the Renaissance report, would be to increase public access to collections held in the national museums by allowing them to be displayed in regional museums. This would create opportunities to share expertise and ideas, and to foster greater creativity and innovation in public programming (Ibid).<sup>37</sup>

The Strategic Commissioning programme had a clear social inclusion and learning agenda, aimed at encouraging active citizenship and positioning museums as agencies capable of making a positive social impact (Ibid). However, The Strategic Commissioning programme was on a much smaller-scale than Renaissance and did not claim to offer the

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<sup>37</sup>Keith (2007) suggests that public programming in museums can refer to any participatory educational activities that are offered to the visiting public, either free or for an additional charge, often as an enhancement to an exhibition or object on display.

comprehensive strategy for large scale modernisation that Renaissance did.<sup>38</sup> It may though have contributed to this agenda by encouraging museums to modernise (using national museums as catalysts) and also show greater accountability for the public funds they receive. Indeed, like the Renaissance Hubs, the Strategic Commissioning projects were required to deliver measurable results and commit to carrying out evaluation. Implicit in this modernisation agenda was the need for organisational change: by particularly specifying partnership working, a common strategy in New Labour governance and reform (Newman, 2001),<sup>39</sup> the Strategic Commissioning programme required organisations to embrace new working practices.<sup>40</sup>

Having now introduced both the Renaissance and Strategic Commissioning Programmes this discussion moves on to consider the RCMG evaluations of these programmes, looking at their aims, methodology and results.

## **2.4 The RCMG Evaluations**

### **2.4.1 Participating museums**

Each of the three RCMG evaluations considered here gathered data from a number of different participating museums in England. The RR1 evaluation involved 36 museums located in the three Phase One Renaissance Hubs: the North East, West Midlands and South West (see Figure 2.1 below and Appendix 2).

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<sup>38</sup> Although as we have seen Renaissance's main priorities arguably were not as broad as the original Renaissance report intended.

<sup>39</sup> See DCMS (2005) concerning the importance of partnership working for the museum sector specifically.

<sup>40</sup> However it should be noted that some partnership working did occur between regional and national museums before the Strategic Commissioning programme, see Barnard (2000).





Figure 2.1: Renaissance in the Regions Phase One Hubs.

The RR2 evaluation included the same 36 museums as well as a sample of the museums located in the Renaissance Phase Two Hubs. These now included museums from the South East, London, the East of England, East Midlands, Yorkshire, and the North West. These museums were chosen because of their high levels of use by schools (Hooper-Greenhill et

al, 2006a:3), which is an important point to emphasise as it may have an influence on the outcomes of the evaluations. In total there were 69 museums participating in the RR2 study (see Figure 2.2 and Appendix 3).



Figure 2.2: Renaissance in the Regions Hub museums (all Hubs)

Finally, the DCMS/DfES evaluation focused on 12 projects led by one national museum in partnership with between one and five regional museums or museum services.<sup>41</sup> Figure 2.3 shows the museums involved with the DCMS/DfES project and Appendix 4 outlines summary details of the 12 projects and their partners. Note that there were some museums that took part in more than one of the evaluations. Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, for example, took part in RR1, RR2 and DCMS/DfES, Sunderland Museums and Winter Garden, took part in RR1, RR2 and DCMS/DfES, and Manchester Art Gallery took part in RR2 and DCMS/DfES. Also, seven of the partner museums in the DCMS/DfES programme were involved with more than one strategic commissioning project.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> There were 27 regional museums or museum services which took part in the DCMS/DfES evaluation overall. There were also two non museum organisations that were partners, Mid Anglia SATRO and Beauchamp Lodge Settlement. Please note that 'museums service' refers to a group of museums which share a common local authority governing body (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007: 206).

<sup>42</sup> These seven museums/museum services are Sheffield Galleries and Museums Trust, Bristol City Museums and Art Gallery, British Empire and Commonwealth Museum, Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service, Sunderland Museum and Winter Gardens, National Museums Liverpool and Bradford Museums, Galleries and Heritage. For full details see Hooper-Greenhill et al (2004d: 16).

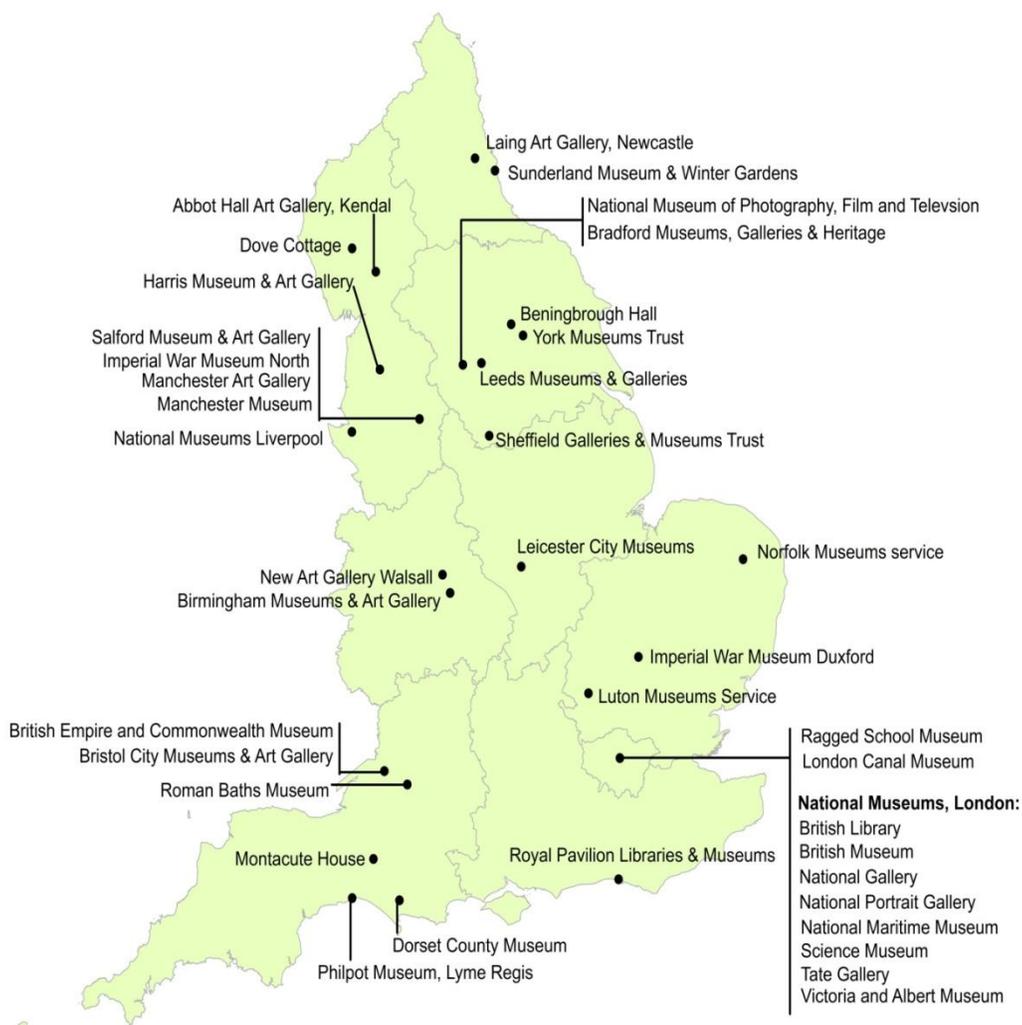


Figure 2.3: Museums participating in the Strategic Commissioning programme.

#### 2.4.2 The GLOs: a national picture of impact

The three RCMG studies consistently focused on understanding the impact of museum visits on learning. They intentionally used the conceptual interpretive framework known

as the Generic Learning Outcomes (GLOs), in each study so that a national picture of the impact that museums have on individual learning outcomes could be formed.

Learning outcomes, distinguished separately from learning processes and learning objectives, were conceptualised by RCMG as highly individual and underpinned by a view of learning which acknowledges social and cultural differences and multiple 'realities'.

In 2001, before conducting the RR1, RR2 and DCMS/DfES studies, RCMG were appointed by MLA (then Resource), as part of the Learning Impact Research Project (LIRP) to develop a methodology for measuring both the impact and outcomes of learning in museums (see Hooper-Greenhill 2002, 2004b, and Moussouri, 2002). After an extended period of discussion, consultation and piloting, five broad categories of GLOs were developed by RCMG. These it was argued (Hooper-Greenhill, 2004b) could be used by the cultural sector to frame research questions, shape research tools and analyse and interpret data concerning learning programmes. The GLOs were then incorporated by MLA into a learning agenda, the 'Inspiring Learning for All' (ILFA) framework, to be used by those working within the museums, libraries and archives sector.<sup>43</sup> The popularity of ILFA can be seen in MLA's Museum Learning Survey (2006) which reports that, within two years of its launch, 77.4% of museums were evaluating their education provision, with over half of museums using the ILFA framework (Ibid: 8). The ILFA framework has contributed to a more strategic and planned approach to education provision, which is a marked difference from the picture provided in Anderson's influential 1997 publication '*A Common Wealth*,' which sought to map the education provision in museums across the UK in 1994. In this

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<sup>43</sup> See the ILFA framework [www.inspiringlearningforall.gov.uk](http://www.inspiringlearningforall.gov.uk).

research it was found that fewer than half of the museums conducted any evaluation of their education provision at all.

The five broad categories that form the GLOs are shown in Figure 2.4 below:



Figure 2.4: GLO diagram by Jim Roberts based on a diagram from the ILFA framework.

The GLO framework is based on the following principles of learning:

- a focus on learners and their learning experiences;
- learning as a lifelong process of meaning-making;
- learning could includes change and development in emotions, skills, behaviour, attitudes and values;
- learning is a verb (the act of learning) rather than a noun (learning/scholarship);

- enjoyment, amazement or inspiration can provide the motivation to acquire facts and knowledge;
- learning is a process of identity-building;
- learning is both individual and social (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2003:10).

Hooper-Greenhill (2007:22) reflects that although the task set by MLA was clear, actually developing an effective methodology for assessing learning impact was far from clear. This was due in part to the nature of impact studies which were, Hooper-Greenhill argues, previously dominated by economic impacts and outcomes, or, as she puts it, ‘the language of accountants and managers’ (Ibid). Hooper-Greenhill therefore considers that in order to explore the less tangible impacts of learning, qualitative methods are also required such as, she suggests, ‘face to face conversations and the review of the documents and products of learning’ (Ibid).

#### **2.4.3 RCMG Research Methodology**

Reflecting Hooper-Greenhill’s thoughts on the measurement of learning, RCMG worked from the principle that it is possible and necessary when considering ‘complex, mysterious, difficult and interesting’ concepts such as the outcomes of learning (ibid), to combine qualitative methods with quantitative, in order to give both a statistical and a more in-depth overview of impact. Therefore, the three RCMG evaluations considered here all utilised a similar multi-method approach using the following quantitative and qualitative data-gathering strategies:

- Questionnaires for teachers
- Questionnaires for children
- Focus groups/workshops for teachers
- Visits to schools
- Interviews with teachers and children
- Reviewing and collecting children's work
- Completion of data collection forms by museum staff recording total numbers of school and community contacts.

#### **2.4.4 RCMG Research Aims**

Each of the RCMG evaluations had its own set of research aims (see Table 2.3 below). As Table 2.3 illustrates, there are consistencies and similarities between all three studies. All focused on gathering both quantitative and qualitative data as indicated above. Also, the quantitative data was used to summarise the reach of museum education programmes in a numerical sense, for instance to outline how many teachers, pupils or community participants (as in the DCMS/DfES evaluation) used the education programmes.

Qualitative data was used to assess and document the learning impact of the school visits using the GLO frame work also introduced above.



Aim	RR1	RR2	DCMS/DfES
1	To provide baseline information about the activities of the Phase One Hubs during the summer of 2003, showing the range and type of activities and the numbers of visiting school-aged children and accompanying adults.	To produce evidence from 1,500 teachers and 30,000 pupils (if possible)	To ascertain who benefited from the DCMS/DfES scheme and the increase in volume of educational and community-based activity as a result of the DCMS/DfES scheme
2	To establish how many pupils and teachers visited Phase One Hubs between September and October 2003 and assess how this number differs from the number of visits undertaken in the same period in 2002	To document the number of pupils (and teachers) using museums during September and October 2005 and compare this with 2002 and 2003.	To describe the approach of the 12 projects
3	To identify from quantitative and qualitative research with teachers, the learning that has taken place and analyse this against the GLOs and the outcomes posited by DfES.	To document in quantitative terms the impact of the learning that has taken place between September and October 2005 and compare this with the findings from 2003	To assess the value of the DCMS/DfES scheme by identifying the learning outcomes for teachers, children and communities in quantitative and qualitative terms
4	To relate the teachers' perceptions of their pupils' learning to the perceptions of the pupils themselves	To describe this learning in qualitative terms	To review the character of the partnerships between national and regional museums
5		To analyse the learning outcomes using the GLOs, relating these to the specific outcomes posited by MLA and DfES.	To establish some tools and methodologies that can be used in a generic manner at a later stage of the DCMS/DfES scheme if appropriate
6			To review the social value of museum education and community work and the potential for the future

Table 2.3: Research Aims of the RR1, RR2 and DCMS/DfES evaluations (from Hooper-Greenhill et al 2004b, 2004d, 2006b)

#### 2.4.5 Results of the RCMG evaluations

The somewhat unexpected result that has prompted this research, namely the number of visits from schools located in areas of high deprivation, has been introduced in Chapter 1. However, this finding was just one of many in the RCMG evaluations. This short summary aims to represent the other main themes of the evaluation results and give a flavour of the RCMG conclusions offered, but by no means offers a complete discussion of these results.

Together, the RCMG evaluations gathered a huge quantity of data, as indicated in Table 2.4 below.

Project	Number of completed teacher questionnaires	Number of completed pupil questionnaires
RR1	936	17,198
RR2	1,643	26,791
DCMS/DfES	503	9,415
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,082</b>	<b>53,404</b>

Table 2.4: Total number of completed questionnaires in the RR1, RR2 and DCMS/DfES evaluations.

As the research aims and methodology indicate, collection of quantitative data to record statistically whether the participating museums were meeting government targets was only part of the evaluation strategy. The RR1 evaluation, for example, also considered the

impact on children of museum visiting, focusing on how museums are used, if and how they are important to schools and what was considered to be the value of museums for teachers and pupils. The findings of these qualitative investigations were subsequently revisited during the RR2 evaluation, it being stated that 'there is some evidence that teachers have become more focused in their use of museums and expect more of museums. Teachers in 2005 appeared more reflective about the types of learning their pupils experienced during a museum visit, and were able to analyse and examine this more effectively than during the 2003 research' (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2006b:11).

Considering the impact on learning was a particularly important aspect of each evaluation. The GLO framework allowed the evaluations to consider the importance of the different learning outcomes for teachers and pupils. Table 2.5 shows the percentage of teachers in the evaluations that rated each of the GLOs as 'very important'.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> This data was gathered from the teachers' questionnaires. Appendix 7 gives an example of the teachers' questionnaire used in both the RR1 and DCMS/DfES evaluations. The questionnaire used in the RR2 evaluation included some additional questions which explored particular areas of the visit in more detail. For example, it requested more specific information about the number of classes taking part in the visit and the number of pupils in each class, rather than just the total number of pupils in the group as a whole. The questionnaire also asked about the organisation of the visit, and the prior use of museums by the teacher completing the questionnaire, such as whether they had visited a museum as a teacher in the past two years, used online museum resources or borrowed an object or a handling box from a museum. Questions were also included asking for information about the curriculum area covered on the trip and the extent to which the teacher considered the pupils enjoyed or were inspired by their visit.

GLO	RR1	RR2	DCMS/DfES
Enjoyment, Inspiration, Creativity	81%	76%	79%
Knowledge and Understanding	72%	68%	63%
Attitudes and Values	58%	61%	55%
Action, Behaviour, Progression	57%	48%	50%
Skills	44%	46%	46%

Table 2.5: Percentage of teachers in each evaluation that rated each GLO ‘very important’ (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2004b, 2004d, 2006b)

Across all three studies there appears to be a consistent picture of which learning outcome teachers valued the most from their museum visit, with ‘enjoyment, inspiration and creativity’ having most value and acquiring new ‘skills’ the least. The pupils’ views of their own learning were captured through two pupil questionnaires: one was aimed at Key Stage 2 pupils (aged 7-11) and the other at Key Stage 3 pupils and above (aged 11-18) (see Appendices 5 and 6). It was noted that overall, the pupils showed a very high level of enthusiasm for museums, with the older pupils appearing more reflexive and perhaps less enthusiastic about their experience than the younger ones.

As well as exploring the value and learning impact of museums to schools, teachers and pupils, the evaluations also considered the barriers and difficulties teachers faced in taking school groups to museums. Among these barriers were inadequate facilities in the museum, the cost of transport and public attitudes towards school pupils (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2006b:14). In addition, the DCMS/DfES evaluation also considered the

barriers that emerged for community groups visiting museums. Amongst these was lack of awareness of museums, language difficulties and a 'not for the likes of me' feeling of exclusion (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2004b:23).

In summary, the RCMG evaluations presented a picture of the value of school visits from multiple perspectives, highlighting the learning outcomes experienced in the museum and the barriers that museums must work to overcome. There was, however, no time in the original research projects to look further into one of the most unexpected research findings concerning the percentage of visits from schools in areas of high deprivation, which, considering the more traditional view of museums as elitist, is rather intriguing. This study therefore hopes to advance the RCMG evaluations to look at why this finding may have occurred and what it could mean for museums as places of social inclusion.

#### **2.4.6 Limitations of the RCMG evaluations**

A potential criticism of the evaluations that should be noted is that the results only represent a snapshot of pupil and teacher experiences, gathered at a specific moment in time. They do not therefore say anything about the longer term impacts of museum visits, which were arguably more important to understanding the effect on social inclusion.

A second limitation is that the RCMG evaluations had to be completed within a short time frame, as is expected with commissioned research projects. This meant that more longitudinal methodologies were not practicable, particularly in the RR1 and RR2 evaluations where the MLA required an overview of the whole programme, which more sophisticated research methods would not have achieved (Jocelyn Dodd, Director, RCMG,

interview, 25.03.09). Furthermore, with the RR1 evaluation particularly, RCMG experienced pressure to provide the MLA with evidence that could potentially be used to advocate for the sector in the Comprehensive Spending Review (CSR). However, the CSR occurred before the end of the commissioned research period. Therefore the final results from the RR1 evaluation were not available for the MLA to use at that time.

## **2.5 Conclusion**

This chapter has introduced the Renaissance and Strategic Commissioning programmes. It is suggested that the priorities of the Renaissance programme as implemented, evolved from the original Task Force vision and led to the centralising of the role of education and broadening access. The Strategic Commissioning programme also complemented these priorities, incorporating them in a strategy of partnership working between national and regional museums. In addition, both programmes contributed to the broader drive to modernise museums which, as Lawley (2003: 82) suggests, includes the adoption of a socially inclusive ethos.

The RCMG research evaluated the education strand of Renaissance and the learning impacts of the twelve Strategic Commissioning partnerships, using a multi-method approach underpinned by the GLO framework. The RCMG evaluations can be seen to connect to the social inclusion agenda in two ways: by suggesting the existence of a geography of school visits to museums and also by unpacking the particular learning impacts that museums can have for school pupils and teachers. As DCMS (2000: 7) indicates, 'learning can be a powerful agent in combating social exclusion by giving people

the abilities, skills and confidence to engage with society'.<sup>45</sup> There was however, insufficient time for RCMG to consider this relationship in any great detail.

In Chapters 1 and 2 the concept of social exclusion has been discussed in terms of whether museums can contribute to tackling it and also how social inclusion is presented within two main government investments in museums. The following chapter will consider what is meant by social exclusion, both theoretically and in the policy arena and explore how social exclusion is commonly measured through the concept of multiple deprivations. The method used to classify areas at risk of social exclusion is of particular relevance to this study because the RCMG research finding that museums are attracting a high percentage of visits from schools located in areas of high deprivation is based on such a measure. It is therefore important to understand what the conceptual underpinnings of various indices of deprivation are, in order to consider which aspects of social exclusion they focus on and which they neglect.

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<sup>45</sup> The impact of education on social inclusion is explored in Chapter 3.

## **Chapter 3: Positioning social exclusion**

### **3.1 Introduction**

The previous chapter introduced the Renaissance and the Strategic Commissioning programmes. It was concluded that although the priorities of Renaissance in particular have shifted and changed over time, there is a central focus in both programmes encouraging museums to be more inclusive by broadening access for school pupils and underrepresented groups. This priority should be seen in the context of wider government modernisation and education agendas.

This chapter has two key aims. The first is to introduce the concepts of poverty, deprivation and social exclusion and to consider the meanings of each and their interrelationships. As Walker (1997) suggested there can be confusion regarding their definition and use. An approach to social exclusion which recognises it as a lived experience is suggested. Particular attention will be paid to exploring how social exclusion affects children as school pupils are the principal subjects of this research. The connection between education, learning and social inclusion was mentioned in Chapter 2, with reference made to the possible impacts of learning in museums. This chapter returns to these discussions, considering the importance of the education sphere in debates surrounding social exclusion.

The second aim of this chapter is to consider how social exclusion is measured through the concept of multiple deprivation. Area based deprivation indices (ABDIs) are



introduced here as an accessible way to conceptualise the geography of social exclusion, their limitations are also discussed.

### **3.2 Social exclusion: the difficulty of terminology**

The concept of social exclusion has been of particular interest in recent years forming part of the political discourse of the New Labour Government (Levitas 2005:2, Fairclough, 2000), as was seen in Chapter 1. However, social exclusion is just one of a range of interconnected terms used to refer to aspects of disadvantage; others that are present in academic and policy literature include poverty, deprivation, multiple deprivation, and marginalisation. A complex relationship exists in the ways these terms have been used over time by both academics and policy makers.<sup>46</sup> There is a sense that some of these concepts can be used interchangeably or simultaneously, sometimes replacing and extending the meaning of each and sometimes not. In the case of 'poverty', this term appears to have been used less frequently since the late 1980s (Oppenheim and Harker, 1996) especially by policy makers and has been to an extent replaced by 'social exclusion'. 'Poverty' is often seen by governments to be a more hostile or pejorative term carrying negative connotations (Room, 1995; Saunders 2003; Oppenheim and Harker, 1996).

Overall, this difficulty of terminology can lead to a sense of perhaps purposeful ambiguity regarding how to operationalise each term (Levitas, 2004). It is therefore important to set out in the following discussion the concepts that are used in this study and what is understood by each. First, poverty in its absolute and relative sense will be explored,

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<sup>46</sup> Hageaars and de Vos (1988) for example, consider eight different definitions of 'poverty'.

followed by a discussion of the concept of social exclusion which considers its connection to multiple deprivation, a concept which is commonly used in the measurement of social exclusion.

### **3.2.1 Poverty: absolute and relative poverty**

The concept of poverty has seen a significant shift in meaning over the twentieth century, from being defined in 'absolute' to 'relative' terms (Veit-Wilson, 1987). The measurement of poverty based on subsistence, or a 'basic needs' approach, can be seen in surveys conducted by Charles Booth in London in the late nineteenth century<sup>47</sup> and by Joseph Rowntree in York in the early 1900s. Rowntree (1922:18) conceptualised 'primary poverty' as based on '...an estimate of minimum necessary expenditure for the maintenance of merely physical health'. This allowance incorporated three main categories: food, rent and household sundries (ibid: 119). Rowntree did acknowledge that expenditure could also occur in relation to the social and moral aspects of life; however, these were not taken into account in his 1922 survey.<sup>48</sup> Those in poverty were therefore considered to have an income which did not allow for these basic minimum necessities and consequently fell below a 'poverty line'.<sup>49</sup>

Absolute poverty tends to concentrate primarily on income distribution alone and has been considered a static rather than dynamic concept (Cameron and Davoudi, 2000:236).

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<sup>47</sup> See the Charles Booth Online Archive, <http://booth.lse.ac.uk/>.

<sup>48</sup> By 1936, Rowntree included material possessions such as radios, books, newspapers, beer and tobacco within his understanding of basic needs (Mack and Lansley, 1985).

<sup>49</sup> The approach can still be observed, with the World Bank, for example stating that the poverty line refers to the minimum income required to maintain adequate living standards, See [www.worldbank.org/depweb/english/beyond/global/glossary.html](http://www.worldbank.org/depweb/english/beyond/global/glossary.html) (accessed 21.08.09).

Despite the continued use of the absolute poverty approach, it is apparent that it employs a limited understanding of human needs, acknowledging only what is required to maintain an individual in physical comfort. However, as Lee et al (1995:14) observe, humans are social beings, often focussed on fulfilling their social obligations before their physical needs. Even the amount and cost of food is 'socialised' and may depend on the social roles that individuals play, dietary customs and the type of food available (Townsend, 1993:31). Also, what is considered as 'minimum requirements' are historically and morally constructed (Desai and Shah, 1988).

The 'basic needs' conception was broadened in the 1970s to encompass wider public utilities such as drinking water and sanitation that communities, rather than just individuals or families, required for survival (Townsend, 1993). This definition of absolute poverty, based on the lack of income to cover the basic necessities for survival, encouraged solutions which were primarily focused on material wealth alone; it did not consider that poverty is both a moral and a scientific concept (Gordon, 1998). The concept of 'basic needs' also implied that an objective measure of what comprises the necessities of life is in fact possible. In reality there is no agreed consensus as to where the poverty line can be drawn (Alcock, 2006:115). In contrast, the relative definition of poverty recognises that: 'poverty has to be 'situated' through time in relation to social and institutional structure[s]...' (Townsend,1993:35).

Poverty has also been considered as 'relative deprivation' (see for example Desai and Shah, 1988; Lee et al, 1995 and Townsend, 1987) which is defined as a lack of resources may exclude an individual or family from participation in 'ordinary living patterns' (Lee et

al, 1995:14). Relative deprivation or relative poverty therefore focuses attention on the features of modern society that are broader than simply income poverty, placing an emphasis on 'quality of life'. Relative poverty moves away from attempting to define one single poverty line on which it is difficult to agree (Alcock, 2006:115). Poverty also has a more subjective definition, which describes whether people actually feel as though they are experiencing economic hardship (Butler and Watt, 2007). The concept (including both absolute and relative definitions) can also therefore be considered as multidimensional (Whelan and Whelan, 1995), although it is perhaps more commonly associated with a lack of income alone.

The term and language of poverty appears to have become unfashionable in government policy (Room, 1995; Saunders 2003; Oppenheim and Harker, 1996) and the limitations of the popular understanding of poverty, as a lack of sufficient income, have led to examples where its definition has been expanded by combining it with other concepts such as social exclusion. For instance:

...some people used the word 'poverty' in the narrower sense of simply low income. It was to ensure that the wider notion - that disadvantage can cover a wider range of factors than 'just' low income - was not lost, that the Government started using the term 'social exclusion'. In other words: the wider notion of 'poverty' = the narrower notion + 'social exclusion'

(The Poverty Site, no date).

However, use of a singular concept such as social exclusion may not always be adequate to describe the full meaning of social disadvantage as Lister (2000) suggests. A focus on social exclusion, for example, as it concentrates on a number of different phenomena, risks obscuring the dynamics which are associated with poverty (Levitas, 2005). Using the concept of poverty or social exclusion may also lead to the identification of rather different groups of people. For instance, assessment of who experiences social exclusion may not immediately identify students; however, conceptualising poverty as a lack of income may actually identify this group, one which often lives on small incomes. Combining the two concepts of poverty and social exclusion may be a way of making sure that particular groups are not missed out of appropriate policy interventions, although it may still lead to neglect of the particularities of different situations.

Poverty, with a seemingly broad definition is often used as a key concept in specific government policies, such as discussions concerning children and disadvantage. In 1999, for example, New Labour made child poverty a central concern by pledging to end it by 2020 (see Blair, 1999 and Department for Work and Pensions, no date). However, child poverty and social exclusion are clearly connected in government thinking: 'Children who grow up in poverty lack many of the experiences and opportunities that others take for granted, and can be exposed to severe hardship and become socially excluded. Their childhood suffers as a result' (HM Treasury, Department for Work and Pensions and Department for Children, Schools and Families, 2008). This quotation suggests that social exclusion is something that may happen to children who experience poverty, as a progression of that experience.

Overall, it is clear that poverty and social exclusion share a close relationship in the policies of New Labour, being used simultaneously and interchangeably but also with a sense that social exclusion is predominantly a consequence of poverty. Tackling poverty therefore, is one way of also tackling social exclusion. This is, of course, not always the case, as for example, disabled people or ethnic minorities may be socially excluded but not living in poverty (Oppenheim, 1998:14). The following section now moves on to consider the concept of social exclusion in more detail.

### **3.2.2 The concept of social exclusion**

Social exclusion has been defined in a variety of different ways, and frameworks describing the concept can often be confusing (Burchardt et al, 2002). As previously discussed, social exclusion takes a broader approach than absolute poverty or relative living patterns and considers how multiple elements of disadvantage may be interrelated. The concept also raises questions about structure and agency considering *how* disadvantage happens, *who* it happens to and *why* it happens.

Oppenheim and Harker (1996:19) define social exclusion as: '...the denial of civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights, [reflecting] a relative view of living standards and opportunities'. This definition of social exclusion involves multiple dimensions of life, not just the economic sphere. The 'official' government definition of social exclusion, as published by the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) in 1997, also recognised that social exclusion is a multifaceted and interrelated concept, suggesting it is '...a shorthand label for what happens when individuals or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as

unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown' (Social Exclusion Unit, 1997: 1).

Although the SEU definition does not mention who or what is responsible for social exclusion, a later definition of social exclusion published by them adds that some individuals are more at risk than others. This later definition also identifies specific risk factors such as low income, being an ex-prisoner, ethnic minority status and living in a deprived neighbourhood (Cabinet Office, 2001:13). The official SEU definition therefore emphasises the dynamic and fluid nature of social exclusion with economic, social *and* cultural influences. Although some groups are at higher risk of suffering social exclusion than others, it is quite possible that social exclusion could relate to a wide range of individuals at different times.

Rodgers (1995) explores what he considers to be the special features of the social exclusion approach, helping to justify why the concept is a potentially valuable analytical tool. His arguments are summarised in Table 3.1.

Features of the Social Exclusion approach	Explanation
A multi-dimensional and multi-disciplinary view	Social exclusion concerns inequalities in many dimensions: economic, social, political, and cultural.
A focus on process	Social exclusion captures poverty and deprivation and the processes which lead to them. For example, to understand why poverty persists it will be necessary to consider the different mechanisms of exclusion.
A focus on social actors and agents	Social actors can exclude and include, social exclusion allows actors to be identified and their actions understood. For example, the state may act to control the exclusion of one group by another. However, it can also exclude social actors from its services and opportunities.
An impact at many levels	Social exclusion can be understood at many different levels, for example institutions, regions, and countries and also across these levels. For instance a national perspective on immigration may draw borders around the populations within that nation. This is exclusionary from both the perspective of the migrants and by shifting burdens onto populations outside the nations' borders. Looking across levels may help to consider these wider implications.
The terms of inclusion	We assume that inclusion is good and exclusion is bad. However the terms of inclusion may help to consider that Inclusion comes in many forms. For example, increasing women's pay may appear as an inclusive action. However, if it is not in line with increases in men's pay, this questions its inclusivity.

Table 3.1: Useful features of the social exclusion concept (Rodgers, 1995).

Considering Rodgers' arguments, there does not seem to be one single, unambiguous definition of social exclusion. The concept appears to offer far greater breadth than the concept of poverty, allowing for the recognition of different contributory factors such as



the influence of particular agents and also different perspectives, such as the multi-level nature of exclusion.

Atkinson (1998) usefully expands on Rodgers' discussion of social exclusion when he considers the broader social context which constructs and maintains social exclusion, outlining three main features: relativity, agency and dynamics. Relativity refers to the idea that social exclusion is always placed in space and is time specific. Agency refers to the extent to which an individual is responsible for their own exclusion and dynamics to an individual's experience in the present and for the future. Importantly this model emphasises the temporal aspects of social exclusion and the idea that social exclusion may apply across generations (Atkinson 1998:13-14). Temporal aspects aside, both Atkinson (1998) and Rodgers (1995) highlight that the concept of social exclusion allows for the contribution of social structures and individual agency to be considered.

Many of the key controversies of the social exclusion debate lie around the contribution of structure and agency. These have focused on who or what is doing the excluding and considers the causes of social exclusion. One argument examines the role of individual agency (Burchardt et al, 2002), where a person's moral and cultural values and behaviours are seen as contributing to their own exclusion. Levitas (2004) refers to this as the Moral Undertones Discourse (MUD) and, in the United States this argument forms part of the 'underclass' debate (Burchardt et al, 2002). Levitas (2000:360) considers that MUD is present in New Labour policies, significantly in the early reports produced by the Social Exclusion Unit. Levitas also notes the tendency for MUD to focus on particular groups such

as teenage mothers and the unemployed. However, MUD can include 'any group of whom the respectable public disapproves' (Gough et al, 2006:23). The key aspect of the moral underclass debate is that these groups have the wrong culture, values and attitudes and that this is a central cause of their exclusion from mainstream society. The moral underclass are seen as detached from the mainstream (see Room, 1995 and Oppenheim, 1998) and their reconnection would require setting aside these beliefs and values.

The opposing debate to the idea of individual agency being the cause of social exclusion is that exclusion is caused by structural factors concerning civil and economic institutions. These factors may limit an individual's or group's choices and opportunities (Burchardt et al, 2002). An individual therefore may be powerless to remedy their own exclusion due to the constraints of a given system which stops them from doing so (Ibid). The strategies needed to tackle structural issues would require structural change in social, political and economic institutions, so that the resources they control are distributed more equally (Veit-Wilson, 2000). For example, *Every Child Matters: Change for Children* (hereafter ECM), advocated a 'radical change' in children's services in order for its core framework to be successful. This change involved a closer integration of children's services, making them more accessible to the individuals that require them in children's centres and extended schools provision (DfES, 2004). In this way ECM examines the ways that children's services can become more socially inclusive. Arguably, similar changes are occurring in the museum sector, particularly where museums are challenging perceptions of their elite status by becoming more accessible to a broader audience.

Structural factors are also significant when considering whether social exclusion can be voluntary (Burchardt et al 2002). Some groups may voluntarily withdraw from society, such as the wealthy who can afford to exclude themselves from common institutions such as state run schools and health services. However, Burchardt et al (2002) question whether voluntary exclusion is ever truly voluntary. For example:

...if a young person is brought up with a narrow view of the opportunities that society offers (say, on an isolated council estate) and decides his/her best option is to join a local gang that terrorizes the neighbourhood, then would it still seem reasonable to describe that person as socially excluded?' (Burchardt et al, 2002:4).

In this example, the young person appears to have made an individual choice, but it is arguable that other more structural factors are at play here. The question of voluntary exclusion is therefore potentially problematic.

Paul Willis' (1977) study of working-class school boys in the West Midlands also explores the idea of voluntary exclusion. The pupils in Willis' study are seen to actively exclude themselves from the school system by forming a counter-school sub culture. The boys recognised that, however hard they tried to work with the school culture, their chances of success were limited. This led them to affirm their loyalty to working-class culture which they defined as anti-school. Willis' study demonstrates how, although self exclusion can look like a choice, it may be a direct response to the social structures at work, notably here the school system. Barry (2002) considers that the evaluation of any voluntary act depends on the quality of the choices on offer; if this is applied to the pupils in Willis's

study, it is clear that certain social structures may actually remove the element of choice altogether.

### **3.2.3 A neglected aspect of social exclusion**

The concept of social exclusion arguably provides a more flexible, fluid and relational idea of disadvantage than either poverty or deprivation. However, as seen in the official SEU definition of social exclusion, although this definition emphasises that exclusion takes place in many different areas of life, it tends to offer a 'service provider' view of people's needs and concerns, looking at, for instance, the separate areas of housing, healthcare, and education (Healey, 2003:59). Absent from these discussions is a sense of how social exclusion affects a person's daily life, including the multiple roles individuals take on and also how they achieve, survive and cope. Leary (1990), Stanley and Arora (1998) and Targos et al (2003) discuss how social exclusion has particular emotional responses including low-self esteem, and anxiety. However, these authors appear in a minority and arguably, the more emotional aspects of social exclusion appear to be a relatively neglected aspect of this concept. However, in documentation relating to museums and social inclusion, references are made to museums mobilising emotions (DCMS, 2005) and having an impact on low-self esteem (DCMS, 2000). Arguably therefore the more emotional aspects of social exclusion may be an area of particular relevance to museums and cultural organisations.

An approach which encompasses these aspects of exclusion can be seen in Gilroy and Speak (2003) and Healy (2003) who employ an 'everyday life' approach to social exclusion. This approach focuses on processes of exclusion rather than its outcomes. Gilroy and

Speak (2003), for example, consider peoples' lived experiences of exclusion and how barriers to opportunity restrict passage into different stages of the life cycle. The authors note how exclusion from a sense of choice and control in life, can mean young people, for example, are 'catapulted' into adulthood before they are ready and are therefore denied important rites of passage (Gilroy and Speak, 2003:110). This view of social exclusion acts as a reminder that the concept is a real experience. Ways of measuring social exclusion such as the Index of Multiple deprivation used in the RCMG evaluations (and explored in more detail in this chapter), can make social exclusion feel rather abstract and simply a combination of different statistical measures of deprivation. It is therefore considered important to employ an understanding of social exclusion in this thesis that includes an appreciation of how exclusion 'feels' and the connections that have been made between museums and this area of exclusion.

The concept of social exclusion, as these discussions have illustrated, is complex and multifaceted. Arguably it also extends the concept of poverty in a variety of ways, recognising structure and agency and considering the social, economic, and cultural aspects of disadvantage. Social exclusion also aims to consider how these different aspects interrelate and compound each other, emphasising the fluidity and flexibility of the concept. An aspect not considered so far, however, is how social exclusion affects children, specifically the role education plays in alleviating (and creating, see Willis, 1977) social exclusion.

### **3.3 Social exclusion and children: the role of the education sphere**

There are several initial points to be made about the nature of social exclusion affecting children. The first is that, as Micklewright (2002) suggests, discussions of children's social exclusion need to refer to both their current living standards *and* their future prospects. Children are widely regarded as 'adults in the making' in policy interventions, which appear to have a strong emphasis on making changes to children's lives now so that they have greater chances of success when they become adults. For example, strategies to tackle early parenthood have included both the prioritisation of sex and relationship education in schools, and providing a well resourced youth service (DCSF, 2009a).

The second point for consideration concerning social exclusion affecting children is the extent of the child's own agency. That is, social exclusion for children appears to rely heavily, but not entirely,<sup>50</sup> on the actions of adults and institutions. Examples of this are parents who are perhaps unable or unwilling to find work, schools that are failing to teach children to an adequate standard and governments who do not provide sufficient public services (Micklewright, 2002:3).

Success in the education sphere is particularly emphasised as a way of preventing social exclusion (Sparkes and Glennerster, 2002), with a growing sense of a causal relationship between educational failure as a child and social exclusion. The education sphere has become a key domain in which to focus social inclusion initiatives aimed at children. For example, ECM, considered previously, concerns the well-being of children and young

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<sup>50</sup> Micklewright (2002) for example suggests that self exclusion from school (truancy) and exclusion by other children are examples of how children themselves are involved with the social exclusion process.

people from birth to age nineteen (DfES, 2004). It identifies five desired and mutually reinforcing outcomes: staying safe, being healthy, enjoying and achieving, making a positive contribution and achieving economic well-being (Ibid). The ECM agenda has a strong focus on the educational sphere (Ibid) and is explicit about how government sees the relationship between education and disadvantage: 'The evidence shows clearly that educational achievement is the most effective way to improve outcomes for poor children and break cycles of deprivation'(ibid: 8).

The importance of education in averting social exclusion is also continued in a further government document *Breaking the link between disadvantage and low attainment* (DCSF, 2009b). Although in *Breaking the link* the connections between disadvantage and children's attainment are considered to be complex, emphasis is given to the values that are in place at home, particularly the importance given to education by parents and influential adults. It is implied that if parents do not hold positive opinions about education, neither will their children.

It is also suggested by policy makers that schools can play a key role in tackling social exclusion by opening a child's eyes to the variety of opportunities available in the world. This is considered particularly valuable for those experiencing low aspirations and poverty of experience. As the DCSF (2009b:20) suggests: 'Schools can also provide a range of experiences, in arts, sport or community volunteering, which gives children a glimpse into other worlds and helps them to find something they can succeed at'.

In the United States, Fieldman (1976) considered the notion of compensatory education, noting that strategies aimed at 'culturally deprived children' include cultural enrichment and smaller class sizes. He recognises, however, that cultural deprivation is a potentially controversial idea, particularly in relation to the specific conception of 'culture' this refers to. In his opinion the lower-class children have a culture of their own, although this may not be the culture of the middle classes. He notes that cultural enrichment is a response to children who are supposedly 'deprived of (high) culture', rather than considering a broader definition of culture in an 'anthropological' sense.

Current education policy appears to focus on the concept of enrichment in relation to two different groups of children. For example, enrichment activities are frequently mentioned in relation to enhancing the learning experience of gifted and talented pupils in particular (Morgan, 2007; White et al, 2003; Montgomery, 1996), rather than relating specifically to deprived and socially excluded pupils (of course there will be gifted and talented pupils that are also from deprived backgrounds). On the other hand DCSF (2009a), made a connection made between raising school attainment, particularly for working-class communities, by encouraging them to take part in different experiences. Although the specific term 'enrichment' is not used in this document, arguably the concept is in use here.

A further influential factor to consider in the role that education plays in social exclusion experienced by children, is the neighbourhood or physical environment in which a child lives in. There is evidence to suggest that this environment appears to be connected to



success in educational performance (see for example Fotheringham et al, 2001 and Garner and Raudenbush, 1991). This 'neighbourhood effect' highlights, for example, the impact that concentrations of lone parents or council house tenants in a neighbourhood can have on school achievement levels (Ibid). Taylor and Gorard (2001) argue that school segregation<sup>51</sup> is very often connected to underlying levels of residential differentiation. In other words, because of the socially divided nature of housing, schools also remain socially divided. For example, Butler (2003) explored the educational choices of middle class gentrifiers in the London borough of Islington who, rather than use local schools, chose to send their children outside of the borough to selective or independent schools. Butler explains that although areas of gentrification may be 'culturally dominated' by middle class residents, they do not form the majority of inhabitants. Therefore, gentrified areas such as Islington may not provide 'good' school catchment areas for the middle classes who live there (Ibid: 2481).

However, Webber and Butler (2007) problematise the link between deprived neighbourhoods and low school attainment, suggesting that there is no direct link from deprivation to school performance. They note that, '...some of the worst-performing neighbourhoods are not particularly deprived and are largely white, peripheral housing estates, whilst some inner urban minority ethnic areas do better than might be predicted' (Webber and Butler, 2007: 1252). Webber and Butler conclude that there are a number of

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<sup>51</sup> Taylor and Gorard (2001) consider that 'school segregation' refers to situations where individual socio-economic groups have become separated in different schools, resulting in more disadvantaged groups concentrated in some schools and more advantaged socio-economic groups concentrated in others.

related factors that may influence school attainment in addition to the neighbourhood the pupil lives in. For example, although the influence of the social context at home is an important predictor of GCSE performance, the social background and composition of the rest of the school population is only marginally less significant (ibid, see also Butler and Hamnett, 2007).

Overall, the role of the education sphere in tackling social exclusion is complex, although it seems to be generally agreed that education can play a part in this area. The introduction of compensatory education appears to be one strategy that policy makers consider schools are able to employ in order to mitigate the effects of disadvantage. It was also noted that social exclusion's impact on children has a spatial component; with the neighbourhood a child lives in being considered by some to have an effect on school attainment.<sup>52</sup> So far this chapter has discussed the concepts of poverty and social exclusion. The final concept of disadvantage used in this study is multiple deprivation; the following section introduces this concept and explores its significance both in the RCMG evaluations and this thesis.

### **3.4 Measuring social exclusion: deprivation and multiple deprivation**

Concepts of deprivation and particularly multiple deprivation, are often used to identify where those at risk of social exclusion are located geographically (see London Councils, no date; West Sussex County Council, 2005). In the context of this study, measures of

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<sup>52</sup> It is important to note that there are many other factors which may influence on school attainment such as ethnicity and nationality, see Cassen and Kingdon (2007); Robb et al (2007); Bagguley and Hussain (2007); Mac an Ghail and Haywood (2005); Hamnett et al (2007) and Modood (2004).

multiple deprivation allow school visits to museums to be conceptualised in terms of the contact that museums have with those at risk of exclusion. Therefore multiple deprivation, as a proxy measure for social exclusion, is a key concept for this study. The following discussion considers what is meant by deprivation and multiple deprivation, followed by an introduction to deprivation indices and the potential pitfalls of classifying geographic areas in terms of the level of disadvantage present there. Finally, the principle measure of social exclusion used in this study, the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD), is introduced and contextualised.

It may seem like a step backwards chronologically to now consider the concepts of deprivation and multiple deprivation, as these terms were most popular in the 1970s and 1980s (Townsend, 1987: 131). However, the terms are very much still in use in discussions of social exclusion today, often being used in relation to the application of indices of deprivation to identify geographic areas affected by high levels disadvantage (DCLG, 2006; Tunstall and Lupton, 2003; Batey et al, 2008).

Cameron and Davoudi (2000:239) argue that multiple deprivation foreshadowed the concept of social exclusion and offers a more detailed concept than the restricted idea of poverty as lack of income (Townsend, 1987: 125). In its simplest form deprivation has been described as 'a lack of something' (Brown and Madge, 1982 quoted in Townsend 1987). Oppenheim's (1998:12) definition expands on this description, suggesting that 'Deprivation is multifaceted and attempts to capture the ways in which the lack of material and social resources overlap'.

Deprivation appears to take a number of different forms, such as housing, income and education deprivation. These can be experienced alone or in multiple forms, hence the idea of multiple deprivation. Debate surrounds whether multiple deprivation is a separate form of deprivation in its own right or simply a combination of different forms of deprivation (Noble et al, 1999). However, what is perhaps more important to consider is whether certain combinations of deprivation have a more severe impact than others.

Both deprivation and multiple deprivation also have a more practical use as a tool for measuring disadvantage in different locations, by allowing for the targeting of resources (Deas et al, 2003). Indices of deprivation, or ABDIs, as they are also known, map different forms of deprivation from data gathered about the population of an area. The overall level of disadvantage experienced in an area can then be assessed by combining this data into a single deprivation score. It should be noted that as there is currently no agreed method of measuring social exclusion, any index used to consider this complex concept must be viewed as a proxy measurement only.

Classifying geographic areas based on the perceived characteristics of the inhabitants is not a new practice and can be seen in the nineteenth century surveys of London by Charles Booth, who classified areas based on often value laden descriptions of the social characteristics of the occupants (see Harris et al, 2005). The 1980s to the mid 1990s saw the creation of numerous 'indices of deprivation' which, according to Lancaster and Green

(2002), were associated with the publication of the *Black Report* in 1980.<sup>53</sup> The development of indices such as the Jarman index, Townsend index, Doe81 index, Scotdep and Matdep, as well as others (see Lee et al, 1995), enabled the distribution of disadvantage, particularly poverty and deprivation, to be visualised through graphs and maps. These in turn encouraged the specific targeting of resources to occur. Unsurprisingly use of many of the above indices initially predominated in public health policy (Townsend et al, 1988, Jarman, 1983). However, as Church et al (2000) demonstrate, wider application of ABDIs in other policy areas has also occurred. The 1967 *Plowden Report*, for example, identified education priority areas that should be targeted with greater resources (Herbert, 1975).

The ABDI used to categorise the RCMG data was the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD). As it was this index which highlighted a particular geography of school visits to museums and it is the principal index used in this thesis, it is important to introduce it in more detail.

### **3.4.1 The Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD)**

The IMD is an aggregated deprivation score constructed using a number of differently weighted domains.<sup>54</sup> These are measured separately and combined to form a single measure of deprivation for a given spatial unit. Published originally in 2000 by the then Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR), the index has been

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<sup>53</sup> The report was published subsequently in 1982, and indicated that there were widespread inequalities in health associated with social class and material wealth, and that these inequalities could be associated with particular geographic regions (Black et al, 1982; Townsend et al, 1988).

<sup>54</sup> Defined as distinct dimensions of deprivation, e.g. income, employment and housing containing a number of indicators (Taken from DETR, 2000).

subsequently updated in 2004<sup>55</sup> and 2007.<sup>56</sup> The Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (2004:1) considered that the model of deprivation underpinning the index was 'based on the idea of distinct dimensions of deprivation which can be recognised and measured separately.' The index featured six policy domains, income, employment, health deprivation and disability, educational skills and training, housing and geographical access to services. The form of deprivation given greatest significance in the IMD 2000 is arguably economic, constituting 50% of the index if 'employment deprivation'<sup>57</sup> is considered a primarily economic form of deprivation. In 2004 the index underwent several changes described in Table 3.2.

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<sup>55</sup> Published by the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM)

<sup>56</sup> Published by the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG). The IMD 2007 has the same domains and weightings as the IMD 2004.

<sup>57</sup> The employment domain is based on the number of people who are unemployed, claiming incapacity benefit, severe disability allowance, or in the New Deal scheme (ODPM, 2004).

IMD 2000		IMD 2004	
Domain Name	Domain Weighting (%)	Domain Name	Domain Weighting (%)
1: Income deprivation	25%	1: Income deprivation	22.5%
2: Employment deprivation	25%	2: Employment deprivation	22.5%
3: Health deprivation and disability	15%	3: Health deprivation and disability	13.5%
4: Education, skills and training deprivation	15%	4: Education, skills and training deprivation	13.5%
5: Geographical Access to services	10%	5: Barriers to housing and services	9.3%
6: Housing	10%	6: Crime	9.3%
-	-	7: Living Environment Deprivation.	9.3%

Table 3.2: The domains and weightings of the IMD 2000, and 2004 (DETR, 2000; ODPM, 2004).

The most significant development occurring between 2000 and 2004 was the addition of crime and living environment domains. It had previously been commented by Deas et al (2003: 897), that these areas were noticeably absent from the 2000 index, despite there being a wealth of information which suggested their connection to deprivation. The addition of two further domains meant that, in the 2004 publication of the IMD, the weighting for each domain also changed to allow for the incorporation of these new dimensions. Arguably the concept of multiple deprivation informing the index was still primarily based on economic deprivation as the income and employment domains, although their weightings had been reduced, still constituted 45% of the index. Also, between 2000 and 2004 there was a further change in the spatial unit used to measure

the IMD, from electoral wards,<sup>58</sup> as used in the IMD 2000 to Super Output Areas.<sup>59</sup> This reflected a shift nationally in the way geographical statistics were reported: output areas, unlike wards, were considered to be stable and of a consistent size (Office for National Statistics, no date).

In the RCMG evaluations a further index of deprivation, the Income Deprivation Affecting Children Index (IDACI) was also used to consider the geography of school visits to museums.<sup>60</sup> This index is a supplementary index to the IMD, and used data from the percentage of children under 16 living in families reliant on different means tested benefits. Although the IDACI focuses on deprivation affecting children, this index is not considered in this thesis because of its reliance on economic variables to define deprivation. The IDACI does not consider any social or cultural aspects of deprivation affecting children, where as arguably the IMD does.

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<sup>58</sup> Electoral wards were the standard spatial unit used in small area statistics in England and Wales until 2004. The size of each ward ranged from 100 residents to 30,000 and there were regular boundary changes. Wards were not therefore considered ideal for nationwide comparisons, [www.statistics.gov.uk](http://www.statistics.gov.uk).

<sup>59</sup> Super Output Areas are the successor of electoral wards. SOAs are made up from the smaller spatial units known as 'output areas.' There are three layers of SOA, lower middle and upper. Each layer represents a different population number. Lower layer SOAs have a minimum population of 1000, middle have a minimum population of 5000. The upper layer SOAs have a minimum population which is yet to be determined but a maximum population of c.25, 000. The concept behind SOAs is that they are more comparable because they are of a consistent size with unchanging boundaries, where as the boundaries of electoral wards were constantly being redrawn, [www.statistics.gov.uk](http://www.statistics.gov.uk).

<sup>60</sup> The IDACI was used in two of the RCMG evaluations, the IDACI 2000 in RR1 (Hooper-Greenhill et al 2004b:43-48), and both the IDACI 2000 and 2004 were used in the DCMS/DfES evaluation (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2004d: 106-110). The IDACI 2004 is considered in more detail in relation to the RR1 evaluation particularly in Hooper-Greenhill et al (2009).



### 3.4.2 The potential pitfalls of using ABDIs

ABDIs may give policy makers and local authorities a more specific idea of where to target particular social inclusion strategies. However using such indices also has its limitations. The construction of ABDIs has faced criticism concerning methodological limitations (see for example Deas et al, 2003). The part ABDIs play in placing individuals, households and neighbourhoods within particular classifications that do not take into consideration either the specific reality on the ground or how this reality came about historically, has also been commented on (see Cameron, 2006). Examples indicate that the specific conceptual model of deprivation underpinning the various ABDIs place too much emphasis on individuals and households, underplaying the importance of neighbourhoods (Deas et al, 2003), or vice versa (Fieldhouse and Tye, 1996).

There are also technical issues involving the use of ABDIs that are essential to consider when assessing the accuracy of the spatial patterns of social disadvantage that they represent. One particular issue concerns the use of data gathered at one scale and reported at another. For example, the national census is recorded at the household level but, due to issues of confidentiality, cannot be reported at this small scale. Instead for general use it is put together (or aggregated) with data from other households in a specific area; the effect is a more generalised picture of that area rather than how a certain level of deprivation affects specific individuals.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Samples of anonymised records are available from the Cathie Marsh Centre for Census and Survey Research, [www.ccsr.ac.uk/sars/](http://www.ccsr.ac.uk/sars/). These are datasets drawn from the 1991 and 2001 Census where

An example of the problems of using data at different scales can be seen in the work of Taylor et al (2003) who illustrated, through their study of segregation between schools, that the number of school children eligible for free school meals at one particular hypothetical school and can therefore be classed as 'disadvantaged', is in the same proportion as disadvantaged pupils nationally. However, if the number of disadvantaged children in the hypothetical school is compared with the average across the school's Local Education Authority (LEA), a much smaller spatial area, it is shown that the hypothetical school has more than its 'fair share' of disadvantaged children (Taylor, et al, 2003). What this example shows is that, depending on the scale of the spatial area of comparison, a social factor such as disadvantage can appear quite differently. At one scale the hypothetical school has a greater than average number of disadvantaged pupils, but at another scale the school has an average number. This difference is important as, depending on which result a stakeholder took, it could potentially affect important decisions regarding the school, such as funding levels.

The ecological fallacy is also related to this issue. It refers to the potential pitfall of spatial data analysis that involves making inferences about individuals based on data recorded at a different scale. In the present research, the ecological fallacy would be present through reading the characteristics of a school, classified through the IMD as being in an area of high deprivation, as indicative of all of the pupils that attend it. The ecological fallacy will

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information that could identify individuals has been removed. Various datasets are available which represent 1% to 5% of the UK population.

therefore be addressed in Chapter 6 through the analysis of the percentage of pupils in schools recorded in the RCMG datasets eligible for free school meals.

Implicit in the spatial pitfalls described above is what Alcock describes as the 'conflation of the issue of poverty with the issue of place' (2006:126). In an area defined as 'poor', for example, there will be some residents who are not defined as poor but are targeted by poverty alleviation strategies because of where they live. Likewise, there will also be some poor people who live beyond the boundaries of the area, and who do not benefit from any targeting of resources.

Powell et al (2001) consider 'people poverty' and 'place poverty', identifying the former to be where low income families are forced to live in the same part of a city as each other, but their low incomes are not caused by where they live, while the latter is described as occurring when '...other benefits or penalties compound the advantages or disadvantages of particular groups by virtue of where they live...' (Powell et al, 2001:244). The authors consider 'place poverty' to have been neglected, with 'people poverty' being the main policy focus. The study concludes that both forms of poverty have different geographies. Therefore, strategies which combine both approaches could potentially address the individual problems in different areas (Powell, et al, 2001).

Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996), Bauder (2002), Uzzell et al (2002), Hubbard (2005) and Savage et al (2005) also discuss the various ways in which place is associated with identity. Place, in some instances, can be understood as a social category, a social identification which expresses membership of a particular group (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996).

People may (or may not) identify themselves with a particular town or city: being a 'Londoner', for example, or being a 'Geordie' or 'Brummy'. The terms also function as stereotypes (Hall, 1997b:257), and as positive identifiers of belonging to a particular group or place. Twigger-Ross and Uzzel (1996:206) also emphasise the importance of place in identity construction, suggesting that 'all aspects of identity will, to a greater or lesser extent have place related implications'. This has implications for ABDIs because if they identify a place negatively with high deprivation; this may have a knock on effect to a person's self-identity (see Morrison, 2003).

In summary, ABDIs may provide a potentially useful tool for the identification of socially excluded areas. However, they must be viewed in relation to several points. First, the concept of deprivation they are based on, as suggested above the IMD offered a primarily economic understanding of deprivation. Second, the potential spatial pitfalls of using ABDIs such as the ecological fallacy have to be recognised, also third, whether ABDIs identify poor places or poor people and finally, their part in developing an essentially negative image of certain areas.

### **3.5 Conclusion**

This chapter has outlined the three main concepts of disadvantage used in this study: poverty, deprivation and social exclusion. Poverty was discussed in its absolute and relative forms and social exclusion was considered to usefully extend and broaden these concepts, functioning as an analytical tool with which to consider the processes and multi-level nature of exclusion with economic, social *and* cultural dimensions. It was argued that

the concept of social exclusion has a neglected emotional aspect which, according to DCMS documents, museums may be able to engage with. This aspect of social exclusion will be maintained throughout this thesis and developed further in the next chapter. Also discussed in this chapter was the role of education sphere in social inclusion and exclusion. It was considered that school achievement may be influenced by the neighbourhood that the school is located as well as the social composition of the school population and the pupil's home context. These are all important contextual aspects to consider in this study which focuses on schools in areas of deprivation. The role that schools play in providing compensatory educational strategies designed to broaden pupil's horizons was also discussed here as one of the ways in which schools were tackling social exclusion.

As this study explores a particular pattern of school visits to museums, which was suggested using the IMD, it was important to discuss this index (used in this thesis as a proxy measure for social exclusion) and also to introduce ABDIs more generally. It was suggested that ABDIs have advantages in terms of identifying areas for targeted intervention but that they also have their pitfalls which must be considered such as the ecological fallacy. It was considered that the IMD, although representing multiple aspects of disadvantage, does to an extent rely on an economic understanding of exclusion. Importantly, the discussion on ABDIs also highlighted the interconnection of place with a person's sense of identity a theme which will reoccur in later chapters. Chapter 4 now continues the development of the concept of social exclusion, by outlining the theoretical

framework used in this study which will take, as a starting point, Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of capital.

## **Chapter 4: A capital based approach to social exclusion**

In the last chapter the concepts of poverty, deprivation and social exclusion were discussed with the conclusion that, although social exclusion is a broader and more holistic concept that considers social structures as well as individual agency, the way this concept is measured through indices of deprivation does not necessarily recognise the emotional aspects of social exclusion. It was considered that a view of social exclusion as a 'lived experience' incorporating these emotional aspects was a more rounded way of conceptualising social exclusion.

This chapter starts by considering the three main forms of capital, economic, social and cultural, as conceptualised by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. These notions of capital are examined in order to understand what capital is, its existence in multiple forms and the relationships between each form. How each form of capital connects with social inclusion/exclusion debates is also considered and, particularly, how museums are visible in these discussions. It is argued that along with the addition of the concept of emotional capital, the notions of economic, social and cultural capital provide a useful way of considering the potential impacts of school visits to museums and their contribution to social inclusion/exclusion.

The overall aim of this chapter is to present a conceptual framework through which to explore whether museums have an impact on social inclusion. In the final section of the chapter, the concepts of poverty, multiple deprivation and social exclusion are revisited and re-theorised through the viewpoint of the different forms of capital under discussion.

## 4.1 Bourdieu's forms of capital

Bourdieu is well known for his concepts of economic, social and cultural capital, which he saw as a set of interdependent concepts for understanding the structuring of social life.<sup>62</sup>

The term capital is often defined as a monetary resource that can be used to generate a profit (Reay, 2004:74). However, for Bourdieu (see for example 1986), the concept of capital does not only relate to the financial assets a person holds, but to a range of other resources acquired by and embodied within a person or organisation. Capital can also be understood as a concept which represents advantage and disadvantage in society and determines person's life chances (Newman and Whitehead, 2006). Forms of capital therefore, are intrinsically connected to social inclusion and social exclusion.

Bourdieu was concerned with how the accumulation and conversion of capital reproduced social inequalities, and argued that there are three fundamental forms of capital: economic, cultural, and social (Bourdieu, 1986). These are the forms of capital on which this study focuses in particular. He noted that there were also significant additional forms and various subtypes of capital including symbolic capital (see Bourdieu, 1990, 1977), judicial capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:99), scientific capital (ibid: 183-4), educational capital (Bourdieu, 1984) genetic capital (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977:32), religious capital (Bourdieu, 1990), and linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991). As it will become clear later in this chapter, the notion of capital has also been utilised by other authors, who have introduced their own variant forms.

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<sup>62</sup>Crossley (2001) states that capital along with the notions of field and habitus, are Bourdieu's central concepts.



Bourdieu uses the analogy of a game to visualise the social world and to emphasise the differences in the way people value and use the forms of capital to which they have access:

...those with lots of red tokens and a few yellow tokens, that is lots of economic capital and a little cultural capital will not play in the same way as those who have many yellow tokens and a few red ones...the more yellow tokens (cultural capital) they have, the more they will stake on the yellow squares (the educational system) (Original parentheses, Bourdieu, 1993:34).

This quotation introduces the idea that individuals may have unequal amounts of different forms of capital, meaning that they can only play the game in a certain way. In fact, reproducing or perpetuating inequality is a key element of how Bourdieu conceptualised the way in which the different forms of capital could operate. Each concept of capital can be seen as an exclusive as well as inclusive concept. Bourdieu considered that the volume and composition of capital to which an individual had access and the way in which that capital was operationalised by them, shapes their position in a particular social 'field'.<sup>63</sup> Some groups or individuals will therefore have an advantage over others in a particular social context, dependent on the amount and composition of the forms of capital they can access.

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<sup>63</sup> 'Field' is one of Bourdieu's core concepts and Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) define a field as a structure of relations between positions. There are many different fields in modern societies including for example a cultural field, an educational field and a field of law. A field can be conceptualised as a social arena where there is a continuous struggle to obtain certain forms of capital, resulting in superiority for some and inferiority for others (Cheal, 2005: 166)

One aspect of how the forms of capital function that must be emphasised here, is their interrelation with each other. Academic qualifications for example, which could be seen as a form of cultural capital (see section 4.1.3), can be translated into economic capital through the potential they offer to earn higher incomes. It is therefore difficult to consider one form of capital in isolation; rather, they can be viewed as an integrated framework. For example, Butler and Robson's (2001) study of gentrification of neighbourhoods in South London, notes the interplay between the differing levels of social, cultural and economic capital in particular localities. This can be seen in the education sphere where residents in particular areas deployed the forms of capital differently in order to secure the educational success of their children. In one area high in economic capital, it was this form of capital that was used by parents to privately educate their children. Whereas in an area of high cultural capital but less economic capital school success was ensured by deploying social capital through networks of likeminded households in the locality that are also rich in cultural capital (ibid and Butler, 2008).

#### **4.1.1 Economic capital**

Bourdieu did not provide a very detailed description of economic capital, and although the concept takes the form of money, or resources that can be converted into money, its definition must be considered as much broader than this. Employing a broadly Marxist perspective upon economic capital might lead to a specific refinement in definition where economic capital is constituted by elements such as i) the objects of labour (raw

materials), ii) the means of labour (tools, equipment) and iii) labour power<sup>64</sup>. It may therefore, be possible to consider abstract forms such as ideas as economic capital, as they are essentially raw materials (see Lash and Urry, 1994). Likewise, knowledge may be considered as the means of labour and skills as labour power, the 'tools' used to create a 'product'. It is this broad understanding of economic capital that will be used in this study. Bourdieu considered these economic resources to be either inherited or generated and suggested that economic capital was a particularly powerful form of capital (Bourdieu, 1986:252). In terms of its transfer, economic capital may be easier to move between individuals than cultural capital, as economic capital can be simply given, say, to a child in its monetary form or through property inheritance. However cultural capital (which may rely on economic capital in the case of private education), takes time to transfer through family life and education (Bourdieu, 1986).

Museums could interact with the generation of economic capital in various ways, for example, the so called 'Guggenheim effect'. The term is taken from the construction of a branch of the Guggenheim museum, New York, in the former industrial city of Bilbao in the Basque country of Northern Spain. The 'flagship' building, designed by Frank Gehry, has subsequently become a model for urban regeneration, arguably helping the city to place itself on the cultural tourist map. The 'Guggenheim effect' therefore, as Vicario and Monje (2003) suggest, refers to the economic expectations associated with new projects in regeneration areas. Arguably, the construction of the Guggenheim in Bilbao and other projects in the city has resulted in increased economic capital. For example, it has not only

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<sup>64</sup> For a discussion of a Marxist concept of capital see Harvey, 1973.

attracted tourists, but also increased purchase and rental prices of property in some of the city's districts (Ibid). However, the inclusivity of such culture-led regeneration schemes has also been questioned, both in terms of the possible exclusive effects of the architecture, and of the assumption that such regeneration enhances the quality of life for all sections of the community (Evans, 2005; Bailey et al, 2004; Miles, 2005).

Museums can be seen to build economic capital for individuals identified as being at risk of exclusion. An example is the Heritage Lottery funded 'In Touch' volunteer programme, jointly run by the Imperial War Museum North and the Manchester Museum. The programme is targeted at the long-term unemployed, those with low levels of skills or outdated skills, young people at risk of exclusion and asylum seekers and refugees. Each participant has a ten week course designed for them and during this time it is hoped they will have acquired museum specific skills such as object handling and customer care, as well as basic skills courses in literacy. The programme also hopes to improve the participants' quality of life and employability by encouraging greater self-confidence and interpersonal skills (Imperial War Museum North, no date).

However, programmes like 'In Touch' are not without their critics, Belfiore (2002:103) for example, questions whether museums should take on the role of a training agency as this conflicts with their other responsibilities to the conservation, interpretation and presentation of collections. Museums have therefore the potential to contribute to the economic capital of individuals and the regional economy although both of these functions are contentious.

Bourdieu (1984:242) agreed that it was not enough to view capital in a purely economic sense 'It is in fact impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all its forms and not solely in the one form recognized by economic theory'. However, Bourdieu retained an understanding of capital from the economic sphere, 'assets, representing the products of accumulated labour' (Field, 2003:16), as inherent in his further forms of capital.

#### **4.1.2 Social capital**

Social capital, describes the resources that are acquired through ties and links with other people: the larger a person's actual or potential social ties, the greater their access to social capital. Bourdieu describes social capital as:

...the sum of resources, actual or virtual, that accrues to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:119).

Harloe (2001) suggests that a key aspect of social exclusion is an absence or deficiency of social capital. Social capital therefore can be considered to relate to the positive outcomes of the networks and relationships that exist between individuals. In the cultural sector, the concept has received popularity as a potential analytical tool (Daly, 2005, Kinghorn and Willis, 2008). MLA (no date, b), for example, has developed the Generic Social Outcomes (GSOs), an evaluation framework underpinned by social capital theory and designed to help capture the social value of museum activity.

Bourdieu is one of several authors who have made a contribution to discussions on social capital; the term has also become associated with James Coleman (see, for example, Coleman 1961 and 1988-9) and Robert Putnam (1995). Putnam (1995) for example, associates America's increasing social problems with declining levels of social capital. He also notes a distinction between two different forms of social capital: 'bonding capital' emphasising identity boundaries and maintenance of group homogeneity and 'bridging capital' emphasising a linkage of people across existing social boundaries (Putnam, 2000; Larsen et al, 2004).

Social capital is frequently associated with positive consequences (Portes, 1998:15), and Putnam (2000) links social capital to health, happiness, democracy and safe neighbourhoods. However, it should be acknowledged that the networks and relationships that form social capital are based on trust, solidarity and strong ties. Thus they have the ability to exclude as well as include, with the category of 'other' or 'outsider' created and potentially applied to those not within the network or relationship (Ibid; Healy et al, 2001; Mohan and Mohan, 2002).

In the museum studies literature, Andrew Newman and Fiona McLean (2004) in particular, have engaged with notions of social capital. Their interest has been to consider how capital theories can contribute to understanding how museum and gallery visitors make sense of their experience. They have argued that the development of the bonding form of social capital was most evident in the visitors that they studied. This was demonstrated

particularly when the museum visit prompted the visitors to recall past memories, thus helping them to strengthen family ties (ibid: 494).

Daly (2005) also considers the potential for the arts to engage with developing both bridging and bonding forms of social capital, viewing museums as central spaces for building a sense of community identity. She notes that museums have the potential to encourage community cohesion, providing a space where individuals can 'identify with particular groups or communities' (ibid: 31). She also recognised that museums may build social capital through volunteer programmes. Daly suggests that one of the highest motivations for volunteers (whom she mentions are predominantly older and well educated), was the social interaction and presumably therefore the opportunity to build social capital that volunteering offered (ibid).

Social capital, as stocks of actual and potential resources gathered through social networks, is therefore a useful form of capital for considering the resources available to a community, or available to an individual. Inherent in the concept, however, is the ability social capital has to exclude those who are not members of a particular group or network.

#### **4.1.3 Cultural capital**

The last of Bourdieu's concepts of capital, Bennett et al (2008:11) considered that Bourdieu purposefully avoided giving a single definition of cultural capital as the concept had multiple forms. It is in general considered to be 'a particular stock of cultural competencies' (Bennett and Silva, 2006:89) which express the 'embodied dispositions and

resources of the habitus'<sup>65</sup> (Robson and Butler, 2001:71). For Bourdieu, these cultural competencies were significant in the reproduction and organisation of class inequality (ibid).

Much attention has been paid to the concept of cultural capital in the sociology of education. Here, studies have concentrated mainly on cultural capital and educational success (see, for example, DiMaggio, 1982; Dumais, 2002; Tramonte and Willms, 2009; Kingston, 2001; De Graaf et al, 2000; Reay, 2004; and Lareau and Weininger, 2003). It is perhaps no coincidence that a significant body of work exists in the sociology of education field, as it was here when Bourdieu was considering the unequal educational success of children from different social classes, that he initially developed his cultural capital hypotheses (Bourdieu, 1986).<sup>66</sup>

Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:119) considered cultural capital as an informational capital, concerning the acquisition and use of knowledge. They suggest that cultural capital was said to exist in three forms:

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<sup>65</sup> As with the concept of field mentioned in footnote 2, Bourdieu's notion of habitus is central to his theory of practice. Habitus is not the direct subject of study in this thesis. However, as the nature of Bourdieu's concepts are so interrelated, any discussions of his conceptual framework cannot avoid introducing terms that are in themselves complex and subject to much debate (see for example Margolis, 1999 and Hillier and Rooksby, 2005). With this in mind, the definition of habitus used in this study is that it is a 'structuring mechanism' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:18). Bourdieu (1977:72) defined habitus as 'the strategy generating principle enabling agents to cope with unforeseen and ever-changing situations'. Habitus is developed as individuals internalise rules, values and dispositions, partly unconsciously and partly consciously, throughout their life in reaction to the objective conditions that they encounter (Webb et al 2002:31, 44). Habitus is not natural but acquired as a product of social experience and education (Bourdieu, 2005: 45). An individual's habitus may also have much in common with another's if they occupy a similar position in social space; Bourdieu describes this as 'class habitus' (Bourdieu, 1984:101).

<sup>66</sup> See Bourdieu (1973) where he discusses his theory of social and cultural reproduction in more detail.



- Embodied state: is described as dispositions of the mind and body gathered informally as tacit knowledge. It is external wealth converted into an integral part of the person. Embodied cultural capital cannot be transferred instantaneously and takes time to accrue. It may often be associated with an individual's upbringing and family life.
- Objectified state: defined only in relationship to embodied cultural capital, objectified cultural capital refers to legitimised material objects and media including books, paintings, monuments and instruments. These objects can be bought and sold and ownership thus depends on an individual's stocks of economic capital. In addition, the means of appropriation or decoding of the object may not be readily transferable, as this depends on the individual's stocks of embodied cultural capital.
- Institutionalised state: refers to academically sanctioned 'legally guaranteed qualifications'. These are certificates of cultural competence which exist outside of the body (Bourdieu, 1986:244-248).

In *Distinction: a Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, Bourdieu (1984) explored how culture is implicit in the construction of social inequality. He suggested it posited a hierarchy of cultural capital and connected this directly to what was or was not 'legitimate culture'. This empirical enquiry was based on a survey questionnaire of 1217 people, conducted in 1963 and 1967-8 in Paris, Lille and a small provincial town and established a model suggesting that tastes and cultural preferences function as markers of different social classes. The process of 'distinction' creates tensions between legitimate and

ordinary forms of culture, raising those with legitimate cultural tastes, such as preferring 'ambitious' works at the cinema above those with ordinary or popular cultural tastes who may prefer 'spectacular feature films' (Bourdieu, 1984:271).

According to the theory of 'distinction', the choices individuals make regarding the consumption of and participation in culture has the effect of reproducing class positions. Although the cultural choices people make may seem natural, they are in fact constrained by social structures. Consequently certain cultural choices and combinations of these choices (described by Bennett et al, 2008 as homologues across cultural fields), become synonymous with certain social groups. It is the influence of cultural capital that, without necessarily any conscious awareness, guide individuals to making certain cultural choices rather than others. For Bourdieu, cultural capital is significant because it is central to explaining how class inequalities are created and sustained.

However, as *Distinction* relates to social practice in 1960s France, it is debatable how far we can relate this study to contemporary social practice in Britain. It is this question, amongst others, Bennett et al (2008) have recently addressed in *Culture, Class, Distinction*. The publication sought to replicate and extend Bourdieu's study in *Distinction* (Bennett et al, 2008:1), considering the role of cultural capital in understanding the relationship between cultural tastes, consumption and class in contemporary Britain (Gibson, 2009). The study is important to consider here because it represents the most recent and significant research discussing forms of capital in relation to Britain today.

*Culture, Class, Distinction* considered three main questions, 1) whether it is possible to detect cultural capital in Britain today, and if so what form it takes; 2) whether there are homologies across cultural fields; and 3) to what extent is it possible to see that middle class groups are advantaged by the organisation of cultural forms and perhaps 'how similar processes inform the ordering and reproduction of the relations between genders and ethnic groups' (Bennett et al, 2008:14). Significantly, they consider the relationships between ethnicity, age and gender and cultural tastes, an analysis Bourdieu did not undertake in *Distinction*, where he concentrated on class differentiation only.

The study indicated that there is a clear pattern and segregation of cultural life in contemporary Britain. Although these were not seen across all cultural forms, particularly not in the areas of television programmes or films (Bennett et al, 2008:56). Class appears to be quite fundamental in structuring cultural activities and members of the upper classes who are well educated are more likely to regularly attend museums and art galleries. Although class is less associated with particular tastes, overall Bennett et al suggest that 'the axis that most powerfully indicates the structure of cultural consumption in Britain is one that is directly associated with class position. This is not to say...that other social factors are unimportant, only that they are less important' (ibid: 53). The authors also argue that, although some cultural activities remain dominated by the upper middle classes, there are nevertheless many aspects of cultural life that are shared across the classes (ibid: 252).

Addressing whether there is a dominant expression of cultural capital in Britain, Bennett et al (2008) suggest that, as far as there is one, it would appear to be the 'adoption of an

omnivorous orientation' (2008:254). This orientation challenges the distinction between 'high' and 'low' forms of culture that Bourdieu recognised.<sup>67</sup> As Warde et al (2007: 145) suggest, drawing on Peterson and Kern (1996), cultural omnivorousness may hint at greater tolerance and the democratization of cultural forms and have an 'egalitarian veneer' (Bennett et al, 2008:255). However, Bennett et al (2008: 254) consider that the concept of omnivorousness is problematic as it does not usually mean a genuine taste for everything, rather a taste for Anglophone, British or American tastes.

Bennett et al (2008: 43) also suggested that, instead of the 'high' and 'low' distinction between cultural forms, there is instead more of a division between those who do participate in cultural activities and those who do not. These distinctions appear to overlap with class and level of education. The study also concluded that although the working class are not inactive, their cultural preferences are not distinct (ibid: 203). However, it did appear that the working class respondents neither showed an interest in, nor liked, high cultural forms but, significantly, did not feel excluded from them either (ibid:252).

The issue of exclusion from cultural forms is important because what appears at first to be cultural disengagement and potential social exclusion, may actually be more complex.

Bennett et al discuss the example of Margaret who lives in a rural area of Northern Ireland. At first glance it appears that Margaret does not participate in many cultural activities but, through their qualitative investigations, the research team realised that

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<sup>67</sup> The term 'cultural omnivore' was coined by Richard Peterson in 1992 (Warde et al 2007) to describe a high status individual that was open to other (predominantly 'low brow') forms of cultural taste (Peterson and Kern, 1996).

Margaret's leisure interests concentrated predominantly on the home and neighbourhood, and include an active home based social life connected to her children's school networks. The authors noted therefore, that exclusion from cultural life does not necessarily mean social isolation: the home, for example, could be a place where both family members and friends congregate. They concluded that detachment from public culture is not necessarily an indicator of social exclusion or a decline in social capital (ibid: 66).

With reference to the influence of gender and ethnicity, variables that Bourdieu did not explicitly include in his study, Bennett et al stress that this is one of the main contributions of their research. They showed that these variables heavily influence cultural tastes and practices and have their own distinctive forms of cultural capital. These forms of cultural capital interact with each other and particularly with class (Ibid)

As a final conclusion to the study, Bennett et al considered where their research left the concept of cultural capital. They argued that Bourdieu's theories may be very much a product of their time arguing, for example, that the advantage Bourdieu considered to be associated with 'command of legitimate culture', doubtless did not recognise the part of age, gender and ethnicity in the reproduction of cultural inequalities (ibid: 253).

Nevertheless, Bennett et al (2008:258) argued that the concept of cultural capital was worthy of future usage for four reasons:

- i) it can act as a shorthand for the accumulation of cultural resources deployed for personal advantage;

- ii) it is versatile, having the capacity to capture features of educational institutions, the culture industries and the system of stratification in Western societies;
- iii) it has proved highly successful in the past in organising facts about unequal participation by different sections of the population, for instance in cultural activities that have been accorded differential value;
- iv) it has an integral connection in its theoretical corpus of origin with other forms of capital.

Bennett et al did not explicitly address one particular area which may yield interesting results, whether there is any distinguishable geographic distinction of cultural preferences, and whether this variable has any association with ethnicity and social class.

<sup>68</sup> It may be, for example, that access to certain cultural forms is not equally distributed geographically, therefore influencing, in a practical sense, the particular cultural tastes people may have. Gibson (2009) discussed the finding in Bennett et al (2008: fig. 10.2), that people involved in the media consume legitimate culture to a greater extent than those in higher education occupations. She wondered if this could be explained by the location of cultural resources in urban centres such as London or Manchester that also function as employment hubs for the media industry. Hooper-Greenhill et al (2009) have also considered how the location of both museums and schools in deprived inner-city

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<sup>68</sup> Bennett et al (2008: 238, 242-244, 183-185) did briefly consider location in terms of where both white British and ethnic minority respondents' tastes are located culturally, for example in the categories of English and Indian cultures. They also very briefly considered the importance of different British regions in relation to omnivorousness.

locations may, in part, have influenced the geography of school visits to museums that this study considers. Chapter 7 explores this issue further.

Considering Bourdieu (1984) and Bennett et al (2008), museums have perhaps traditionally been associated with cultural capital in a rather exclusive way, as establishments helping to reproduce class inequalities. Situated within the realm of 'high culture', museums, according to Bourdieu and Darbel (1991:113) are only accessible to those with sufficient stocks of cultural capital to appropriate the objects on display. This ability is transmitted through the acquisition of cultural capital, acquired through education and membership of the 'cultivated classes' (Ibid: 14). Nevertheless, cultural capital has become linked with social inclusion and exclusion debates particularly when New Labour started to consider cultural access and equity. Providing greater access to cultural forms is, for example, one focus of the Policy Action Team 10 report on the contribution that sport and the arts can make to social inclusion (DCMS, 1999).

However, Bennett and Savage (2004) suggest that the pairing of the terms cultural capital and social inclusion did not generate as much policy interest as the concept of social capital. This comparatively low key policy response is perhaps due to the sense of uncertainty surrounding the usage of cultural capital theory in cultural and educational policy. Bennett and Savage (2004), Bennett (2006), Bennett and Silva (2006) and Levitas (2004) critique the use of cultural capital in social inclusion agendas, arguing that the concept of 'capital' has suffered distortion and modification in policy initiatives, resulting in some cases, in a questioning of its usefulness as a concept in the social inclusion debates. Levitas (2004: 53), for example, notes that cultural capital is used now as an

individualised and commodified term which is 'a resource in a competitive system'.

However, she considers that cultural capital resides in groups. Levitas is also critical of how she believes the recent use of the term cultural capital has obscured existing class relations rather than 'shedding light on how class domination is sustained' (ibid). Likewise, Bennett and Silva (2006: 94-5) consider that simply broadening access to cultural forms, as recent cultural policy has aimed to do (for example, through the free entry to museums scheme), does not address the more structural reasons why cultural forms operate as a means of exclusion in the first place.

Furthermore, Bennett and Savage (2004) argue that cultural capital theory can only be meaningfully applied to certain situations. For example, 'the social and cultural divisions that operate within and among different sectors of the 'mainstream' rather than to problems concerning 'a large mainstream, 'us' and a few excluded others' (ibid:9). They note, however, that measures to tackle these two different forms of exclusion, one arguably much more extreme than the other, appear concurrently in cultural policy and are discussed in the same way, even though they are quite different issues. Bennett and Silva (2006: 94) also express their concern that in cultural policy, questions surrounding unequal access to cultural activities may evolve into questions that actually concern 'the social and moral integration of a range of deprived or marginalised constituencies into the 'mainstream''. These are again considered as two very different issues, the former being concerned with notions of cultural entitlement and the latter with challenging social problems though the 'ameliorative or integrative consequences that flow from involvement in art or culture' (ibid: 94).



Despite these criticisms, Newman (2005) suggests that cultural capital can help us to understand how museums may contribute to society by drawing attention to the issue of accessibility. In recent museum practice, the theory of cultural capital has been taken up, particularly in management and exhibition design, and arguably channelled towards more inclusive ends (see also Chapter 1). For example, judgements are increasingly made about the amounts of cultural capital visitors come with and exhibition text is modified so that technical, overly academic or specialist terms are kept to a minimum (Newman, 2005:233). This approach to exhibition design aims to include those visitors without 'specialised forms of capital' (ibid). It has been criticised for not being sufficiently challenging and thereby not enabling visitors to actually increase their stocks of cultural capital (Appleton, 2001a).

The use of the cultural capital concept particularly in cultural policy is clearly not without its issues. Arguably, cultural capital has become diffused in social inclusion policy initiatives where the term's more socially critical dimensions, for example examining why cultural forms may function as a means of exclusion, have been lost. The use of the cultural capital concept has possibly also been used too broadly in cultural policy, being used to refer to social contexts that concern quite different issues, as Bennett and Savage (2004) and Bennett and Silva (2006) consider. However, this does not mean that capital is not a useful concept for the reasons set out by Bennett et al (2008) above, as long as its role in reproducing inequalities is not ignored.

## **4.2 Extensions to Bourdieu's concepts of capital**

In *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, Bourdieu and Wacquant note that sociology is faced with the difficulty of trying to precisely define a reality which is 'imprecise', 'fuzzy,' and 'woolly' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:23). They emphasise therefore that '...it is much better that its concepts be polymorphic, supple, and adaptable, rather than defined, calibrated, and used rigidly' (ibid).

In this sense, Bourdieu saw his conceptual framework as something to be adapted and built upon which is what has occurred in the case of his concept of capital. It is beyond the scope of the current study to provide a detailed overview of how different authors have extended Bourdieu's concept of capital or formulated their own notions of capital. They are though many and varied. For example, Becker (1993) has utilised the concept of 'human capital' to describe the resource accrued by the individual through investment in training and learning, an idea extended by Cote (1996) into the development of 'identity capital'. In addition other examples of forms of capital developed include Jansson et al (1994) and Costanza et al (1997) who employ the notion of 'natural capital' to refer to environmental goods and services and more recently, Modood (2004) has developed a discussion of 'ethnic capital' or 'cultural-social capital'. Another extension of the concept of capital is emotional capital which will now be considered.

### **4.2.1 Emotional capital**

Emotions are an aspect of social life that, as argued by Reay (2000: 571) have not traditionally been engaged with by social scientists until the last decade, although recently

emotions have come to prominence. For example, Davidson et al (2005:1) suggests there has been an 'emotional turn' in geography, with it being widely recognised that 'our emotions *matter*' (original emphasis).<sup>69</sup>

In social science research there has also been a shift towards considering, not just the emotions of the researched but also the researcher (see Bennett, 2009, 2004b). In this sense, the researcher's emotions are seen as potentially useful in the development of the research. Harding and Pribram (2004:877) suggest that this shift moves away from the perception that emotions are irrational and not an area that social science researchers should engage with, towards an acknowledgement that 'fact and value cannot really be separated'. Potentially therefore emotional capital presents a challenge to the rational. Silva (2007: 145) considers that emotional capital is an essential ingredient to the reflexive self, 'referring to moral thinking about personal connections and intimate life'. Arguably therefore a function of emotional capital is to confront or disrupt what has been previously accepted as logical and coherent.

Silva (2007) suggests that Bourdieu did not give relevance to the emotional aspects of social actions. Therefore, emotional capital potentially extends the understanding of capital in a way previously unacknowledged by Bourdieu. Emotional capital is generally understood as emotional resources (Zembylas, 2007). However, the concept does appear to have been used with several different emphases that will be considered here, before a working definition of emotional capital for use in this study outlined.

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<sup>69</sup> See also the follow up to this 2005 publication, Smith et al (2009).

Nowotny (1981), has been regarded as the first to use the concept (Reay, 2004, 2000), she considered that emotional capital is a form of social capital rather than cultural capital. Nowotny considered emotional capital to be 'the social and cultural resources generated through affective relations, especially in the sphere of the family' (Zembylas, 2007: 451). Emotional capital for Nowotny is connected to the private rather than the public sphere involving the 'affective relationships' of family and friends (Reay, 2000:572). McGrath and Van Buskirk (1996) also viewed emotional capital as an extension of social capital, specifically visible in the forming of strong social bonds which involved shared trust, involvement and commitment.

As with Nowotny, Allatt (1993) emphasised the connection between emotional capital, family and friends. She considered emotional capital to include 'emotionally valued assets and skills, love and affection, expenditure of time, attention, care and concern' (Ibid: 143). Similarly, Gillies (2006), in her study of parental emotional investments in their children, also considers emotional capital to be connected with the family. She adds that emotional capital is a resource that can have both short and long term effects with emotional investments being potentially directed towards both day to day survival at school and maximising formal educational opportunities. Furthermore, Silva (2007) notes that emotional capital is essential for self-reflexivity and for developing the capacity to make life decisions, emphasising that stocks of emotional capital can impact on the particular direction in which an individual's life proceeds.

Several authors consider emotional capital as a gendered form of capital (Nowotny, 1981; Reay, 1998; 2000; and O'Brien, 2008). For example, in Reay's (2000) study, it is the

emotional involvement of mothers in their children's education that is considered rather than that of fathers. Although emotional capital may be considered in this gendered way by some,<sup>70</sup> this does not mean that men and boys do not need to invest in this form of capital.

A different approach is taken by Gendron (2004), who suggested that emotional capital is a set of emotional resources or competencies that are associated with self-management. It was particularly relevant in companies, schools and organisations rather than specifically in families. Gendron's approach was closely related to emotional intelligence models popularised in the mid 1990s by Goleman (1996). These models concern how emotions can be used, controlled and manipulated (in oneself and others). In this regard, emotional intelligence is required in successful organisational leadership (Herkenhoff, 2004) and business success (Thomson, 1998). Gendron (2004: 12) also highlights a particular function of emotional capital that other authors do not appear to examine, namely that emotional capital potentially acts as a catalyst or as a 'booster capital' which can influence the creation, acquisition, and development of human, social and cultural capital. For example, stocks of emotional capital used to build self-confidence may help an individual to then make social connections and build social capital. Emotional capital *may* therefore have a supportive role in the acquisition of other forms of capital. However, as Zembylas (2007) indicates there is a need for further research to understand how emotional capital is converted into other forms.

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<sup>70</sup> Note also that Bourdieu (1986: 253) considered that the amount of free time a mother had to invest in her family affected the successful transmission of cultural capital.

It has also been argued that as with the other forms of capital, emotional capital is often unequally distributed and can be seen as instrumental in the way power relations are produced and reproduced (Harding and Pribram, 2004). Silva (2007) asserted that, just as with other forms of capital, emotional capital was an asset for social positioning and had exchange value with those who also possess it. For example, the mothers in Reay's (2000) study were from different social classes and Reay concluded that emotional involvement did not differ between social groups. However, working class women found it more difficult to invest emotionally in their children's schooling because of the influence of their relatively low level of other forms of capital working in conjunction with each other (ibid: 575). Reay emphasised that living in poverty, for example, is an emotionally draining experience (ibid: 582). Therefore, for those at risk of exclusion, as well as having potentially low levels of economic, social and cultural capital, there may also be reduced stocks of emotional capital as well. As Manion (2007) contends, this suggestion is contentious as emotional capital may be abundant in marginalised groups. In support of this idea, Gillies (2006:292) notes that both middle and working class mothers do invest emotionally in their children but in different ways. For middle class mothers, their emotional investment pays off in terms of greater academic success. For working class mothers however, the investment was more concerned with keeping their child safe, challenging injustice and calming their child's feelings of failure and low self worth.

There are also criticisms of the concept of emotional capital. The first, which is levied at capital theory generally, suggests that abundant use of the term capital helps to reinforce the 'normalization' and 'naturalization' of capitalism itself (Levitas, 2004:50). Secondly,

criticisms have been made against emotional capital based on the principle that emotions cannot be reduced to an economic metaphor such as the notion of capital. A concept of emotional capital therefore may be seen as a step too far in the instrumentalisation of social life. As Gillies (2006:291) argues 'while emotions can translate into crucial resources, they are clearly not consciously accumulated or spent like money'.

While not spent like money, it is suggested that emotional resources can be interpreted as having an exchange value with other forms of capital or, as Gendron (2004) indicates, act a booster for certain types of capital. Also, the concept of emotional capital has implications for how emotions might connect to social inclusion work. As Bennett et al (2008: 258) argue in relation to their conception of 'emotional cultural capital', emotionality is increasingly considered as a potentially useful personal characteristic. For example, they noted that businesses now look for employees that have 'emotional rather than technical skills' (ibid). Arguably therefore, emotional capital is a capacity people might increasingly need.

The concept of emotional capital has been used in a variety of ways by different authors as these discussions have suggested. The definition that is used in this thesis has a broad emphasis and is based primarily on the work of Zembylas (2007) who considers the concept as a stock of emotional resources which are not transmitted specifically through families or organisations, nor is it necessarily gendered. Emotional capital is a form of capital in its own right and is not a sub-category of either social or cultural capital (ibid). This definition does recognise, however, that emotional capital may impact on other forms of capital (ibid). Silva's (2007) idea that the concept is essential for the reflexive self

is also integrated into this working definition. The following section considers how museums have reflected on the importance of emotions and emotional engagement in museum context and highlights the potential for museums to build stocks of emotional capital.

#### **4.2.2 Emotional capital and museums**

A number of research studies have been conducted in the museum sector which connect museum visiting to the acquisition of the various forms of capital as discussed above. I would like to now consider how museums have engaged with the idea of emotional capital. I argue that a relationship exists between emotional capital and an individual's sense of self. Loss of identity has been suggested by Woodward (1997: 1) as an outcome of exclusion. It may be therefore that, by developing visitors' emotional capital through the idea of identity building, museums can be seen to have an impact on social inclusion.

Museums have had a particular relationship with visitors' emotions. This is especially visible in the field of museum learning, where it is recognised by some that learning is '...strongly influenced by setting and emotion' (Dierking, 2005:111). Studies have considered how best to facilitate emotional, whole body learning in museums by, for example, engaging with Csikszentmihalyi's (1997) theory of flow. When applied to museums, this concept may be seen to describe situations where visitors become fully immersed in their museum experience.

There have, however, been tensions in museums concerning the dualism between 'experience-based' or 'affective learning' and 'information-based' or 'cognitive learning'.



The former being arguably more connected with building emotional capital than the latter. Some authors have seen this distinction as unhelpful (for example, Roberts, 1992 and McManus, 1993). Roberts (1992) argued that it is affective engagement in museums which is the most immediate visitor response and that this shapes the reception of cognitive engagement: '...it is in the expressive, affective mode that people come to know what is rewarding to them. It is there that they discover the criteria by which they evaluate all other life activities' (Roberts, 1992:166).

In the RR2 study, RCMG noted that the possibility of individual emotional engagement in the museum was highly valued by both teachers and pupils (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2006b).<sup>71</sup> Some teachers specifically considered that emotional engagement acts as a trigger or catalyst for learning, whether this learning is positive or negative (ibid: 170; Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2004d: 430). The pupils' questionnaires evidence that emotions may have an important part to play in encouraging learning, through the high percentage of children (both key stage 2 and 3) agreeing that they had both enjoyed their visit and that they had learnt some interesting new things (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2004a, 2004c and 2006a).

Robert's article, now over fifteen years old, hints that, at the time, many museum educators were working with a view of learning that focused on information-based methods. It is arguable whether the majority of education or learning staff in museums today would subscribe to this view of learning, considering the advances in how learning is

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<sup>71</sup> See also Watson et al (2007).

understood to operate in museums today (see Hooper-Greenhill, 2007 and Hooper-Greenhill et al 2004b, 2004d and 2006b).

In relation to cultural exclusion, Newman and McLean (2004a) used the concepts of identity, human, cultural and social capital to consider whether museum exhibitions and community development projects enabled visitors/participants to invest in various forms of capital. They concluded that a reoccurring theme in their data (based on visitor/participant interviews, focus groups and questionnaires with 'excluded' individuals) was that the experience had made them feel more positive about themselves (ibid:493). Visitors made investments in themselves during their museum experience, arguably acquiring emotional capital (although Newman and McLean do not use this term). The museum experience also allowed the participants to deal with aspects of their experience of exclusion. Although not removing the cause of that experience, it helped the participants to lessen the effects by strengthening their own sense of self worth (Ibid: 495). It is the idea of 'investing in oneself' which is of interest here, as it connects with the concept of emotional capital. Newman and McLean's study also emphasised that the ability to invest in oneself in the museum environment may also be affected by an individual's existing level of other forms of capital (2004:495). Therefore some individuals may be more successful than others in this self investment process. This suggests that emotional capital may be closely connected to the volume of other forms of capital.

Museums have also sought to explicitly engage with visitors' emotions through reminiscence work. Reminiscence work often involves a handling session of objects linked to a theme such as 'childhood fun and games' (Mastoris and Shaw, 1996:58). The

participants handle the objects and talk about the memories that these objects evoke. As well as historical reminiscence museums have engaged with reminiscence with a more therapeutic emphasis, including groups that would be considered at risk of exclusion such as people with depression, chronic illness and substance abuse (Silverman, 2002, 1995 and Kaplan et al, 1993). The range of benefits that it is considered participants can experience through this therapeutic experience include as with Newman and McLean's study, mentioned previously, an emphasis on investing in one's sense of self and connection to the community. Museums are already valued spaces for engagement with emotions and potentially building emotional capital, whether this is part of a learning and/or therapeutic experience.

Emotional capital is therefore a useful addition to Bourdieu's primary forms of capital (economic, cultural and social) that are considered together here because it may help to conceptualise a hitherto neglected aspect of social exclusion, the emotional aspects. It is argued that emotional capital connects into the perspective of social exclusion posited in Chapter 3 which incorporated an understanding of exclusion as a lived (emotional) experience. Since Gendron (2004: 9) states that emotions 'play a role in people's entire life, in people's behaviour, in reactions to their day-to-day life: at school, at work, everywhere' it is logical that they should be a recognised aspect of social exclusion and this aspect is returned to in the final section of this chapter. Furthermore, Gendron goes on to suggest that 'since emotional competences are crucial and useful to perform better socially, economically and personally, we have to consider them a capital' (ibid).

Emotional capital also ties into the notion that there is a subjective aspect to deprivation,

by this it is meant that individuals will have a personal response to the experiences in their lives.

The discussion concerning how museums connect with emotions helps to consider how these institutions can encourage individuals to invest in themselves, particularly through affective learning. Arguably investing in self is an experience that involves emotional investments and the building of emotional capital. Even if this work is not articulated by museums themselves as investing explicitly in 'emotional capital', it can be argued that accruing a stock of emotional resources (as indicated by DCMS, 2005, 2000 mentioned in Chapter 3) is an important underlying aspect of the work museums do.

#### **4.3 Addressing the issue of determinism.**

Before going on to theorise social exclusion through the concepts of capital introduced in this chapter, it is necessary to briefly position this study in respect to the issue of determinism. One of the key criticisms of Bourdieu's theories are that they are overly deterministic and, although Bourdieu's notions of capital are used here only as a starting point, the issue of determinism is considered of importance to theorising social change generally and is therefore of relevance here.

According to Jenkins (2002: 91), in Bourdieu's construction of the social world, individuals are born into and reproduce established social categories, where 'things happen to people, rather than a world in which they can intervene'. This encapsulates the meaning underpinning the term determinism, which questions individual agency, considering that

every event, action, or decision is determined by external forces alone.<sup>72</sup> To take an example from Bourdieu's theories of practice, the school forms a site of reproduction of social classes by rewarding pupils however unconsciously, who have the correct cultural codes, as supplied by their upbringing, to decode the school system (Bourdieu, 1973). Therefore, those who do not possess these cultural codes do not succeed in this system, and are not able to then pass on the correct set of aptitudes and dispositions to their own children. A pupil's own agency in terms of personal characteristics or levels of intelligence does not matter in this theory of class reproduction; rather, it is access to endowments of cultural capital that determines academic success.

Responding to the criticisms of determinism, Bourdieu emphasised that there was more than one way to 'play the game' in a particular field and that individuals had some agency over the choices they made and the strategies they used (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Despite Bourdieu's responses to this accusation, there appears to be scepticism over exactly how consciousness and reflexivity operate in Bourdieu's system (Adams, 2006: 516). An alternative that I would like to consider here is the 'reflexivity thesis', which suggests that ability for change exists both at an individual and a societal level (Gauntlett, 2007:62).

Giddens (1991) and Beck (1992), both central authors within the 'reflexivity thesis', have both considered how contemporary identity is actively constructed. Others have indicated that the post-traditional and individualising society is characterised by '...a flexible,

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<sup>72</sup> This explanation is based on the definition given in the Oxford English Dictionary online edition <http://dictionary.oed.com/>

authored self, more open, transparent and above all, reflexive' (Adams, 2006:512).

Arguably, reflexivity has the capacity to challenge unconscious and habitual forces. The notion of reflexivity is increasingly ubiquitous due to economic, cultural and social shifts in society. The encouraging of resilience<sup>73</sup> and flexibility in young people has also appeared as a theme in recent DCSF policies (Challen et al, 2009). The reflexivity thesis would appear at first consideration to be well suited to considering how individuals make sense of their experiences in the museum and the impact such an experience may have.

However, the critique of this argument suggests that it fails to take into account restraints on individual agency and assumes that individuals are able to act equally. In reality there may be structural and cultural factors that, as Tucker (1998: 208) indicates, are 'still at work in fashioning the self'.<sup>74</sup>

Adams (2006) summarises attempts to move beyond this impasse highlighting where authors have attempted to construct theories that recognise both individual agency and social structures. This hybridisation which recognises both a level of individual agency *and* the effect of structure, may therefore offer a potential approach through which to theorise social change, and is the position that this present study takes on the issue of determinism.

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<sup>73</sup> Burchardt and Huerta (2008: 59) describe resilience as a slippery and contentious concept, but consider that a person who exhibits resilience 'has positive outcomes or avoids negative ones, despite being exposed to adverse circumstances'.

<sup>74</sup> It should also be considered whether people can be reflexive about all aspects of their life, as some things may be less amenable to conscious representation.

The final section of Chapter 4 now brings together the strands of discussion explored so far, establishing a model of social exclusion using the concepts of economic, social, cultural and emotional capital that have been outlined above.

#### **4.4 A capital based model of absolute poverty, multiple deprivation and social exclusion**

Considering the concepts of capital outlined here (including emotional capital) it is important to reconsider the concepts of poverty, multiple deprivation and social exclusion outlined in Chapter 3 in order to theorise them using these forms of capital. This exercise will help to identify how the forms of capital interact within the different concepts of disadvantage.

Within the absolute poverty perspective, individuals and families in poverty are seen to have insufficient access to enough economic resources to sustain themselves physically. There is no real capacity within the parameters of this situation to recognise other forms of capital except the economic form, as the concept of poverty is defined in economic terms. Therefore in diagrammatical form, absolute poverty might be conceptualised as Figure 4.1.

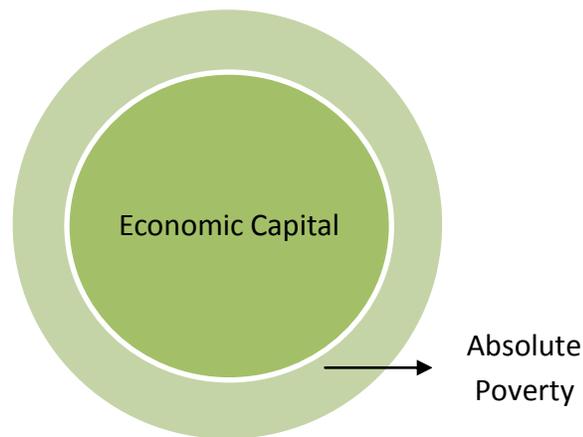


Figure 4.1: The forms of capital contributing to absolute poverty.

However, with multiple deprivation, as demonstrated through the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD, 2004), despite the clear emphasis given to economic assets as discussed in Chapter 3 there is also recognition of other more social and cultural issues. It should be noted that this exercise does to an extent over simplify the contribution that each form of capital makes to the domains in the IMD, as each domain may actually operationalise multiple forms of capital. The unemployment domain, for example, may reflect in some instances an individual's low levels of institutionalised cultural capital which may hinder employment, however arguably the outcome of unemployment may be hardest felt in the economic domain. Therefore the domain is influenced by one form of capital and felt in another.

Figure 4.2 visualises how multiple deprivation might look through the notions of economic, social and cultural capital. Figure 4.2 shows economic capital as larger in scale



than cultural and social capital in order to indicate the relative weighting of this form of capital within the IMD.

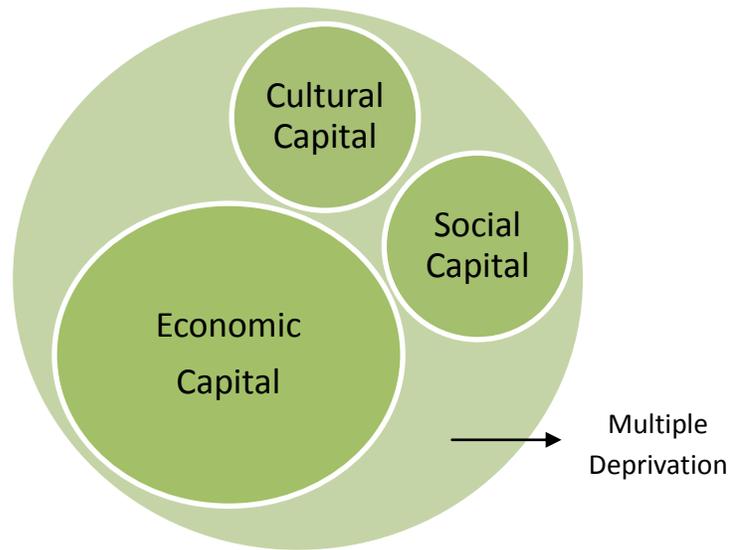


Figure 4.2: How the lack of forms of capital may contribute to multiple deprivation (as conceptualised through the IMD 2004).

Perhaps a more accurate model of multiple deprivation would also signify the interrelated nature of the forms of capital, as Figure 4.3 demonstrates. This relates to the idea that specific aspects of deprivation, such as a lack of adequate housing, may be due to a lack of both economic and cultural capital. For example, not having sufficient stocks of institutionalised cultural capital may limit job choices and therefore potentially have an effect on the type of housing an individual can afford.

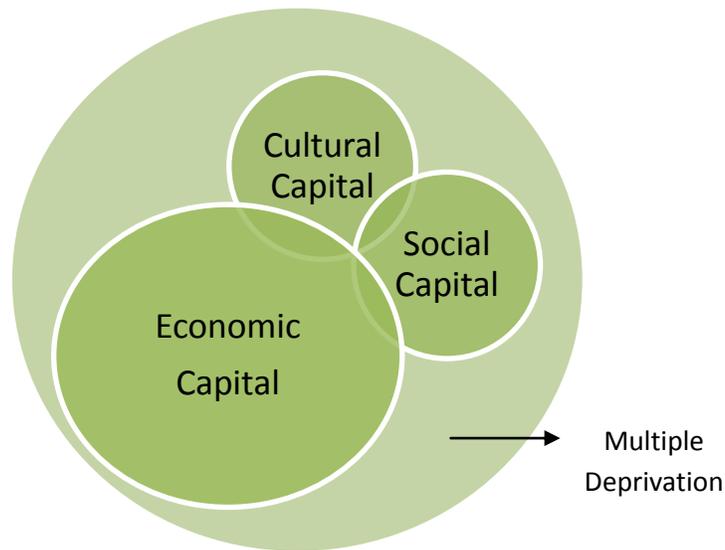


Figure 4.3: Multiple deprivation, showing the interrelated nature of the forms of capital.

Figure 4.3 as in Figure 4.2 represents economic capital as a more dominant influence than social or cultural capital in the conceptualisation of multiple deprivation although it maintains that the forms of capital interconnect and suggests that the lack of one form will have an impact on the other forms of capital.

At the end of the previous chapter a view of social exclusion as lived experience was introduced and it was discussed again in this chapter in relation to emotional capital. As with the other forms of capital a person experiencing social exclusion may also lack emotional capital, however was considered that the emotional impact of social exclusion was missing from popular definitions of the concept. Therefore a view of social exclusion which includes the interplay of emotional capital adds neglected emotional component to the 'official' government definition of the concept (Cabinet Office, 2001:13). Figure 4.4 visualises how this view of social exclusion might appear.

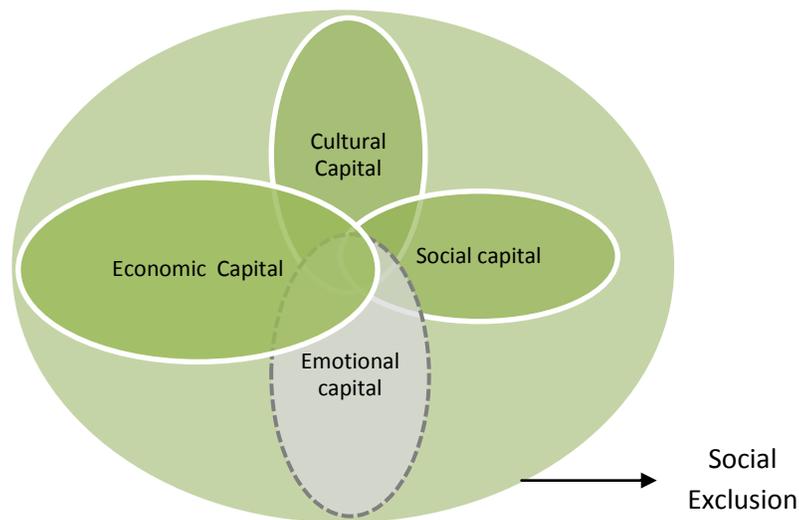


Figure 4.4: Social exclusion as a 'lived experience' theorised through economic, social, cultural and emotional capital.

In Figure 4.4 the three forms of capital (economic, cultural, social) have been joined by emotional capital. The forms of capital overlap each other again to indicate their interconnections. Economic capital still retains a larger place than the other forms as this continues the idea that it is a particularly powerful and dominant form of capital.

It is a particular interest of this study to explore the impact of school visits to museums by looking through the conceptual lenses that the different forms of capital embody. The models in Figures 4.1 to 4.4, presented above, represent a way of thinking about the notions of capital in relation to the concepts of poverty, multiple deprivation and social exclusion particularly highlighting social exclusion as a lived experience that will

necessarily evoke emotional responses. Figure 4.4 therefore in particular symbolises the particular model of social exclusion I wish to examine within this thesis.

## **4.5 Conclusions**

Much ground has been covered in this chapter. Bourdieu's concepts of economic, social and cultural capital have been introduced, and contextualised within the museum studies and social inclusion/exclusion literature. Specific attention was paid to Bourdieu's (1984) *Distinction*, along with Bennett et al's (2008) reappraisal of the concept of cultural capital and the processes of 'distinction' in the present day British context. This study was considered particularly important as it examined how and whether cultural capital was visible today and how it might function.

The chapter has suggested that economic, social and cultural capital can provide a useful way of considering the social exclusion. As each form of capital has a particular relationship with exclusion and inclusion from social life, they are viewed as suitable concepts through which to view the dynamics of school visits to museums. The way that they interconnect with each other may also offer a particularly nuanced understanding of school visit experience for teachers pupils and museum staff.

The concept of emotional capital was also introduced and defined as a stock of emotional resources that have an impact on all areas of life. It was hypothesised that emotional capital may function as a kind of booster capital and that, prompted by the 'emotional turn' in the social sciences, the recent engagement with 'emotion' may act as a challenge to the dominance of the rational. It is hypothesised that by functioning in this way,

emotional capital might encourage greater self-reflexivity which may be an important asset for those at risk of exclusion. It was considered that with the addition of this form of capital, the capitals framework potentially offer a useful way of theorising social exclusion which encompasses the previously neglected aspect of emotion.

Stimulated by a criticism of Bourdieu's theory of practices which considers his theories to be overly deterministic; it was considered necessary to outline what position is taken on determinism in this thesis. This study recognises that individuals have a level of agency and they are not passive or submissive to an ever reproducing social order, but that also the constraints of structure cannot be ignored.

Finally, section 4.4 considered how the forms of capital can help to visualise the concepts of disadvantage discussed in Chapter 3, concluding that social exclusion should be underpinned not only by economic, social and cultural capital, but also by emotional capital. It is through these four notions of capital that the qualitative data gathered in this thesis will be analysed and the impact of museums to social inclusion assessed.

This chapter has outlined the coding frame that will be used in this thesis to consider the potential impact of museum visits, one of this study's research aims. However, the next chapter will consider in greater detail the research methods and research design employed in this study.

## **Chapter 5: Methodology**

### **5.1 Introduction**

At the start of Chapter 1, a research finding was proposed that suggested a potentially significant geography of school visits to museums that challenged the popular and widespread opinion of museums as elitist and exclusionary. From this finding, a series of research aims were outlined. This chapter sets out the methodology stemming from these research aims and justifies the suitability of the selected research methods. Importantly, Chapter 5 also outlines the research process, why I made certain choices and further methodological issues that arose, such as ethical considerations, reflexivity and research limitations.

The research employs a mixed methods approach, with two research strategies being employed: quantitative analysis of secondary data and case-studies. This chapter begins by giving an overview of how the research design can be conceptualised, so that the overall methodological structure of the thesis is apparent, before discussion progresses onto particular methodological issues. After this overview, the chapter then moves on to consider the appropriateness of the mixed methods approach. Next, quantitative analysis and case-study methodology are introduced and their suitability considered. The chapter also discusses how the research was conducted, how the case-study schools were selected and the techniques the case-studies used. The final section of Chapter 5 discusses a range of further methodological issues which are of central importance to this study such as research ethics and reflexivity.

## **5.2 Mixed methods research design overview**

The study can be considered in two main sections based around the two distinct aims of the research. The first research aim, addressed in Chapters 6 and 7, explores the social geography of school visits to museums. The second, discussed in Chapter 8, sets out to consider the impacts of school visits to museums through a qualitative analytical framework based on notions of capital established in Chapter 4.

Effective mixed methods research projects should have two strands, one qualitative and the other quantitative (Creswell, 2009:108) and this is the approach of the present study, although the two strands will be, to an extent, integrated throughout the research.

Chapters 6 and 7 predominantly focus on the quantitative mode but nest qualitative data within that analysis. Likewise, in Chapter 8, which explores the second research aim, the main focus will be to utilise qualitative data, but to combine this with quantitative data where appropriate. The benefit of this 'nested strategy' is that a 'fuller understanding of the phenomenon under study' will be given (ibid: 108). Figure 5.1 (below) presents a summary of the mixed methods research design used in this thesis.

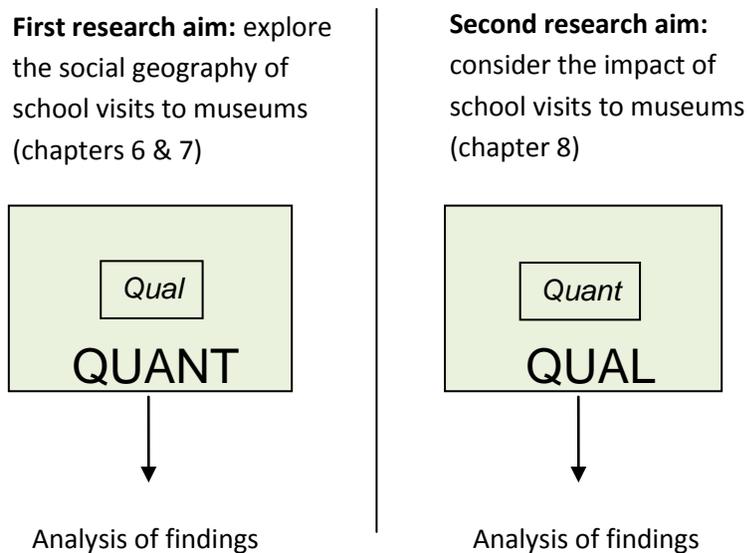


Figure 5.1: Mixed Methods visual model, concurrent nested strategy (derived from Creswell 2003: 214).

## 5.3 Using a mixed methods approach

### 5.3.1 Defining and justifying the mixed methods approach

Mixed methods research can be defined as ‘...research in which the investigator collects and analyzes data integrates the findings and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches, or methods in a single study or program of enquiry’ (Tashakkori and Creswell, 2007:3). Mixed methods approaches are less well known in the social sciences than either qualitative or quantitative approaches (Creswell, 2003). However, the first mixed method studies appeared in the early twentieth century, and have been in continued use right up to the present day (Tashakkori and Teddlie 2003:5-6). The publication of the first issue of the *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* in 2007 also indicates a growing interest in this area of research methodology. Although the use of a mixed methods approach is becoming increasingly popular (Bergman, 2008a), there is the



need to justify why it is of benefit in this study to mix quantitative and qualitative methods and to address the criticisms of using this method.

Each data collection method comes with its own set of assumptions, strengths and weaknesses and the mixed methods approach is no exception to this. For the current study, it is argued that the benefits of using a mixed methods approach outweighs any disadvantages as discussed below.

As mixed methods research involves the use of more than one data gathering strategy, according to Denscombe (2003:132) it is more likely to improve the quality of the research. The potential criticism of this argument is that I may have to limit the extent of each method used, which may not occur if each research method was used on its own (ibid). However, this study argues that the multiple perspectives that are acquired by using mixed methods makes up for this limitation. Equally the different research methods used may allow for triangulation of research findings to occur, where the outcomes from the different methods can be corroborated with each other (Bryman, 2008a:91).

Using Bryman's (2008b: 608-9) coding scheme of why a selection of authors used the mixed methods approach for their research, a range of rationales for adopting a mixed method approach were noted: the first suggested that mixed methods could be used to examine both structures and processes; the second that the results of one method could be used to explain the findings of another method; and third that the different methods could be used to answer either specific parts of a research question, or different research questions.

All of these rationales for using mixed methods can be applied in this study. For example, in Chapters 6 and 7, where the research aimed to explore the social geography of school visits to museums is addressed, a predominantly quantitative approach is utilised in order to consider what Bryman (1992:60) calls 'the 'structural' features of social life'. In contrast, the second research aim which is to explore the impacts of museum visiting for schools in areas of deprivation, will focus mainly on a qualitative approach through case-studies, in order to consider process-driven aspects of the study. In this way the mixed methods approach is used to study both structures and processes.

An alternative view might be to regard quantitative methods as focusing on larger scale 'macro' elements of the social world and qualitative methods on the 'micro' elements. Furthermore, as there are qualitative strategies used in the predominantly quantitative sections and vice versa, the research also has the advantage of (as the second rationale mentioned above suggested), using one method to explain, or complement, the findings of another. For example, the quantitative analysis used in Chapter 7, which utilises Geographic Information Systems (GIS), may help to indicate relationships among variables (e.g. schools and museums) but not necessarily the reasons behind those relationships or the impact of those relationships. By mixing this quantitative with qualitative investigation, greater meaning can be drawn from the situation being investigated. As Sayer (1992) indicates, the empirical and the conceptual cannot be viewed separately because the two are interdependent.

### 5.3.2 The incompatibility thesis

Criticisms of the mixed methods approach have tended to focus on the argument known as the 'incompatibility thesis'. This has questioned whether qualitative research, which has been associated with constructivism (or for some, interpretivism, see Mason, 1996), and quantitative research, which has been associated with more positivist claims can actually be combined (Bergman, 2008b).<sup>75</sup> As Hammersley (1992: 39) suggests, 'qualitative' and 'quantitative' are sometimes used to represent fundamentally opposed approaches to the study of the social world, '...each with distinctly different paradigms, and strategies of enquiry' (Brannen 1992:3). Qualitative methods, for example, are thought to be underpinned by a belief in multiple constructed realities whereas quantitative methods are more traditionally associated with a belief in the existence of a single reality (Denscombe, 2002). However, Bergman questioned the 'clear and clean' distinctions between qualitative and quantitative methods as well as the knowledge claims they relate to:

QL [qualitative] and QN [quantitative] methods represent large and heterogeneous families of methods under convenient headings. The members of these two families vary tremendously within their own family to such an extent that it is difficult to identify a unique set of qualities that encompasses the characteristics of one family of methods, and that is clearly distinctive from the characteristics of the members of the other family (Bergman, 2008b:14).

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<sup>75</sup> As Denscombe (2002) suggests, the dualism of constructivism and positivism simplifies the range of theoretical positions that exist.

Bergman subsequently suggested the reconceptualisation of the domains of qualitative and quantitative. He argued that the assumptions surrounding these two domains - such as the theory that quantitative studies have large sample sizes and qualitative studies do not - should be abandoned. The argument was not that quantitative and qualitative methods were indistinguishable - Bergman considers that they are - but that it is not possible to think that each member of the qualitative or quantitative family all have clearly identifiable similarities that are discernible from those of the other family. The conclusion to Bergman's argument is that, by reconsidering whether the divisions between qualitative and quantitative methods hold up to scrutiny, the incompatibility thesis no longer presents a central criticism for mixed methods research. Mixed methods therefore become simply an alternative to what Bergman (2008b:19) called 'mono' method research design.

### **5.3.3 Alternative methodologies**

Considering the two research aims that are the focus of this thesis, it should be investigated whether there were alternative methodologies which would have been suitable for addressing these aims other than the mixed methods approach. It is possible that a completely qualitative methodology could be used to explore both research aims. This means that exploring the social geography of school visits to museums would not have focused on exploring the quantitative data from the RCMG evaluations, but rather on a series of interviews and focus groups with different groups of school teachers, Head

Teachers and museum staff, in order to explore what they perceived to be the explanation for this geography.

Arguably, although this approach would have allowed for a range of opinions to be analysed and hypotheses constructed, a purely qualitative approach would have limited the scope of this research aim. For example, it would not be possible to interrogate whether the RCMG research findings were an artefact of the particular index of deprivation used for instance, by applying a different index. Likewise, although aspects such as distance from the school to the museum may be investigated qualitatively through interviews and observations, an accurate measure of the distance travelled by all schools in the evaluations would not have been possible through qualitative investigations alone. Similarly, qualitative methods would not have allowed the visualisation of these school visits through maps produced using GIS software.

However, it should be noted that a purely quantitative investigation of this research aim would also have its limitations. Although it may be possible to gain quantitative measurement of the distance travelled by a school to a museum, this may not fully explain the social geography of school visits. For example, a school may have a particular relationship with a certain museum and is therefore willing to travel further to reach it. This information can only be ascertained through qualitative methods. Therefore, a mixed methods approach allows for a fuller investigation of the first research aim.

With the second research aim, which considers the impact of school visits to museums for schools in areas of high deprivation, again a purely qualitative approach could have been

used and indeed the majority of the arguments presented in Chapter 8 are based on evidence from qualitative data. However, quantitative data is also used where appropriate to give the arguments depth and to triangulate with conclusions drawn from the RCMG evaluations, thus enhancing the rigour of the present study. Therefore by using a mixed methods approach to explore the second research aim it is argued that the quality of the research is improved (see Baxter and Eyles, 1997).

Using a solely quantitative methodology to explore the second research aim did not seem a feasible option. As mentioned above, it does not really allow for processes to be explored and the second research aim focuses on *how* museums impact on schools in a way which might contribute to social inclusion.

In summary, it is argued that a mixed methods approach is the most suitable research strategy to use in this study because it allows, in a practical sense, the most thorough exploration of the research questions through triangulation of data and the potential for one method to add a further layer of explanation to another. If a single methodology was used across the whole of this study, this would potentially reduce the quality of the research. The quantitative data analysis strategies and the case-study methodology used in this thesis will now be outlined.

#### **5.3.4 Quantitative analyses**

As the previous RCMG studies highlighted, museums' relationships with schools had a highly spatialised component. The first research aim of the study focuses on exploring the social geography of school visits to museums by revisiting the quantitative data gathered

by RCMG. This secondary data will be used to examine the spatial relationship between schools and museums. During Chapters 6 and 7 a range of theories will be tested using different statistical analyses and GIS as a visualisation tool. The aim of using these methods is to develop an understanding of the relationship between schools and museums.

The quantitative analysis used in this study is predominantly based on secondary data rather than the generation of original quantitative data. The use of secondary data has advantages and limitations should noted, Table 5.1 summarises these with reference to this study.

Advantages	Limitations
Secondary analysis allows me to replicate analyses in previous research studies and test the findings of the original research	I had not been involved in the collection of the data and may not be fully aware of its strengths and weaknesses.
There is the possibility of interrogating the secondary data using different theoretical concerns from those which underpinned its original collection.	I needed to be clear that the data selected for secondary analysis allows me to explore the research questions.
The availability of large-scale national data sets allows me to explore a wide range of social, economic and political debates.	The data available for secondary analysis may vary greatly in terms of quality and may not facilitate the ability to generalise findings to the population as a whole.
Large-scale data sets may be impossible for me to gather myself due to cost and time scales involved.	
Large-scale national data sets can have very large samples allowing generalizations to be made to the wider population.	

Table 5.1: Advantages and limitations of using secondary data, adapted from Centre for Labour Market Studies (no date).

Overall, considering the strengths and limitations in Table 5.1, it was felt that using the RCMG data sets provided an excellent opportunity to examine, in detail, a particular research finding that, in the original evaluations, there was not sufficient time to probe in more depth. The three research projects were also large scale and, in this respect, exceeded the amount of empirical data that a single researcher could practically gather in the time frame available. It was also possible to speak to the research team involved with the original research because I am based at the same academic institution. It is therefore



considered that the advantages of using this secondary data source significantly outweigh the limitations. However, we should be aware the main challenges that using a secondary data source presented and how these were overcome.

Familiarisation with the existing data sets presented the greatest challenge due to their size and scale. As mentioned, I was very fortunate to be able to consult RCMG about problems encountered. This access helped to overcome this particular limitation. As well as the three published reports and associated summary reports, the RCMG also made their full data archive (both quantitative and qualitative) available, which proved to be extremely useful for establishing background context. Due to the timing of the PhD studentship, I was also able to make use of several other opportunities to engage with the data sets and to understand more about how the RCMG research had been conducted. These included attending dissemination events for the RR2 evaluation, accompanying RCMG staff members on school and museum visits that were part of similar research projects; and interviewing representatives from MLA and DCMS who had originally commissioned the research.<sup>76</sup>

The analysis of the RCMG quantitative data in this study takes the form of several interconnected strategies, each designed to test a particular hypothesis related to the social geography of school visits to museums. During these 'experiments' a range of statistical methods are utilised, including descriptive statistics and chi squared analysis, Spearman's rank correlation and Pythagoras' theorem. Descriptive statistics help to make sense of a mass of information by summarising it in various ways depending on the

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<sup>76</sup> These interviews were used in chapters 1 and 2 to help contextualise the background to this study.

questions being asked (Ebdon, 1985). Without summarising the data it would be very difficult to extract meaning from it. Univariate and bivariate analyses are also used to describe and analyse the quantitative data. For example, how far schools travelled would be an analysis of one variable (univariate) but then, connecting this distance to the IMD rank of the school in order to explore the relationship between variables, would be bivariate analysis as it uses more than one variable (Bryman, 2008b: 325). Chi squared tests also allow a measure of confidence to be established when considering the existence of a relationship between two variables (ibid: 334). For example, whether the geography of school visits to museums differs when using an alternative measure of deprivation to the IMD.

Alongside the statistical analysis of the RCMG data, GIS software<sup>77</sup> is used to map the locations of schools and the museums they visited. The process of mapping school visits meant that it was possible to visualise the geographic reach of each of the participating museums.

The use of GIS in the social sciences does not have a particularly long history (Steinberg and Steinberg, 2006). However, this relationship is growing, as Goodchild (2004) indicates, with the development of a new 'spatial social science'. This study therefore aims to contribute to the body of research in the social sciences that employ this research method.

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<sup>77</sup>A geographic Information System is one which '...integrates hardware, software and data for capturing, managing, analysing and displaying all forms of geographically referenced information' (ESRI, no date).

There are multiple benefits to using GIS in the social sciences, and, in relation to this study, it is a particularly useful tool for integrating layers of social data that would not be possible or as accessible using other methods. The maps created using GIS can also be manipulated and interrogated and therefore questions asked such as: 'what is the pattern of school visits at museum 'x'? As the first research aim of the study sets out to explain a particular geographic pattern, the ability to view how variables relate in space can also aid critical thinking regarding spatial relationships (Steinberg and Steinberg 2006:38). A further benefit of using GIS is that particular non-spatial or 'attribute' data can be connected to particular physical features. In the case of this study the deprivation ranking (attribute) of a particular Super Output Area<sup>78</sup> can be visualised using different gradients of colour. By then plotting the location of a school or museum, the deprivation ranking of the school or museums' location is clearly visible.

This section has outlined the forms of quantitative analysis of the secondary data within this study, and the particular benefits of using these methods. The following section now considers the strategy used concurrently with the quantitative methods in this mixed methods research design, the use of case-studies.

### **5.3.5 Case-study methodology**

This research also uses a case-study methodology (or, as Denscombe (2003) prefers, a 'case-study strategy') in order to explore 'why' a particular geography of school visits to museums occurred and 'how' museums may impact on social inclusion (Yin, 2003:1). The definition used in this research views a case-study as a 'comprehensive research strategy'

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<sup>78</sup> See footnote 13 in chapter 3 for a definition of Super Output Areas.

(Yin, 2003:14), that 'investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context' (ibid: 13). In this thesis, case-studies focus on seven museum-visiting schools which are predominantly located in areas of high deprivation.<sup>79</sup> The real life context examined in these case-studies is the school visit to a museum.

Using case-studies as a method of research has been common in many branches of the social sciences and beyond, to study in detail individuals, groups, settings or organisations (Robson, 2002). Case-studies are used in this research to offer a more comprehensive understanding of a process and therefore offer more than just examples or illustrations of particular phenomena.

As with all research methods, by using case-studies a researcher commits to the distinctive set of practices which give this method its character (Denscombe, 2003). Characteristic of case-study methodology is the use of multiple sources and multiple methods as part of a whole investigation into, in this instance, the reasons why schools in areas of high deprivation use museums and what the impacts of these visits are. This means that, unlike focusing on a single method of data collection (the semi-structured interview, for example), the case-study can contain a variety of different types of evidence that make up the 'case-study database' (Yin, 2003: 83). The aim of this database is to provide a richer and multi-layered sense of the social phenomenon in question. The methods used within a case-study are not dictated and this allowed me to have some flexibility to respond to the unique circumstances of the research context. In this research a range of methods are used in response to the individual circumstances of school visits to

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<sup>79</sup> The criteria for selecting case-study schools is outlined in section 5.4.1 of this chapter.

museums and to the archive of data gathered by RCMG relating to this particular setting. The case-study database therefore contains the following sources of qualitative and quantitative information (see Table 5.2).

Source:	Example:
Interview transcripts	Both archival (produced during the RCMG studies) and undertaken during this study.
Pupil post-visit questionnaires and parent questionnaires.	Both archival (produced during the RCMG studies) and collected during this study.
School or Museum related documentation	Reports, administrative documents/policies, museum workshop materials, organisational charts.
Field notes	Mental notes (written down after the visit or interview), jotted notes, full field notes and reflections made in a research diary.
Physical artefacts	Photographs taken by participants, pupil school work, parent's diary extracts, photographs taken by me.

Table 5.2 The case-study database.

By using a variety of evidence sources, Yin (2003) argues that the findings drawn from the research are likely to be more convincing and accurate because they enable data triangulation to occur. The case-study database also forms a convenient form of self audit.

As already discussed, alongside the case-study method are a range of ancillary quantitative analyses. In some case-studies, particular quantitative analyses are applied specifically to the case-study school as well as to the whole RCMG dataset. In this way, case-studies allow the complexity that might get missed in large-scale quantitative

investigations, to become visible. The study can therefore move between scales, focusing in on the 'specific' from the 'general'. As Denscombe (2002: 153) suggests, case-studies can therefore 'portray relatively small bits of the world ...in a way that acknowledges the complexities, even the contradictions and enigmas, that constitute the social world'.

There are of course limitations to the case-study methodology and debate has, to a large, extent focused on the question of how far it is possible to generalise from them (see Bryman, 2008b: 55). As a response to this, this study does not consider that the case-study schools selected here are necessarily typical of how schools in areas of deprivation use museums. Instead, the case-studies simply allowed me to investigate a particular phenomenon and to understand how far the data might support the theoretical arguments generated in Chapter 4.

The use of multiple case-studies, which all employ a similar case-study design, does, however, allow for some level of comparison between cases. For instance, Bryman (2008b:58) suggests that the logic of comparison implies that 'we can understand social phenomena better when they are compared in relation to two or more meaningfully contrasted cases or situations'. Likewise, although it may not be possible to generalise to the whole population of schools in areas of deprivation, evidence from case-studies may be able to add depth to the quantitative analyses, supporting or refuting conclusions made from these analyses.

Case-study methodology is therefore considered to complement the quantitative analysis used in this thesis by studying the dynamics present in a particular social setting using

multiple levels of analysis. It is argued that the richness of the data gathered through case-study methodology outweighs the potential limitations of the method.

So far, this chapter has outlined the particular methods used in this study and justified them in relation to the research aims. The second part of the chapter now goes on to explore how the research was conducted.

## **5.4 Conducting the research**

While the exploration of the first research aim was underway, planning for the case-studies began. Schools in areas of high deprivation were identified as the planned focus of the case-studies rather than particular museums, as the RCMG research finding had identified this group of schools as being of particular interest. It was also the personal impacts upon the pupils of these particular schools that the research was most interested in. Case-studies focusing on several museums may have been adequate; however, it would then have been left to chance whether schools in areas of deprivation were visiting these museums at the time of the field work phase. The following section summarises how the case-study schools were selected.

### **5.4.1 Selection of case-study schools**

I felt that as the study is based on the exploration of three existing RCMG data sets, some of the schools that featured in these datasets should be the focus of case-studies. The benefit of choosing schools that also appear in the existing datasets is that in the RCMG archive there would already be a completed set of teacher and pupil questionnaires for each school. It was considered that this might provide useful contextual information about

the school's previous use of museums. As the focus of the case-study design was schools in areas of high deprivation, the selection of case-studies employed purposive sampling, prioritising possible case-study schools by IMD rank. The advantage of purposive sampling is that samples have more relevance to the research questions. However, by limiting the sample in this way it meant that generalising to the whole school population was not feasible (Bryman, 2008b: 458-460).

Three case-study criteria were therefore identified:

- 1) The school was ideally classified as being in an area of high deprivation (top 10-20% most deprived in England (IMD 2004) and, if necessary followed by schools in the top 50% most deprived);
- 2) The school was going on a museum visit that I could accompany, within the time frame of the research;
- 3) The schools represented a cross-section of the different geographic regions represented in the RCMG RR1 and RR2 evaluations and also included a school, or schools, that had participated in the DCMS/DfES evaluation.

In order to select schools that fulfilled these criteria a questionnaire was designed (see Appendix 8) and sent to a range of schools identified from the RCMG datasets. This range included those that had visited participating museums in the North East, West Midlands and South West of England, in order to give a cross-section of regions in England. There



was also more data relating to these regions as they featured in both the RR1 and RR2 evaluations.

I also wanted to also include schools that had taken part in the initial DCMS/DfES programme and were planning to repeat this involvement in the time frame of the research. Schools were therefore selected that had taken part in two of the Strategic Commissioning projects. The first project chosen was the 'Understanding Slavery Initiative' (USI), a partnership between the National Maritime Museum, National Museums Liverpool, British Empire and Commonwealth Museum and Bristol City Museums and Art Gallery. USI was chosen because of the sensitive and challenging subject matter that the project aimed to engage schools with. The subject matter also has potential ties to social inclusion themes, aiming to raise awareness of slavery in relation to themes of citizenship, heritage and social responsibility. Overall, the project was designed to 'explore how curriculum development activity in this area can support community building activities for young people within broader society' (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2004d: 47).

The second Strategic Commissioning project chosen was 'Image and Identity', a project led by The Victoria and Albert Museum, in partnership with Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery; Manchester City Galleries; Royal Pavilion, Libraries and Museums; Harris Museum and Art Gallery; Sheffield Galleries and Museum Trust; the National Foundation for Educational Research (NfER); The Campaign for Drawing and NCH – The Children's Charity. As with USI, the Image and Identity project was felt to involve aims that are connected to social inclusion, including: increased sensitivity to cultural difference; improving behaviour

and attitudes towards learning, and increasing self-esteem and confidence (ibid: 61). The project also worked with non-visitors, underrepresented groups and community groups. However, it is only the school groups that are considered here.

In total, there were 537 schools in the sample and during September 2007 a one sheet A4 questionnaire printed on both sides, along with a personalised letter and pre-paid return envelope, was sent to the Head Teacher of these schools. The questionnaire had three main aims, two that were based on the research aims of the thesis and one which was more pragmatic in nature. The first two aims were to i) explore whether there was an ongoing relationship between the school and the museum(s) visited in the previous studies and therefore, aid in gauging the impact of the museum visit; and ii) to understand the potential deterrents and influences in choosing museums as sites for school visits (which may contribute to the first research aim). The more pragmatic aim of the questionnaire was to enquire whether schools were willing to participate further in my case-studies and, if so, when they were next planning to visit a museum.

I was aware, from previous contacts with school teachers, of the amount of mail teachers receive. In order to improve response rates, the questionnaire had been piloted with a selection of Head Teachers prior to posting and was designed to be quick and easy to complete. The questionnaire design included eight questions, seven of which were of a 'closed' format. A conscious decision was made not to include many open-ended questions that might leave respondents feeling deterred because of the perception of having to write a significant amount of text.

A questionnaire was felt to be a suitable method of targeting the school population involved with the three previous research studies, as for practical reasons, postal surveys are low cost and easy to administer by one person (Merriman, 1991). The postal questionnaire was also felt to be less intrusive and more effective than individual telephone calls to each school. As the questionnaire asked the Head Teacher to think back to a museum visit that the school took part in 3-4 years previously, I felt that Head Teachers were less likely to recall this visit instantly and might need time to consider their answers. Therefore, a telephone survey may not have been as successful.

An email/web based questionnaire was considered as an alternative to a postal questionnaire, as this would have avoided postage and stationery costs. However, it was not possible to find an email address for every school in the sample and, where one was available, it was not clear by whom the email would be received. Often only general mailbox addresses were supplied by the school. A relatively short deadline, of the end of October 2007 was given on the questionnaire as I felt that this phase of the study should be completed quickly in order to arrange case-studies. It was also considered that a lengthy response time might not necessarily encourage a higher response rate.

By the end of October 2007, 269 completed questionnaires were returned, a response rate of 50.2%. This percentage excludes two returned questionnaires where the address was not recognised (some schools had since closed), or the questionnaire was returned because the school was in special measures and therefore felt unable to participate.

Postal questionnaires are often associated with low response rates (Bryman, 2008b: 220).

However, this percentage is well within the range of response rates used in other published research studies (ibid).

A database was collated of all of the schools that had indicated that they were happy to be contacted again, along with a record of when they were likely to be visiting a museum in that academic year. In addition to this information, I recorded which phase of education the school represented (e.g. primary, secondary), as well as the IMD (2004) ranking of the school postcode to aid the selection process.

As well as the case-study selection criteria mentioned above, I also felt that, within this group of schools selected, case-studies should reflect as far as possible a range of different school types, pupil ages and type of museum visit. Also it was felt that a range of different rural/urban school locations should be selected so as not to label 'deprivation' as occurring in a specific location, or to a specific group of individuals but rather to enable reflection on the complexity and depth of the term.

When a range of schools had been selected using the selection criteria, I telephoned or emailed the specific contacts detailed on the questionnaire, in order to seek their support with the case-studies. At this stage a problem was encountered that all the schools that were happy to be contacted again were not participating in the USI project. It was decided to see if it would be possible to involve a school participating in this project by contacting the museums involved and asking if they could put me in touch with a participating school. I was then able to include a school that, although it had not taken part in the original RCMG evaluations, was planning to use the USI at The National Maritime Museum within the

time frame of my research. Table 5.3 introduces the seven case-study schools along with details about the museum visits I accompanied with each.

School Name & IMD rank (1 = most deprived)	School Type	Details of visits recorded in RCMG evaluations	Museum visit accompanied for this study	Date of visit
School 1 IMD Rank 543	Primary (Voluntary controlled)	Two visits in 2003 to Soho House and Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery recorded in the RR1 evaluation.	Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery (Birmingham Museums) <i>'Equiano: An exhibition of an extraordinary life'</i> – Part self directed by class teacher and part museum staff led session.	29.11.07
School 2 IMD Rank 878	Primary	Visit in 2003 to Soho House recorded in the RR1 evaluation.	1. Back to Back Houses (National Trust) – Guided tour and old toys session, led by volunteer guides and National Trust staff. 2. Soho House (Birmingham Museums) – Guided tour on the topic of 'old houses', led by museum staff.	22.11.07 21.02.08
School 3 IMD Rank 1342	Primary (Special school)	Visit in 2005 to The Discovery Museum in Newcastle-upon-Tyne recorded in the RR2 evaluation.	1. Discovery Museum – Self directed visit to look at old toys on display in the 'Newcastle Story' galleries 2. Discovery Museum – Session about old toys, led by museum staff.	12.11.07 15.01.08
School 4 IMD Rank 2849	Junior (Voluntary aided)	Visit to Royal Cornwall Museum in 2003 to take part in a Victorian session recorded in RR1 evaluation.	Royal Cornwall Museum , museum led Victorian session	06-02-08
School 5 IMD Rank 3236	Secondary	Six visits in 2003-2005 to Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery recorded in RR1 and RR2 evaluations.	Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery Session led by Schools liaison service staff on 'Identity'	18.10.07

School 6 IMD Rank 10951	Secondary	Image and Identity Project	Shingley Art Gallery – self directed class visit to the Image and Identity project exhibition, followed by a self directed visit to The Baltic Centre for Contemporary Arts.	08.02.08
School 7 IMD Rank 15263	Secondary	N/a	National Maritime Museum, Understanding Slavery, staff led Citizenship Evaluation Day.	19.03.08

Table 5.3: The seven case-study schools.

### 5.4.2 Case-study design

The following case-study design was followed as closely as possible with all of the case-study schools. However, it was important in the school context to be flexible in instances where it was not possible to undertake every aspect of the case-study design. For example, with school 4, I was unable to undertake a pre-visit to the school as this school engaged with the study late in the fieldwork phase. It was also not possible to interview the Head Teacher of school 7 as he had recently left and an interim Head Teacher was in place (this is further discussed in Chapter 8). The case-study design is based on a similar design to that used in the RCMG evaluations and included the following:

1. Interview with the class teacher prior to the museum visit, to understand the aims and objectives of the trip, establish if the teacher has used museums before and investigate the process of booking and arranging the trip
2. Observation of classroom setting and interview with a group of pupils to understand their interests and aspirations, preconceived ideas about museums, previous visiting experiences and thoughts about the forthcoming trip.
3. Interview with the Head Teacher to understand the organisation wide view of the value of museum visits.
4. Participant observation of the museum visit(s).
5. Completion of an RCMG style questionnaire by pupils immediately after their visit (see appendices 5 and 6).
6. Interview with museum staff taking the visit and/or other learning related staff.



7. Interview with the museum director or senior management team members and/or review of museum policy documents and other documentation relating to the ethos of the museum/museum service.
8. Follow-up visit to the school (average time after museum visit = 8 weeks); interviews with the same group of pupils to ask them about their museum experience, what they could remember and why.
9. Follow up interview with class teacher to ask about the impact of the visit.

#### **5.4.3 Research methods used within the case-study design**

As the case-study design above outlines, various qualitative methods were used in each case-study, including participant observation in the museum and school setting and interviews. As the case-study database also suggests, participant photography was also used with several case-study schools. The following sections introduce these methods and consider how they were used within the case-study design.

##### ***5.4.3.1 Participant observation***

Throughout the course of the research there were 10 different opportunities to engage in participant observation in a museum setting. Bryman (2008b: 403) considers that participant observation falls within the category of ethnographic research, where the researcher is immersed in a particular social setting and observes the actions and behaviours of the actors in that setting. There are varying degrees of participant observation depending on the level of involvement or detachment the researcher has from the group, situation or organisation under study. During the case-studies undertaken

here, my approach to participant observation had to assume a degree of flexibility. Gans' (1968) description of the roles a participant observer assumes, recognises that researchers undertaking this method rarely adopt one single role and can move between being a total participant in the situation, a researcher-participant (where the researcher both participates and observes), or a total researcher. The school visit context required me to regularly switch between these roles, as was called for in a specific situation. For example, on several visits I was used as a 'responsible adult' by the class teacher and given a small group of pupils to oversee. This had several benefits for the research, as I felt as though I was giving something back to the school for allowing the research to take place. It also allowed me to develop a closer rapport with the pupils and to become immersed in the visit at a deeper level. This was also a useful insight into the responsibilities and priorities of a class teacher in the museum visit context. The limitations of participant observation at this level were also recognised, as this meant that I was not always able to 'observe' in a purely research sense because of the role that I was given on the visit. At other times however, I was able to blend into the background of the visit as much as possible or to move between the levels of detachment and engagement more actively as a researcher-participant.

#### ***5.4.3.2 Semi-structured interviews***

Apart from participant observation, 35 semi-structured interviews were conducted with 72 interviewees (see Appendix 9 for an interview schedule). The interviews with children took place in groups which were on occasions quite large in size (2-6). Also, on multiple

occasions interviews with museum staff took place in pairs or other staff members would join in if, for instance, the interview was taking place in a communal office. As the case-study design outlines, the same individuals could be interviewed twice, once before the museum visit and once after. Interviews took place in a school setting for the school staff and pupils and in a museum setting for the museum staff. On two occasions, telephone interviews were conducted and on a further two occasions a list of questions were emailed to museum staff who were unavailable for interview or I had further questions to ask them. Where the participants gave their permission, each interview was recorded and subsequently transcribed. Where participants did not give permission to be recorded, notes were made during the interview and written up in more detail afterwards.

Interviews are more than just conversations with people, as the topics under discussion are usually directed by the interviewer (Denscombe, 2003:164). Using interviews as a research methodology indicates a commitment to a rich and detailed study and, arguably, this depth complements the breadth of the quantitative investigations made elsewhere in the study. A further advantage of the use of interviews, particularly those that are semi-structured as used here, is the possibility for the interviewer to build flexibility into the process of data collection. The interviews conducted in this study followed a set of themes and included questions that were designed to investigate a variety of different aspects of school visits to museums. However, going 'off topic' was not discouraged by me, viewing this as a way of gaining an insight into what the interviewee considered as significant (Bryman, 2008b: 437).

As there were three main groups of interviewees (pupils, school staff and museum staff), the themes of the semi-structured interviews differed. As many of the interviewees were interviewed more than once, the structure of the interview also varied between interviews, as, usually, one interview occurred before the museum visit and the second afterwards. Appendix 10 outlines typical interview protocols for each of the different groups of participants.

#### ***5.4.3.3 Interviewing pupils***

The second research aim of this study requires an understanding of how school children of different ages and backgrounds perceived and responded to a particular event and the impact that this had on them. I had the view that pupils of all age groups (in this case ages 5-17) were social actors: they understand their own world and are, as Clark (2004), suggested 'experts in their own lives.' This study does not consider 'pupils' as a homogenous category. It should be recognised that this broad description does encompass a huge range of children and young adults at different stages of life. Therefore, there cannot be a generic strategy to gauge impact or talking about likely impacts for this range of participants. It stands to reason that a teenager, for example, will have a very different experience and view of the world than a five year old.

Considering these points, a variety of different approaches were used with the pupils depending on the age range of each group and what was considered practical in terms of time constraints. Groups of pupils were interviewed in most case-studies, observed on their museum visit and also completed a questionnaire at the end of their visit (which is the same as those used in the RCMG evaluations; see Appendices 5 and 6). Decisions on

the particular approaches used in each case-study were largely made by me in discussion with the class teacher, trip organiser and the pupils themselves. On most occasions I drew upon what Clark (2004) refers to as the 'Mosaic' approach of exploratory research, which includes a range of different methods of accessing the complexity of pupils' everyday lives.

With two of the school groups, for example, I gave pupils disposable cameras to use as a diary of their museum visit. Disposable cameras are cheap and easy to use and the aim of this method was to let the pupils tell me about their museum visit in a way which did not rely solely on verbal communication. This was particularly useful with younger pupils and those who did not have English as a first language. The main aim of using this method was as a 'silent voice' (Walker 1993), a way of potentially becoming closer to the pupils' thoughts and feelings about an experience. However, in reflecting on this method, when I brought the developed photos back to school, they also proved a successful way of encouraging the pupils to recall their museum experience. On the first experience of using this method, I found that the whole class wanted to see the pictures and, what I had intended as a discussion with just the 'photographers', had the effect of prompting the whole class to want to tell me about their experiences. However, in the context of this research there were some very distinct barriers to the success of this participatory methodology. Although I tried to check in advance if pupils could use the cameras inside the museum, there are inconsistent policies in museums about the use of photography. In the organisations that I contacted, there were mixed responses to my request. Both museums restricted the use of cameras to certain areas of the museum and not others.

These restrictions were very confusing for the pupils and I was very aware that they might be chastised by museum staff if they took photographs in some of the 'restricted areas'. This meant that the photographs did not reflect the whole range of experiences, as the pupils did not have complete freedom to take photographs where they may have liked to. Health and safety was also an issue, particularly in the visit to the Back to Back Houses in Birmingham. These houses had steep, twisting staircases; it was unsafe for the children to hold cameras and negotiate these stairs at the same time. When we came to the staircases I either put the cameras away in my bag or asked the pupils to put them in their pockets. However, despite these limitations, participant photography remained a particularly successful method for prompting discussions about the museum visit on my return to the schools. In addition, the younger pupils appreciated having something tangible, that they had created, to take home to show their parents. I also concluded that some of the photographs provided a highly valuable insight into the impact of the visit upon some of the pupils.

## **5.5 Further methodological issues**

The methodology used in this study does not only include the methods used and the ways in which the study was conducted. There are a range of further issues that researchers need to consider as central to their study. The final section of this chapter considers these issues, discussing ethical considerations, reflexivity, limitations of the study and potential areas of bias.

### **5.5.1 Ethical considerations**

Undertaking research with children and young people means recognising that they have important contributions to make (Masson, 2004: 44). However, as children and youth participants are identified as a particularly vulnerable group, appropriate regard was given to the ethical implications of this research in accordance with the University of Leicester and the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) codes of practice (University of Leicester, no date and ESRC, no date).

Informed consent was sought from all participants and copies of the consent forms used can be seen in appendices 11, 12 and 13. The consent form was adapted for younger pupils, young people and adults. Before the participant gave their consent I explained why the data was being collected, how it might be used, who would see it and what would happen to it. Interviewees were made aware that they could refuse to answer any or all of the questions if they wished to do so and that they could withdraw from the study at any time. Information given to me was treated confidentially and a coding system constructed so that the pupils' names were not given in this study. Adult participants were also not identified by name, although participants that wished their contribution to be recognised are formally acknowledged in the acknowledgements section of this study.

I underwent a full Criminal Records Bureau check and the certificate was shown to the Head Teacher or class teachers, with a copy made available if requested. Further steps were taken to minimise any adverse impacts upon the vulnerable participants. Interviews took place in public spaces within the school setting and with younger children in particular, interviews were held in small groups where possible, so as to minimise anxiety.

Several school teachers required that their school would not be identifiable in the final thesis. It was therefore decided not to refer to the names of any of the case-study schools and only give details that might lead to the identification of the schools which were happy for their identity to be known. Anonymity for the three schools that requested it extends to the referencing of publications such as school inspection reports, which may include the school's name or details from which it would be possible to identify the school. Therefore, only the author (i.e. Ofsted) and year of these publications is given, along with the school's case-study number.

### **5.5.2 Reflexivity and objectivity**

Reflexivity is where '... researchers turn a critical gaze towards themselves...' (Finlay, 2003:3). This involves the practice of developing an awareness of how our own constructions of the world, our beliefs, understandings, attitudes and values shape the research process. As Denscombe (2002: 168) suggests, it is not possible to have a completely objective standpoint. Therefore the researcher must acknowledge the potential effect of this on the research.

There are also several facets to reflexivity, and in this study in particular it was necessary to consider 'methodological reflexivity' (Lynch, 2000). I was very aware of the potential effect that 'being studied' might have on the research participants, especially the pupils. As detailed above, ethical considerations were a priority and the reason I was present in the classroom and accompanied the museum visit was fully explained to the participants. Nevertheless, I was very aware that during interviews and conversations with young people, as Fine and Sandstrom (1988:20) suggest that children develop their own ideas of



what a researcher is looking for. On occasions I was aware that the children were eager to please me by telling me what they thought I wanted to hear and, although these opinions were acknowledged and listened to, I tried to tactfully probe deeper by asking questions with a different emphasis.

It must also be acknowledged that the presence of another adult in the classroom setting and on the museum visit may also potentially make the event more memorable for the pupils. As I was taking an interest in them and their opinions this actually may have skewed the extent to which the pupil then remembered the trip and the impact it made on them. Figure 5.2 illustrates an example of how the researcher can impact upon the research participants, as in this instance, the pupil considered meeting me was one of most interesting parts of her museum visit.

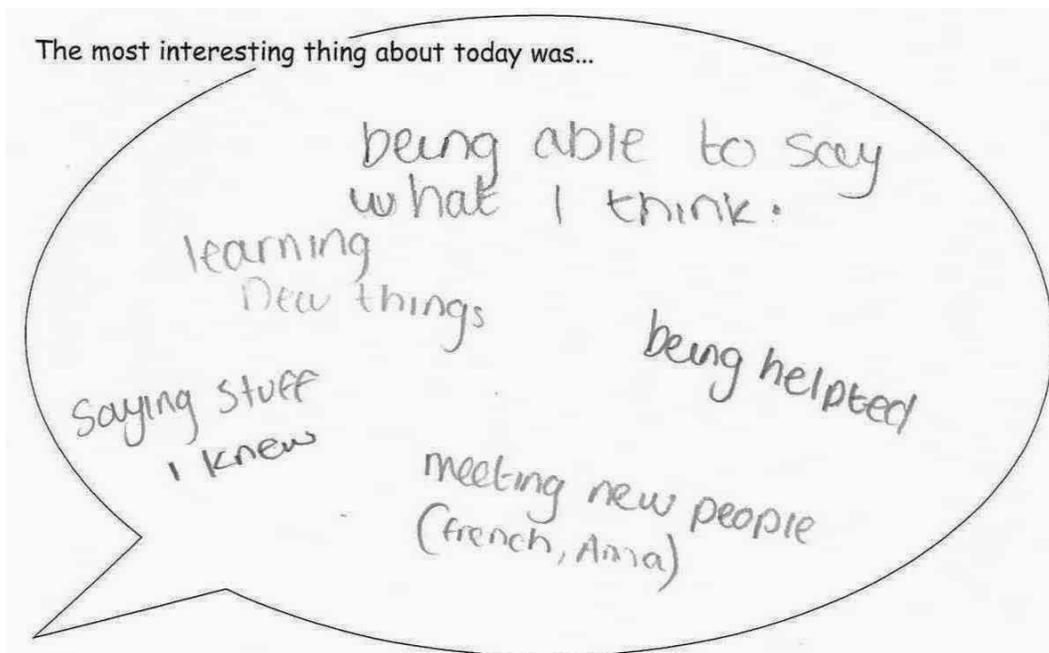


Figure 5.2: The most interesting thing about the visit to the National Maritime Museum for a pupil from school 7.

I was also conscious of being an adult in a school context and what this would mean in terms of being viewed as an equal by the pupil participants. The following note made after accompanying one visit highlights this issue:

Today I corrected \*\*\*\*\* who wanted the children to call me 'Miss Woodham' and told her that 'Anna' was fine. I didn't want to be seen as a 'Miss' and perhaps associated with the school system. Even though they [the pupils] knew my name they called me 'Miss' anyway! Perhaps they're happier with this, at least it means for them they have a sense of who I am – I am like a 'teacher' to them because I'm an adult! (Research diary).

It is important to consider that, even though the researcher might try to reduce any perceived power imbalance, in a school context this might be challenging. As the following comment by Fine and Sandstrom (1988:22) suggests, 'adults are salient individuals in children's social worlds and are difficult to ignore due to the authority that usually accompanies their age'.

### **5.5.3 Limitations and bias**

This study focuses on explaining and exploring a particular pattern of school visits to museums. The main group of schools involved in the research were therefore schools in areas classified as being in high deprivation. This sample excludes schools that are in the 50% least deprived areas of England and also independent schools. Arguably, these schools may provide an alternative view point to the argument concerning whether

museums are socially inclusive organisations. However, their inclusion was beyond the scope of this study but would be suggested as a potential focus for further studies.

Bias in the research was also an important aspect to consider. I was particularly aware of the potential bias in the selection of pupil participants. In the classroom context, responsibility for selecting pupil participants was, in most cases, left to the class teacher. I felt that it was important the class teacher should act as gatekeeper, controlling access to the pupils, and how selection proceeded. It was stressed to the class teacher that the pupils interviewed should, of course, all be fully consenting and be as representative of the class as possible. On most occasions this was a successful methodology. However, on occasions, I was aware that the teacher may have positively selected pupils who were likely to be the more articulate and confident members of the class. Overcoming this bias shows another benefit of the case-study methodology used in this study, as, during the participant observation phase on the museum visit, and in the classroom, I was able to observe the class as a whole.

## **5.6 Conclusion**

This chapter has outlined and the methodological structure of this study introducing the mixed methods concurrent nested strategy. This structure was justified in terms of the two main research aims of this thesis. Within the mixed methods strategy both quantitative and qualitative methods are used because it is considered each method has particular suitability to the research questions posed in Chapter 1. These methods include quantitative analysis of secondary data (the RCMG datasets) and case-studies with seven

schools. The chapter has also acknowledged other methodological issues considered in this study, particularly the ethical and methodological concerns of conducting research with school children and also the position of the researcher in the research context. The following two chapters now move on to consider the first research aim which examines the geography of school visits to museums and explores the factors which have contributed to it. These chapters use predominantly quantitative methods; however, as introduced in this chapter, qualitative data from semi-structured interviews are also included.

## **Chapter 6: Exploring the geography of school visits to museums**

### **6.1 Introduction**

This chapter begins the quantitative investigations of the RCMG datasets that explore the geography of school visits to museums. The chapter has two central aims, both designed to probe deeper into the particular spatial patterns evident in the RCMG studies and to understand their potential significance. The first aim is to consider convergent validity, whether a comparable geography of school visits can be replicated by applying alternative deprivation indices to the RCMG datasets. This analysis will show whether the previous RCMG research findings can be described as simply an artefact of the particular deprivation index used. The second aim is to examine the effect of using a deprivation score based on pupil home postcode rather than school postcode on the geography of school visits. The RCMG research finding stemmed from a measure of deprivation based on school postcode and it remains to be understood whether a school's postcode can accurately describe the level of deprivation experienced by the pupils that attend it. This second aim has a dual function as it addresses the ecological fallacy, as introduced in Chapter 3. In order to consider this potential pitfall of using spatial data, percentage of pupils eligible for Free School Meals from each of the schools in the RCMG datasets (reported at school level rather than Super Output Area level), is also analysed.

The chapter starts by applying two alternative classification systems, the Townsend Index and Experian Mosaic, to the RCMG datasets. The final section of the chapter looks at school catchment areas and Free School Meal eligibility.

## **6.2 Preparation of the RCMG datasets**

Before any further analysis of the RCMG datasets could be conducted a preparation phase took place so that the following quantitative analyses could be undertaken with the fullest possible datasets. Due to the time restraints of the RCMG evaluations, it had not been possible to find all missing postcodes for schools where the teacher had either not supplied it, or had given an incorrect postcode. Time was spent reviewing these missing or incomplete postcodes and systematically searching the internet or the database of schools compiled by the then Department for Education and Skills (DfES) which was made available to RCMG for the RR2 and DCMS/DfES studies.

Despite efforts to confirm school postcodes, there were still a number of schools in each dataset that could not be located. Also, in some instances it was not clear which museum the school visited, if this was the case they are removed from any analysis which focused on the breakdown of visits by museum. However, these schools were included in the analysis which focused on school postcodes, where this information was available, rather than the museum visited.

Scout, Brownie and Guide groups, as well as Home Educator groups, were also problematic, as the leaders of these groups often gave their home postcodes rather than the postcode of the venue where this group met. This was also the case for some school teachers who, on occasion, also gave their home rather than school postcode on the Teacher questionnaire. If there was not enough data to establish that the postcode was from a school or meeting venue, the entry was removed from the dataset.

The last group of visits removed from the RCMG datasets concerns non-English schools. The IMD (2004) is only available for England;<sup>80</sup> therefore, schools from Wales, Scotland and Europe were also removed. Table 6.1 details the total number of schools removed from the RCMG datasets.

Evaluation Name	No. of schools located in Wales	No. of schools located in Scotland	No. of schools located in Europe	Total no. of schools removed
RR1	3	2	1	6
RR2	-	10	7	17
DCMS/DfES	3	-	1	4
			Total	27

Table 6.1: Schools removed from the RR1, RR2, and DCMS/DfES datasets.

A further preparation stage was undertaken to make sure that the IMD 2004 had been applied to each of the RCMG datasets. Both the RR1 and DCMS/DfES evaluations had used the IMD 2000 whereas the RR2 evaluation had used the IMD 2004. RCMG had been able to re-categorise the RR1 data using the IMD 2004 so that it was comparable with the RR2 results (see Hooper-Greenhill 2006b: 72). However, there was no time to re-categorise the DCMS/DfES dataset using the IMD 2004 (the main differences between the IMD 2000 and IMD 2004 are discussed in Chapter 3). It was therefore decided to re-categorise the

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<sup>80</sup> An equivalent index of deprivation is available for Scotland ([www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Statistics/SIMD/Overview](http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Statistics/SIMD/Overview)) and Wales (<http://new.wales.gov.uk/topics/statistics/theme/wimd2005/?lang%en>), however as the variables differ between indices it is not possible to make direct comparisons between them.

DCMS/DfES data as well to see if the geography of school visits differed when this updated index was applied. Despite the variation between the component variables making up the IMD 2000 and IMD 2004 the re-categorised DCMS/DfES data showed highly consistent results (see Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2009).

#### **A note on single visits:**

The analysis in this chapter is based on school postcodes; with each entry in the RCMG datasets represents a single school visit. The single school visit is defined as a distinct museum visit (Hooper-Greenhill, et al 2006b:49). For example, in a hypothetical museum visit, three classes from the same year group of a primary school, accompanied by three class teachers might attend the same education session. At the end of the visit, a questionnaire is completed by each teacher. In this example, two of the questionnaires would be removed from the postcode analysis as this trip was one distinct visit. If, however, there were occasions where more than one class from the same school visited the same museum on the same date, but the theme of the visit was different, this was considered as two single visits. Also if the school visited the same museum on different days this was also considered two distinct single visits.

### **6.3 Is the geography of school visits an artefact of the Index of Multiple Deprivation?**

In order to explore whether the results from the previous studies can be considered as an artefact of the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD), this section applies the Townsend Index and Experian Mosaic classification system to the RR1, RR2 and DCMS/DfES datasets. Using different indices will enable the geography of school visits that these measures



investigate to be compared with the geography of school visits suggested in the RCMG studies using the IMD measure.

Each classification system is constructed using different variables and is often designed with a particular use in mind (Lee et al, 1995). Therefore, the geography of school visits to museums, as suggested by the IMD, simply reflects that measure's conceptualisation of deprivation and a different index may identify different geographic areas altogether. If there are differences in the geography of school visits, as identified by the alternative classification systems used here, it may suggest that the particular pattern of school visits emphasised in the RCMG evaluations is specific to one particular measure of deprivation only.

### **6.3.1 Townsend Index of Disadvantage and Deprivation (1988)**

As the first alternative index used here, the Townsend Index is one of a number of traditional Area Based Deprivation Indices (ABDIs) that could have been selected for the purposes of this study. Alternatives included the Bradford, Jarman, Doe81, Breadline, Matdep, Socdep and Oxford indices (for example, Jarman, 1983, 1984; Townsend, 1987; Townsend, et al, 1986; Townsend, et al 1988; Carstairs, 1989; Carstairs and Morris, 1990, 1991a, 1991b). As Lee et al (1995:36) indicate in a technical assessment of ten traditional indices (including the Townsend Index), all of the indices have their advantages and limitations. Examples include whether each variable is given an equal weighting in the construction of the index and whether there is any overlap between variables. The Townsend Index is regarded as one of the most popular indices before the creation of the IMD (see, for example, Jordan et al, 2004) and whilst it is not without its limits, can be

seen as a useful comparison index. Significantly, the Townsend Index can be easily constructed using data from the 2001 census which is available to the academic community via the Census Dissemination Unit.<sup>81</sup>

The Townsend Index was originally created in 1988 and constructed using data from the 1981 census at ward and enumeration district level, rather than Super Output Area level (SOA).<sup>82</sup> It is a measure of material deprivation based on four equally weighted indicators (see Table 6.2) and used originally to study health inequalities. The concept of deprivation underpinning this index was based on a definition of deprivation as lack of goods, services and resources (Lee et al, 1995).

Variable	Description
Unemployment	The percentage of economically active residents aged 16-59/64 who are unemployed.
Car ownership	The percentage of private households who do not possess a car.
Home ownership	The percentage of private households not owner occupied.
Overcrowding	The percentage of private households with more than one person per room.

Table 6.2: Variables used in the Townsend Index (Townsend et al, 1988: 36).

Appendix 14 describes the full methodology used to recreate the Townsend Index using variables downloaded from the 2001 census.

<sup>81</sup> <http://cdu.mimas.ac.uk/2001/index.htm>

<sup>82</sup> The 2001 census at SOA level is used to create the Townsend Index in this study.

### 6.3.2 Results of Townsend Index analysis

The Townsend Index was applied to the school postcodes in the RCMG datasets and they were analysed using the same methodology as in the original evaluations, which sorted the datasets by IMD rank. However, in this instance the data was also sorted by Townsend rank. The results are presented as histograms where each dataset is divided into 10% ranges, from the number of single visits from the 10% most deprived school postcodes in the dataset to the 10% least deprived.

Figures 6.1 to 6.3 represent the ranked Townsend scores of the school postcodes in each dataset alongside the rank of IMD 2004 for these postcodes. Placing the two indices next to each other allows a visual comparison of how results achieved on the same dataset by two different measures, actually converge or diverge.

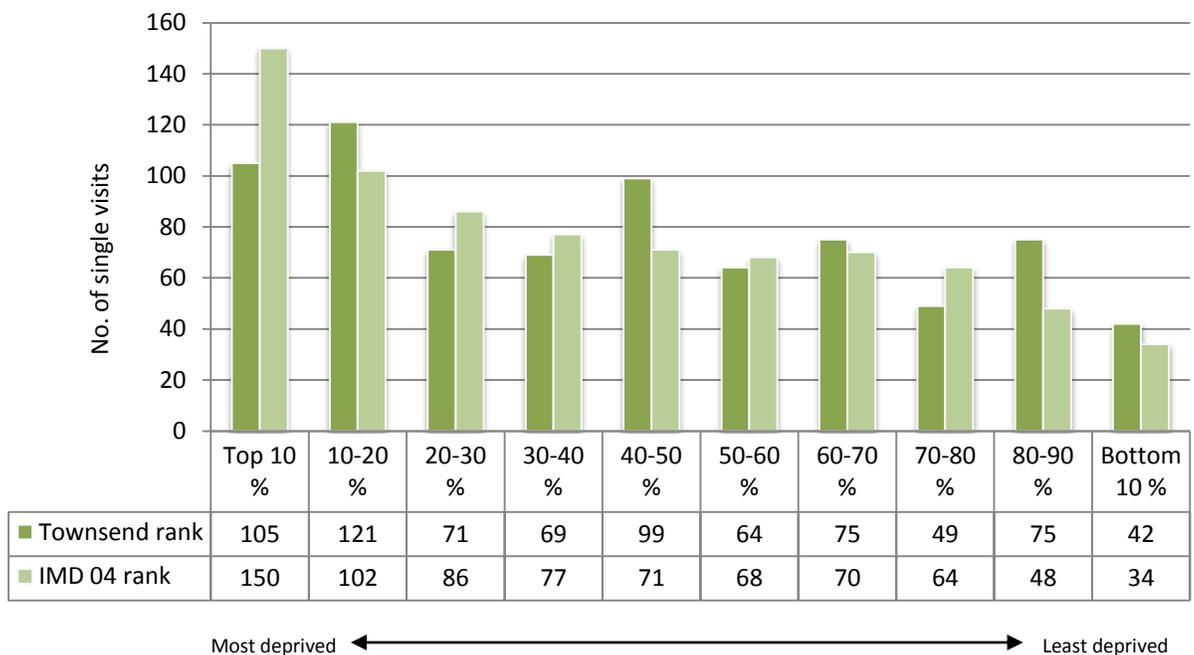


Figure 6.1: RR1 single visits by Townsend and IMD 04 rank (Base = 770).

As Figure 6.1 suggests, the distribution pattern for the IMD and Townsend scores for the RR1 dataset are not identical. There are more single visits ranked in the top 10% most deprived areas by IMD score than by Townsend score. However, overall, the largest number of single visits ranked by Townsend score also occurs in the 10-20% most deprived areas. Therefore, this index also classifies a high proportion of schools (29%) in this highly deprived range as does the IMD. Furthermore, there are other areas where the difference between the Townsend score and IMD is noticeable. For example, in the ranges 40-50% and 80-90% ranges there are more areas classified by Townsend Index than the IMD.

Despite these differences, the geography of school visits for the RR1 dataset as presented by Townsend score does not generally appear to differ significantly from that presented by the IMD 04. The Spearman coefficient ( $r_s$ ), which was used to measure the degree of association between the two sets of ranked data is 0.92, significant at  $p < .001$  suggesting that the scores are highly positively correlated.

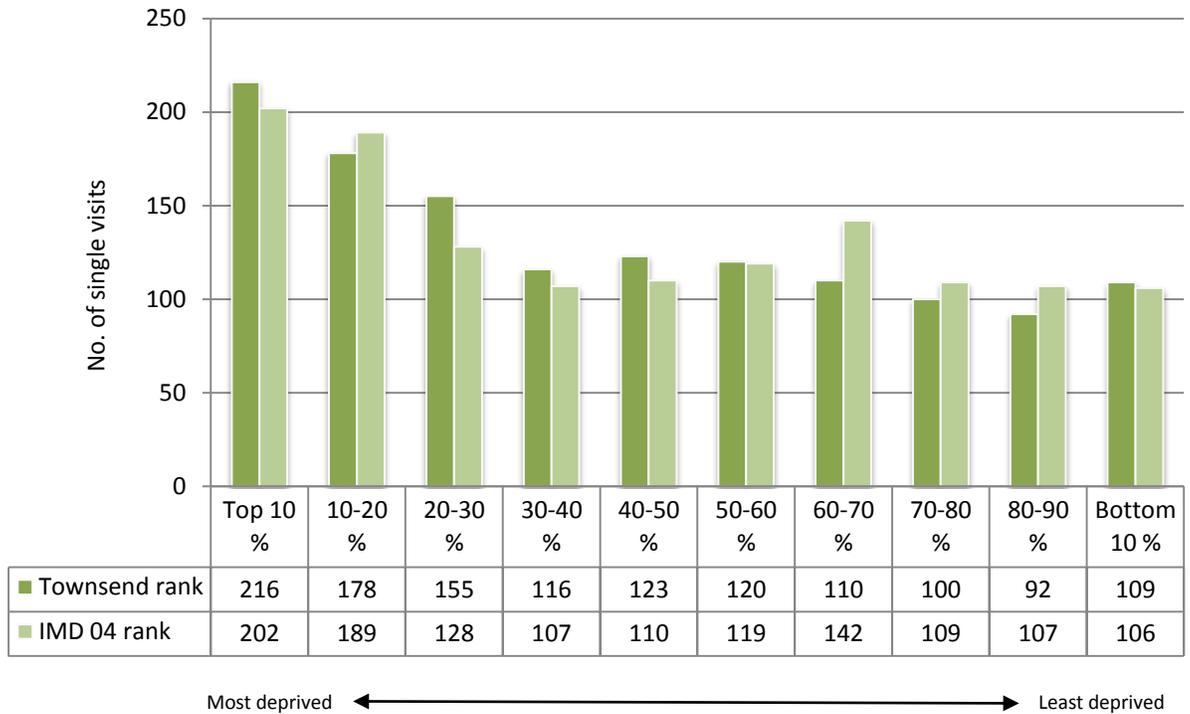


Figure 6.2: RR2 single visits by Townsend and IMD 04 rank (base = 1319)

The distribution shown in the RR2 dataset (Figure 6.2) also suggests a high degree of association between the IMD and Townsend ranks ( $r_s = 0.90$   $p < .001$ ). In comparing RR2 to RR1, the Townsend Index classifies more postcodes as being in the top 10% most deprived areas than the IMD, but less than the IMD in the 60-70% range. Other than these differences the two sets of data appear very comparable.

The DCMS/DfES dataset shows a similar pattern to the RR1 dataset, where the Townsend Index places more single visits with the 10-20% most deprived areas, rather than just the top 10% most deprived areas, as seen in the IMD results (see Figure 6.3). However, for the DCMS/DfES data the numbers of single visits in the top 20% most deprived areas using the Townsend score (125 visits, 30.5%) is similar to the number of schools classified by the IMD as being in the top 20% most deprived areas (128 visits, 31.2%). The Spearman

coefficient confirms again that there is a strong association between the two sets of ranked data ( $r_s = 0.92$   $p < .001$ ).

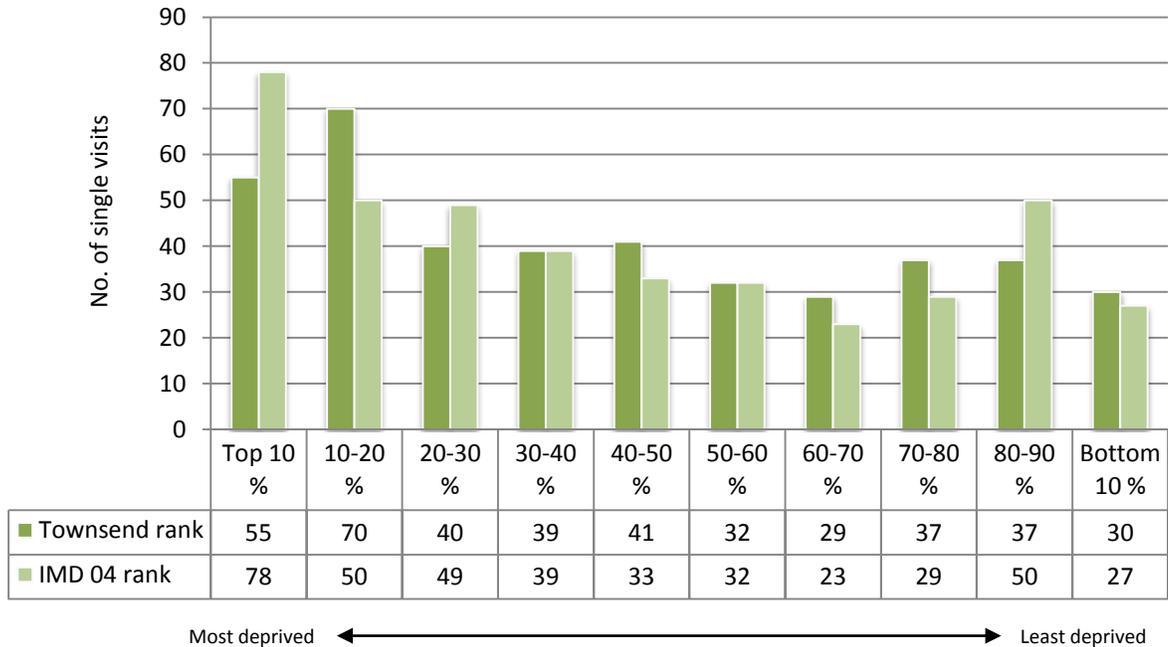


Figure 6.3: DCMS/DfES single visits by Townsend and IMD 04 rank (base = 410).

### 6.3.3 Townsend Index: conclusions

Across the three datasets, the number of single visits located in each 10% group (from top 10% most deprived to bottom 10% most deprived), shows some variations between the ranked Townsend scores and ranked IMD scores. We might expect this due to the variables used to construct each index being on the whole different. The IMD 2004, as Chapter 3 suggested, has seven domains created by combining a number of different variables in each, whereas the Townsend score has only four variables in total. We may therefore expect the IMD to show a more finely grained picture of deprivation as it uses more data sources. Considering this difference, it is perhaps surprising that the results do

in fact show a high degree of association with each other. This would appear to suggest that the geography of school visits produced by the IMD is not considerably different from that suggested by the Townsend Index.

Others have also commented on a correlation between the Townsend Index and the IMD 2000 (Jordan et al, 2004). Even though the IMD 2004 is used here, both the 2000 and 2004 release of the IMD are based on similar data sources. Taking a closer look at the variables which constitute the Townsend Index and the IMD, there is one common variable in both. In the IMD 2004, household overcrowding is measured using census data, just as it is in the Townsend Index (ODPM, 2004:3). Although one common variable between IMD and Townsend indices may not be enough to skew results, it was decided that a further classification system 'Mosaic Public Sector', should also be used in this study. This classification system relies on census data to a lesser degree than the Townsend Index. Also, considering the discussion of social exclusion in Chapter 3 the more social variables used in 'Mosaic Public Sector' may emphasise a slightly different pattern of school visits.

## **6.4 Mosaic Public Sector**

### **6.4.1 Introduction to Mosaic**

‘Mosaic Public Sector’ (hereon Mosaic) is a geodemographic classification system published by the commercial demographic information specialists Experian Ltd.<sup>83</sup> Although Mosaic has been mainly used by commercial companies (Experian, 2007:5), the classification was originally intended to locate Education Priority Areas (Butler and Hamnett, 2007:1169). Mosaic has certain advantages and has also faced various criticisms; this section considers both of these perspectives.

Experian suggest that an advantage of Mosaic is its finely grained approach which can aid policy makers with the design of public services that recognise the ‘specific needs and behaviours’ of particular citizen groups (Experian, 2006:7). Apart from use in the public sector and commercially, Mosaic has also been used in academic research (see for example, Longley and Singleton, 2009; Evans and Foord, 2008; Williamson et al, 2006; Ashby, 2005). Interestingly, academic studies have used Mosaic to consider aspects of social exclusion which is of particular interest for this study. Hayden et al (2007), for example, considered the suitability of the classification tool for targeting and developing behaviour support and youth crime prevention programmes. They concluded that classification systems such as Mosaic, helped to provide a more complex picture than deprivation indices, highlighting the particular nature and context of the disadvantage affecting an area. Also of relevance for this study is Butler et al’s (2007) study, where Mosaic was use in their assessment of whether distance between school and the pupils’ homes was related to social background. They suggest that pupils attending the six worst

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<sup>83</sup> See <http://strategies.experian.co.uk> (accessed 20.09.09).



performing schools in east London according to average capped GCSE points,<sup>84</sup> came from the least advantaged Mosaic codes and the pupils attending the top six schools came from least disadvantaged Mosaic codes. They also identified, by mapping Mosaic codes, that the lower performing schools had a more local catchment area. School catchment areas are discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Mosaic uses 350 different attributes to classify the population of England into 11 main groups (A-K) and 61 lifestyle types (Hayden et al, 2007). Originally developed by Richard Webber in 1986 (Batey and Brown 1995:86), it builds a picture of individuals through 'lifestyles', which are inferred, at least partially through the analysis of 'consumer choices and behaviours' (Farquharson, 2005: 246). Farquharson explained that this could relate to information concerning what particular products a person owns, what they did in their spare time and where they preferred to shop (Ibid). Birkin (1995) describe these social geography lifestyle profiles as 'seductive' and painting an 'extremely plausible' picture of a particular group.

As noted, Mosaic differs from other classification systems, such as the Townsend Index, because it is not based entirely on census data. Data from the 2001 census is included in the classification tool and comprises 54% of the data used (see Experian, no date, b). The remaining 46% is derived from other regularly updated data sources (Experian, no date,

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<sup>84</sup> Average capped GCSE points are calculated using a pupil's best eight GCSE grades or equivalent. See [www.dcsf.gov.uk/performance/tables/schools\\_06/s8.shtml](http://www.dcsf.gov.uk/performance/tables/schools_06/s8.shtml) (accessed 27.09.09).

a).<sup>85</sup> Mosaic also differs from more traditional social classifications because it does not classify individuals based on common occupation hierarchies, rather by the social characteristics of neighbourhoods. As noted in Chapter 3 place has a strong relationship with identity, Savage et al (2005) considers that people are more likely to feel a sense of identity and belonging to a particular place rather than a particular occupation. An advantage of Mosaic therefore is the potential to connect into this sense of identity in a way that other classification systems do not.

There are several criticisms of Mosaic, for example Gross (1995: 171), in his critique of segmentation systems, suggested that such systems: 'exercise rational knowledge-power over everyday life'. He raised issues concerning the erosion of privacy associated with such classification systems and the extent to which it was actually possible to impose such a neat ordering system over social life. A related criticism of Mosaic was discussed by Butler et al (2007:15) who considered the objection that there is little sociological evidence underpinning the classification system, apart from 'marketing-derived' information. However, the authors suggest that a previous study conducted by Butler and Robson (2003), which used interview and survey data, indicated the accuracy of these Mosaic descriptions.

The ecological fallacy is also a potential limitation of the ABDIs discussed in this chapter and Mosaic is no exception. Butler et al (2007) indicate that the ecological fallacy criticism has some validity with geodemographic classification tools such as Mosaic. However,

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<sup>85</sup> These include credit activity, postcode address file information, information from the electoral roll, county court judgements, and retail access (Birkin, 1995: 113) A full breakdown of the data sources used is available from Experian via [www.publicsectorknowledgebase.co.uk](http://www.publicsectorknowledgebase.co.uk) (accessed 09.10.09).

others argue that the effect of the ecological fallacy is reduced with Mosaic because of the way that the classification system groups people based on social similarity rather than locational proximity (Hayden et al, 2007, Webber, 2004). Furthermore, Butler et al (2007) emphasise that for their study, which is based on the characteristics of a small groups of residents in East London, Mosaic provides a 'robust picture' of the social characteristics of these groups. Although this study would have liked to have used Mosaic codes for individual postcodes, lower level SOA is the smallest scale of Mosaic data available to the academic community via the Census Dissemination Unit. This means that the social characteristics present in one lower level SOA will refer to a minimum population of 1000, which is a larger scale than an individual postcode sector which contain up to 100 households in each, although 15 households is considered a more typical number (Census Dissemination Unit, no date). The approach taken here therefore was to locate a school or pupil postcode within a SOA and use the Mosaic data for that SOA rather than for the individual postcode. This larger spatial unit of analysis (SOAs are created from amalgams of postcodes) means that it is particularly important to address the ecological fallacy and what it might mean in terms of the geography of school visit to museums. This issue will be considered in more detail later in the chapter when Free School Meals are considered. For the present, Mosaic is used here but it must be borne in mind that the groups and types it depicts refer to SOAs rather than postcodes.

Currently, the 2004, 2005, 2008 and 2009 release of MOSAIC Public Sector have been made available via the Census Dissemination Unit.<sup>86</sup> The 2005 release is used in this study as it was the most up to date release available to me at the start of the research period. The 2005 release also fits well with the publication dates of the RCMG evaluations which are from 2004 to 2006.

A further potential criticism is that Experian also do not publish the exact technical methodology behind the construction of the Mosaic classification beyond saying that the weighting in the classification changes over time. This reflects an attempt to deal with the ageing of the census data which while making up just over half of the classification variables are given progressively lower weightings the further one progresses from the census date (Experian, no date, b). In this sense, although the exact methodology is not publically available, the change in weighting of particular ageing variables means that Mosaic is arguably a more up to date classification system than the Townsend Index for example which relies solely on data from the last census which is now eight years old.

Mosaic data therefore allows for the particular socio-economic character of the SOA a participating school is located in to be explored, by appending the Mosaic codes to the RCMG datasets. In order to present the results of this Mosaic analysis in the clearest way, I have first used the three RCMG datasets, in turn, to consider this overall Mosaic distribution. Closer examination is then paid to the three Phase One Hub regions: the West Midlands, North East and the South West, so as to establish whether the Mosaic data points to particular regional patterns.

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<sup>86</sup> <http://cdu.mimas.ac.uk/experian/index.htm>

### 6.4.2 Mosaic analysis by group

Experian provides detailed descriptions of each Mosaic group and type which is available from <http://cdu.mimas.ac.uk/experian/documentation.htm>. Rather than duplicate these lengthy descriptions, summaries of each group and type are given in Appendix 15 while Table 6.3 introduces the title of each group and type.

Mosaic Group	Mosaic group title	Mosaic Type
<b>A</b>	Symbols of Success	A01 Global Connections A02 Cultural Leadership A03 Corporate Chieftains A04 Golden Empty Nesters A05 Provincial Privilege A06 High Technologists A07 Semi-Rural Seclusion
<b>B</b>	Happy Families	B08 Just Moving In B09 Fledgling Nurseries B10 Upscale New Owners B11 Families Making Good B12 Middle Rung Families B13 Burdened Optimists B14 In Military Quarters
<b>C</b>	Suburban Comfort	C15 Close to Retirement C16 Conservative Values C17 Small Time Business C18 Sprawling Subtopia C19 Original Suburbs C20 Asian Enterprise
<b>D</b>	Ties of Community	D21 Respectable Rows D22 Affluent Blue Collar D23 Industrial Grit D24 Coronation Street D25 Town Centre Refuge D26 South Asian Industry D27 Settled Minorities
<b>E</b>	Urban Intelligence	E28 Counter Cultural Mix E29 City Adventurers

		E30 New Urban Colonists E31 Caring Professionals E32 Dinky Developments E33 Town Gown Transition E34 University Challenge
<b>F</b>	Welfare Borderline	F35 Bedsit Beneficiaries F36 Metro Multiculture F37 Upper Floor Families F38 Tower Block Living F39 Dignified Dependency F40 Sharing a Staircase
<b>G</b>	Municipal Dependency	G41 Families on Benefits G42 Low Horizons G43 Ex-Industrial Legacy
<b>H</b>	Blue Collar Enterprise	H44 Rustbelt Resilience H45 Older Right to Buy H46 White Van Culture H47 New Town Materialism
<b>I</b>	Twilight Subsistence	I48 Old People in Flats I49 Low income Elderly I50 Cared for Pensioners
<b>J</b>	Grey Perspectives	J51 Sepia Moments J52 Childfree Serenity J53 High Spending Elders J54 Bungalow Retirement J55 Small Town Seniors J56 Tourist Attendants
<b>K</b>	Rural Isolation	K57 Summer Playgrounds K58 Greenbelt Guardians K59 Parochial Villagers K60 Pastoral Symphony

Table 6.3 Mosaic groups and types (Experian, no date, a).

Figure 6.4 illustrates the national percentages of Mosaic groups in households across England. Group D, 'Ties of the community', followed by group C, 'Suburban comfort', contain the highest percentage of households.

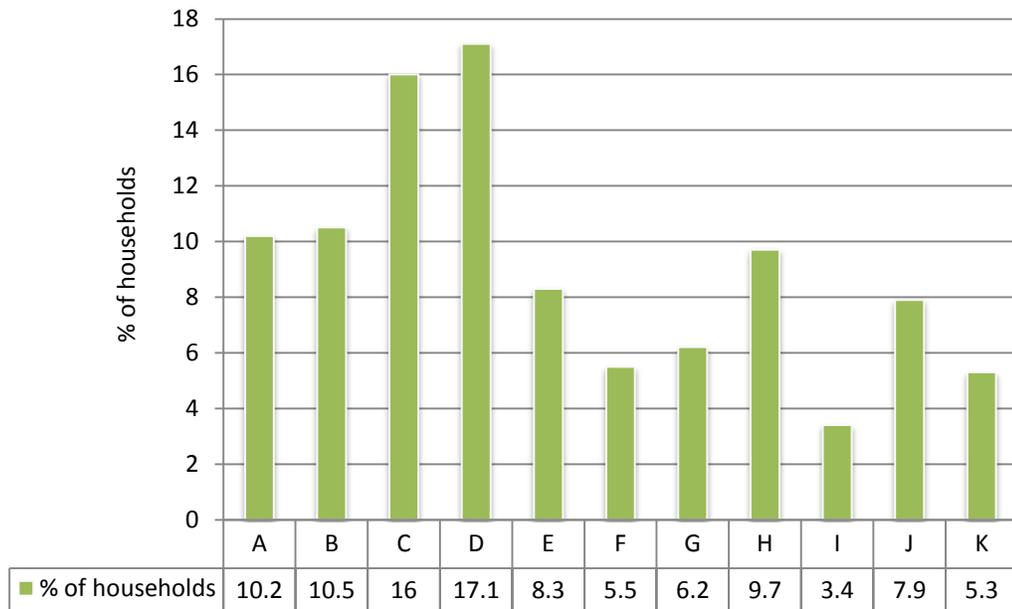


Figure 6.4: Percentage of households in each Mosaic group in England (Base: 32,482 SOAs, 21401188 households)

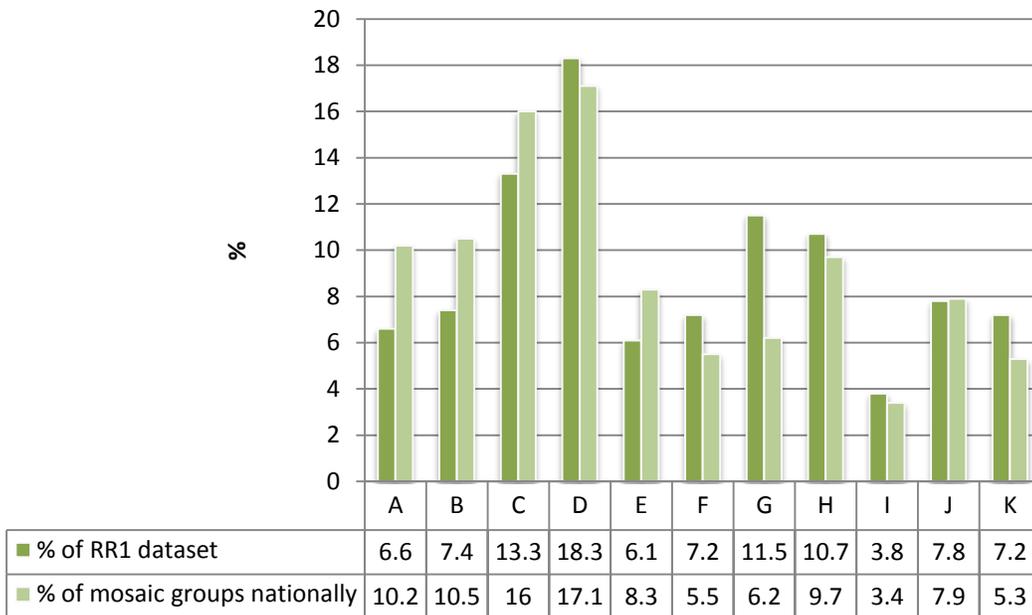


Figure 6.5: RR1 percentage of each Mosaic group in the RR1 dataset (base: 770) compared with the national percentages.

Figure 6.5 illustrates that, consistent with the national percentage of each Mosaic group, the most represented groups in the RR1 dataset are also D, 'Ties of the Community' and C, 'Suburban Comfort'. However, perhaps significantly, in the RR1 dataset there is a higher percentage of households in groups F, 'Welfare Borderline', G, 'Municipal Dependency', and H, 'Blue Collar Enterprise', than there is nationally. Also, groups A, 'Symbols of Success', B, 'Happy Families', and E, 'Urban Intelligence', appear under-represented in the RR1 dataset, indicating that the dataset does not simply reflect the national distribution. Statistical analysis revealed that the value of  $\chi^2$  for the RR1 distribution equals 94410 significant at  $p < .0001$ . Therefore the null hypothesis that there are significant differences in the distribution of the RR1 dataset and the national distribution can be rejected. If the percentage of households in each Mosaic group are ranked for the RR1 dataset and for the national distribution, a Spearman coefficient of 0.64 (significant at  $p < 0.025$ ) indicates that, while the ranked datasets are not identical there is a level of similarity between them. This similarity can be seen particularly with groups I and J which appear in the RR1 dataset to be very close to the percentage of households in these groups nationally.

Figure 6.6 considers the RR2 dataset against the national distribution of Mosaic groups. Again, as with the national percentages of Mosaic groups, the most represented group in the RR2 dataset is group D, 'Ties of Community' (18.1%), followed by group C, 'Suburban Comfort' (12.4%). There are several other groups which, as with RR1, are over-represented compared to the national picture. For example, groups F, 'Welfare Borderline', G, 'Municipal Dependency', I, 'Twilight Subsistence' and K, 'Rural Isolation'.



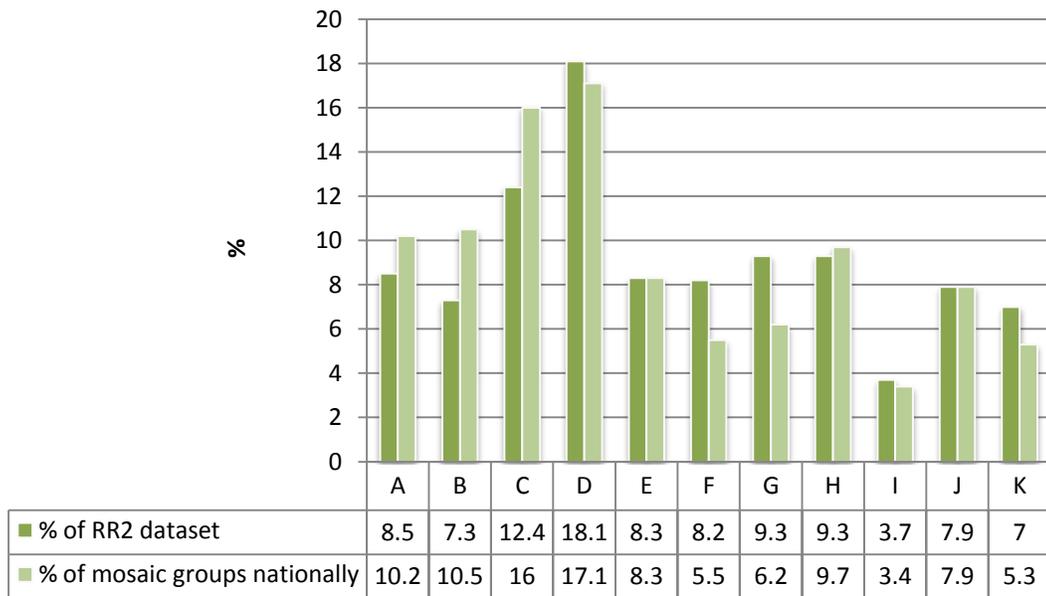


Figure 6.6: RR2 dataset (base = 1329) against the national Mosaic group percentages.

The value of  $\chi^2$  for the RR2 distribution equals 130021 significant at  $p < .0001$ . Therefore the null hypothesis that there are significant differences in the distribution of the RR2 dataset and the national distribution can be rejected, as it was with the RR1 dataset. A Spearman coefficient of 0.72 ( $p < 0.025$ ) also indicates that there is a strong association between the rankings of the RR2 data and the national rankings. This can be seen particularly in group E and J which contain the same percentage of households in both the RR2 and national datasets.

Finally Figure 6.7 shows the distribution of households in the SOAs present in the DCMS/DfES data by Mosaic group, alongside the national percentages of these groups.

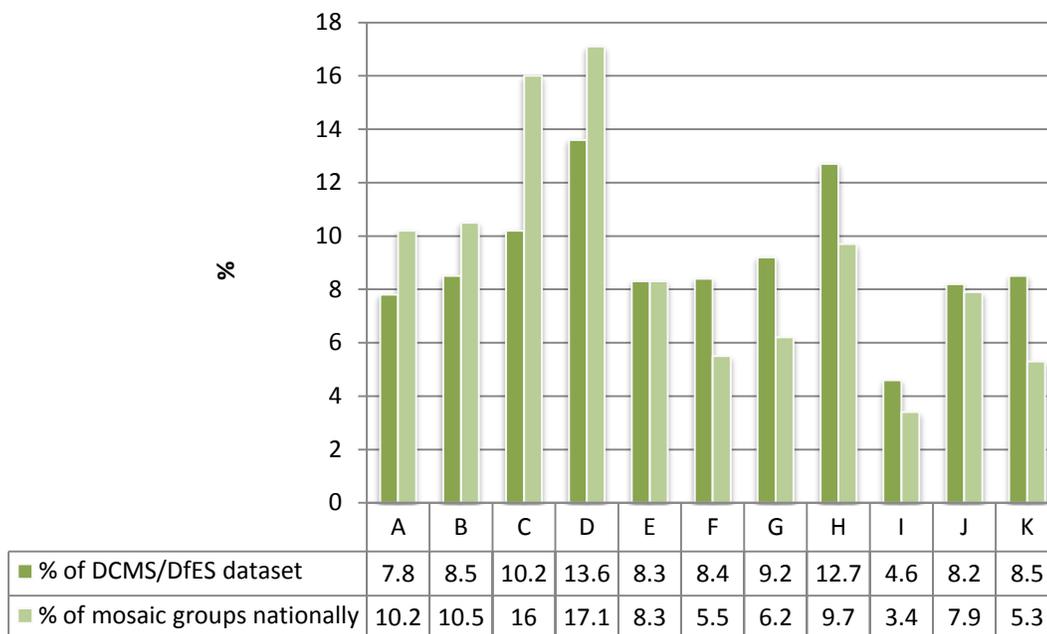


Figure 6.7 DCMS/DfES dataset (base = 410) against the national Mosaic group percentages.

The value of  $\chi^2$  for the DCMS/DfES distribution equals 27988287, which is significant at  $\rho < .0001$ . Therefore the null hypothesis that there are significant differences in the distribution of the DCMS/DfES dataset and the national distribution can be rejected as it was with the RR1 and RR2 datasets. As with the RR1 and RR2 datasets and the national distribution, the highest percentages are in group D, 'Ties of the Community' and to a lesser extent group C, 'Suburban Comfort'. Both of these groups are however under-represented in the DCMS/DfES dataset compared to the national picture, as are the less deprived Mosaic groups A, 'Symbols of Success', and B, 'Happy Families', which appear to be consistently under-represented throughout the three datasets when compared to national percentages. There are several quite obviously over-represented groups in the DCMS/DfES dataset too, including group F, 'Welfare Borderline', G, 'Municipal Dependency', H, 'Blue Collar Enterprise' and K, 'Rural Isolation', in particular. A coefficient

of 0.57 (significant at  $p < 0.05$ ) suggests that the DCMS/DfES dataset has the lowest association with the national distribution of Mosaic groups; although there is still a degree of association.

Although some Mosaic groups such as F, 'Welfare Borderline', are suggestive of households that are less affluent than say group A, 'Symbols of Success', the relationship between Mosaic groups and IMD (2004) rankings has yet to be examined. Figure 6.8 illustrates the percentage of households present in each Mosaic group for the top 10% most deprived areas from both RR1 and RR2 datasets. This figure indicates that three groups in particular appear to be particularly present, group D 'Ties of the Community', group F, 'Welfare Borderline' and group G, 'Municipal Dependency'. It would appear therefore that these groups were particularly associated with areas of high deprivation.

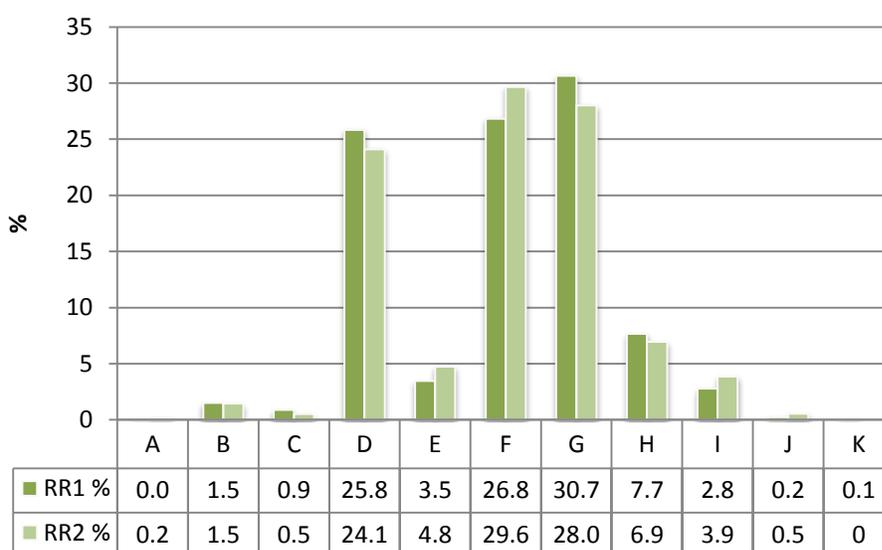


Figure 6.8 Percentage of households in each Mosaic group in the top 10% most deprived areas as classified by the IMD 2004 in the RR1 and RR2 evaluations

Tables 6.4 and 6.5 illustrate the percentage of households in each Mosaic group for each of the RR1 and RR2 datasets and how each Mosaic group relates to the IMD rankings. The shaded box in each row of the table shows which Mosaic group accounts for the highest percentage of households in each 10% range.

IMD 2004	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
<b>Top 10%</b>	0	1.5	0.9	25.8	3.5	26.8	<b>30.7</b>	7.7	2.8	0.2	0.1
<b>10-20%</b>	0.1	2.1	4.4	21.6	3.8	8.6	27.4	<b>22.9</b>	6.9	2.2	0
<b>20-30%</b>	0.3	7.4	6.7	<b>28.6</b>	5.4	4.1	9.8	24.4	8.3	5.1	0
<b>30-40%</b>	2.5	6.1	13.8	<b>23.4</b>	12.2	1.9	5.9	12.6	4.4	8.7	8.4
<b>40-50%</b>	4.6	10.5	13.6	18.9	6.7	1.3	1.6	12.1	3.6	7.9	<b>19.3</b>
<b>50-60%</b>	5.3	10.0	<b>19.6</b>	15.1	9.3	0.7	1.4	6.1	4.8	13.2	14.7
<b>60-70%</b>	12.4	7.2	19.8	8.7	12.3	0.1	0.2	3.1	0.5	15.7	<b>19.9</b>
<b>70-80%</b>	14.6	15.8	<b>31.7</b>	7.0	1.1	0.1	0	3.1	1.3	17.5	7.9
<b>80-90%</b>	33.2	12.6	<b>33.0</b>	2.1	6.8	0	0	0.7	0.1	10.3	1.2
<b>Bottom 10%</b>	<b>33.2</b>	12.6	33.0	2.1	6.8	0	0	0.7	0.1	10.3	1.2

Table 6.4: RR1 percentage of households in each Mosaic group by IMD 2004.

IMD 2004	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
Top 10%	0.2	1.5	0.5	24.1	4.8	29.6	28.0	6.9	3.9	0.5	0
10-20%	1.3	2.8	2.1	23.3	9.7	12.6	19.7	21.1	6.0	1.4	0
20-30%	2.8	4.4	4.8	28.1	13.4	6.4	8.4	18.4	5.9	6.5	0.8
30-40%	2.5	7.6	8.5	29.5	14.1	1.9	3.3	14.9	4.6	8.3	4.8
40-50%	4.5	6.8	14.7	16.4	15.7	0.6	0.8	7.3	3.8	10.1	19.3
50-60%	6.8	5.5	20.3	18.9	7.6	1.1	1.0	5.7	3.0	11.8	18.4
60-70%	12.5	10.0	23.2	7.7	5.3	0	0.6	3.8	2.4	16.8	17.5
70-80%	14.7	17.7	28.5	8.3	5.0	0.1	0	3.5	1.7	13.5	6.9
80-90%	27.6	17.5	24.7	3.3	2.1	0.1	0	1.4	1.8	14.5	7.0
Bottom 10%	40.3	16.3	25.4	1.0	4.2	0	0	0.6	0.2	9.1	2.8

Table 6.5: RR2 percentage of households in each Mosaic group by IMD 2004.

Although there are variations in which Mosaic group contains the highest percentage of households between the RR1 and RR2 datasets, there are also some similarities in the pattern presented. For example, in both datasets, the Mosaic group with the highest percentage of households in the 10% *least* deprived groups is group A, ‘Symbols of Success’. As also suggested in Figure 6.8, there are several groups associated with more highly deprived areas (groups D, F and G); in both datasets, these groups contain the highest percentage of more deprived households up to the 30-40% most deprived range. Furthermore, if Mosaic groups A, B and C, are compared with groups F, G and H, there appears to be an inverse relationship between these Mosaic groups. As Figures 6.9 to 6.12 indicate, the percentage of households in the A, B and C groups decline as the percentage of households in the F, G and H group increase. This is so in both RR1 and RR2 datasets.

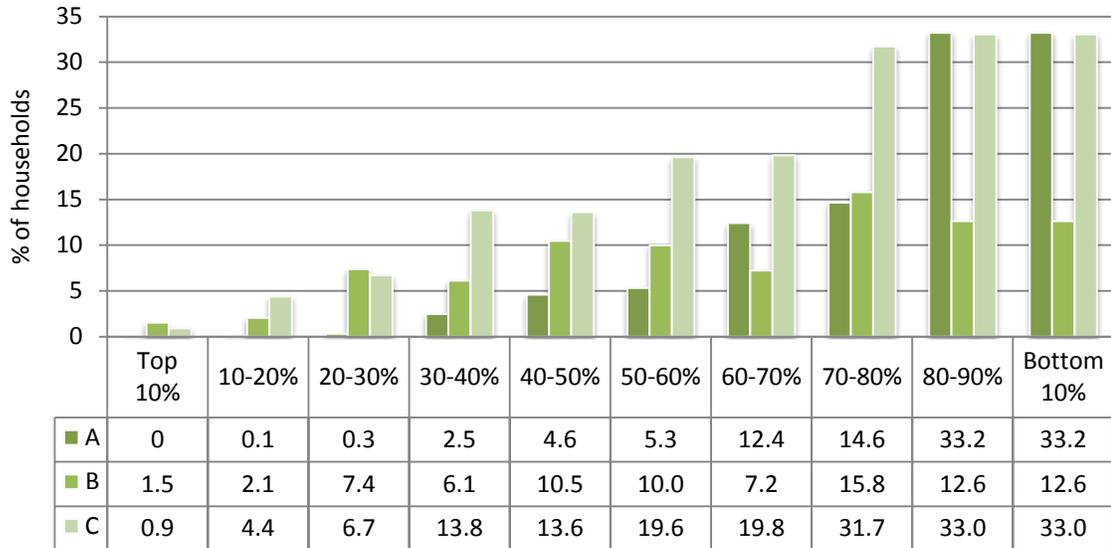


Figure 6.9: RR1 percentage of households in Mosaic groups A, B and C, by IMD 2004 (10% ranges)

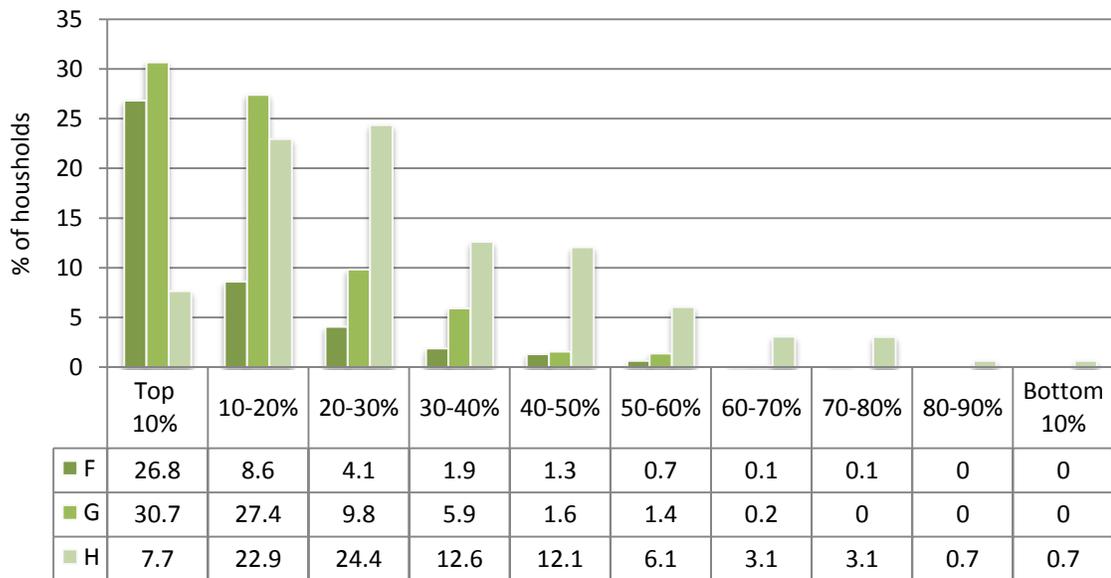


Figure 6.10: RR1 percentage of households in Mosaic groups F, G and H, by IMD 2004 (10% ranges)

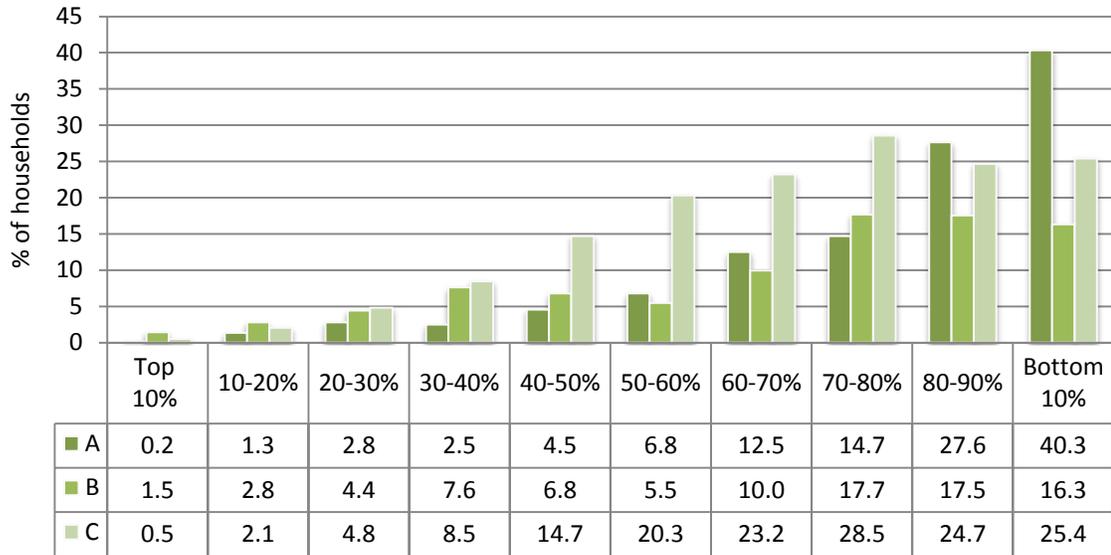


Figure 6.11: RR2 percentage of households in Mosaic groups A, B and C, by IMD 2004 (10% ranges)

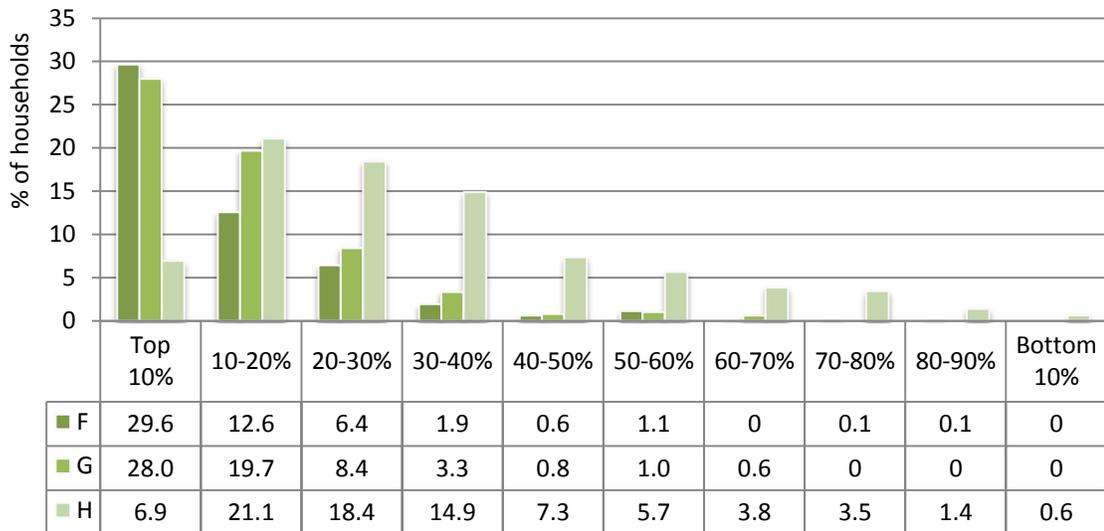


Figure 6.12: RR2 percentage of households in Mosaic groups F, G and H, by IMD 2004 (10% ranges)

As the IMD rank increases (i.e. becomes less deprived), the percentage of households in the more affluent Mosaic groups A, B and C also appears to increase. This finding clearly lends support to the argument that the original IMD analysis is indicative of a real social geography and not simply an artefact of the classification.

#### **6.4.3 Mosaic analysis by group: conclusions**

The first stage of the Mosaic analysis (concerning just the percentage of the different Mosaic groups in the three datasets compared to the national distribution of those groups) appears to support the conclusion that museums in the evaluations are attracting an over-representation of schools from some of the more deprived Mosaic groups, particularly groups F, 'Welfare Borderline' and G, 'Municipal Dependency.' Interestingly group K, 'Rural Isolation', is also over-represented in all datasets, indicating perhaps the number of schools in rural areas that museums are engaging with. As we may expect if the geography of school visits presented by the IMD is indicative of actual patterns of deprivation, the less deprived groups such as A, 'Symbols of Success' and B, 'Happy Families', are consistently underrepresented, compared to the national percentage of these groups, across all three datasets. Comparing the RCMG datasets to the national percentages of each Mosaic group assumes that Mosaic groups are evenly distributed across England. In reality there will be variations between the different regions that reflect the different populations and social contexts in those areas. The following section considers the differences between regions present in the RR1 and RR2 datasets by



considering the percentage of households categorised in the different Mosaic groups and types for a selection of regions.

#### **6.4.4 Mosaic analysis by type**

The RR1 evaluation and a further publication also considered the IMD ranking of each school postcode by region (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2004b: 45-47 and Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2009). The same analysis will be conducted using the Experian Mosaic groups and types with the RR1 and RR2 datasets. As mentioned above, Experian categorise UK households into 11 groups and further subdivide these groups into 61 types (refer to Table 6.3). The analysis will concentrate particularly on the Mosaic group and type for the West Midlands, North East and the South West as these regions appear in both RR1 and RR2 datasets enabling comparisons to be made between them.

##### ***6.4.4.1 The West Midlands***

Illustrated in Figure 6.13, the Mosaic group percentages for the West Midlands across the RR1 and RR2 datasets follow very similar trends highlighting the consistency of the visits from that region in both evaluations. Figure 6.14, which also illustrates the regional percentages of Mosaic groups alongside both RR1 and RR2, suggests that there is an under-representation of groups A, B and C compared with the regional distribution. Similarly, there is an over-representation of groups D, F and G. This distribution shows consistency between the national percentages for RR1 and RR2 as shown in Figures 6.5 and 6.6 above where (apart from group H, 'Blue Collar Enterprise', in both the RR1 and RR2 evaluations and, in RR1, group K, 'Rural Isolation'), groups A, B and C are underrepresented and groups D, F and G are over-represented.

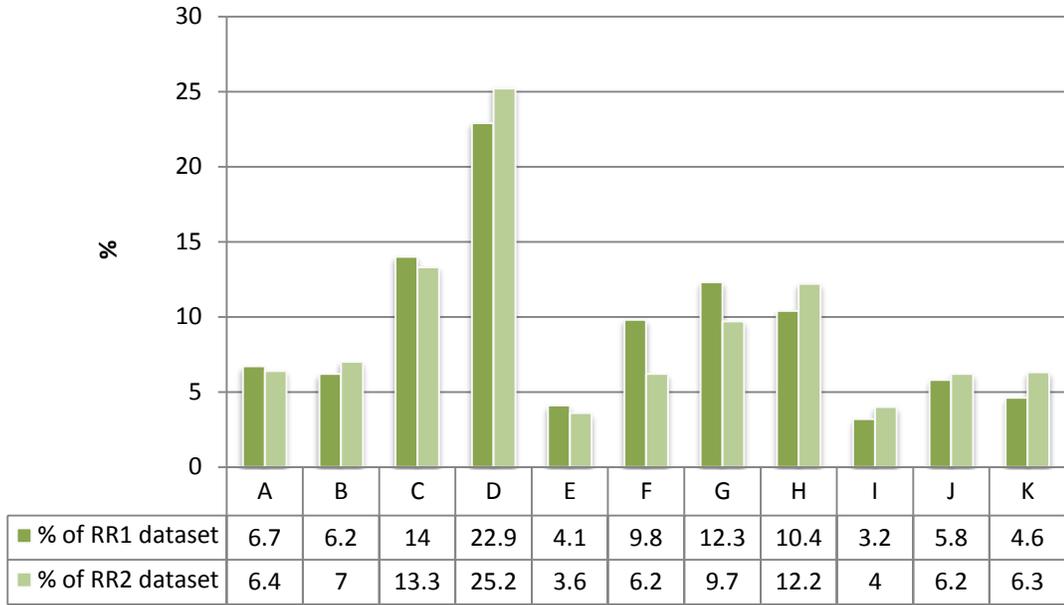


Figure 6.13: Percentage of households in the West Midlands region from the RR1 and RR2 datasets by Mosaic group.

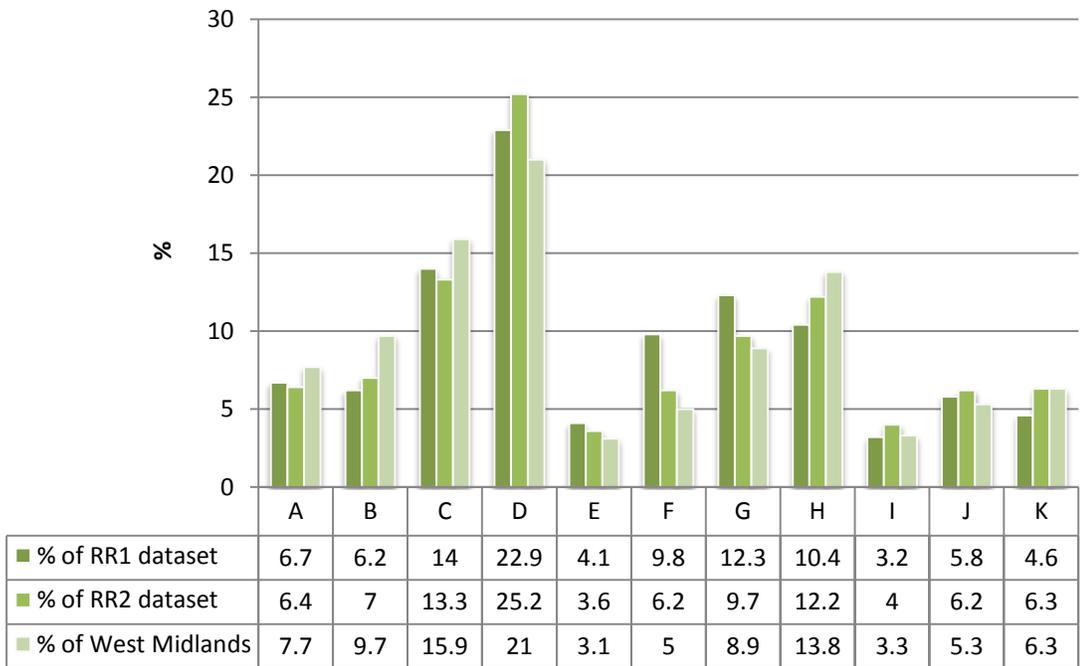


Figure 6.14: Percentage of households in the West Midlands region from the RR1 and RR2 datasets by Mosaic group against the regional West Midlands distribution of Mosaic group.

Tables 6.6 and 6.7 illustrate the percentage of Mosaic types in the RR1 and RR2 datasets for the West Midlands region alongside the regional and national percentages for those types. For ease of comparison, only the five highest represented Mosaic types in each region are presented here.

Mosaic Type	RR1%	West Midlands%	England%
D26 South Asian Industry	9.08%	3.12%	1.06%
F37 Upper floor Families	8.73%	2.82%	1.71%
G42 Low Horizons	5.25%	3.40%	2.46%
G43 Ex- Industrial Legacy	4.59%	3.80%	2.49%
D23 Industrial Grit	3.64%	5.61%	3.89%

Table 6.6: RR1 West Midlands regional breakdown by Mosaic type

Mosaic Type	RR2%	West Midlands%	England%
D26 South Asian Industry	9.17%	3.12%	1.06%
D23 Industrial Grit	5.07%	5.61%	3.89%
D24 Coronation Street	4.38%	3.58%	3.10%
H44 Rustbelt Resilience	4.24%	5.03%	2.19%
G43 Ex- Industrial Legacy	4.08%	3.80%	2.49%

Table 6.7: RR2 West Midlands regional breakdown by Mosaic type.

It is not surprising, considering that the Mosaic group with the highest percentage of households represented in the RR1 and RR2 datasets for the West Midlands as illustrated in Figure 6.8 is group 'D', that the most common Mosaic type would also be from the 'D'

group. However, both the school postcodes in the RR1 and RR2 datasets consistently agree that Mosaic type D26, 'South Asian Industry', is the highest represented Mosaic type present. The percentages of type D26, 'South Asian Industry', are also far above the regional and national percentages of this type.

As well as highlighting a high percentage of 'South Asian Industry', the Mosaic types for both the RR1 and RR2 datasets in the West Midlands also offer an indication of the potential causes and nuances of the deprivation and social exclusion that is present in the region. For example, in both the RR1 and RR2 datasets, Mosaic types which reflect the industrial past of the region are present; 'D23, Industrial Grit', 'G43, Ex-Industrial Legacy', and H44, 'Rustbelt Resilience'. Referring to Tables 6.4 and 6.5, groups D and G appear particularly associated with the top 10% most deprived IMD ranks, suggesting that museums in the West Midlands are being visited by schools located in areas with high proportions of people connected, at least in the past, with the industrial economy. With the rise of a post-industrial economy, many of these people may have become positioned in a situation of marginality and deprivation.

Furthermore, the Experian (no date, a) description of 'South Asian Industry', suggested that the museums in the RR1 and RR2 datasets are potentially engaging with children from communities facing a number of different issues that may contribute to social exclusion. Examples include: financial difficulties which result from low waged employment in the local (often diminishing) industrial sectors and low quality, overcrowded housing resulting in potential poor health (ibid). The Townsend and IMD indices do not reflect these more cultural and social aspects of social exclusion which

Mosaic does via its descriptions of groups and types. For example, the 'South Asian Industry' (Experian, no date a), description suggests that members of this group may lack confidence to interact with wider society due to language difficulties or barriers. However, the strengths of these communities are also emphasised, suggesting that areas 'South Asian Industry' reflects (local scale) commercial entrepreneurship (ibid) which might be viewed as one of the successes of the West Midlands (see Henry et al, 2002). Also, according to Experian (ibid) the younger members of the 'South Asian Industry' type demonstrate a higher level of confidence to work across different job sectors. Furthermore, it is suggested by Experian (ibid) that many of the communities have developed significant survival skills such as financial prudence and self sufficiency, which help them to endure hardships. A word of caution should again be expressed here relating to the ecological fallacy, which concerns making generalisations about individuals that are based on data reported at a larger scale. The Mosaic descriptions are highly detailed but it must be remembered that this analysis looks at SOAs and not the smaller spatial unit of postcode sectors which would refer to less people.

Tables 6.6 and 6.7 also suggest that museums could potentially do more to attract some of the Mosaic types listed in these tables. For example, they appear to be engaging with schools in areas of significantly higher percentages of 'South Asian Industry', but other types such as 'Industrial Grit' and 'Rustbelt Resilience' (which make up some of the most represented Mosaic Types in the dataset for the region), are underrepresented in the two datasets when compared to this regional breakdown.

#### **6.4.4.2 The North East**

The North East distribution of Mosaic groups for both RR1 and RR2 show some similarities with each other. The general distributions appear comparable in shape, with both datasets peaking at groups D and G (see Figure 6.15). The groups that are consistently over-represented in both RR1 and RR2 datasets for the North East are groups F 'Welfare Borderline,' J, 'Grey Perspectives' and K, 'Rural Isolation'. There are differences in the RR1 and RR2 distributions. For example, group G appears under-represented in RR1 and over-represented in RR2, indicating that there are some differences between the geography of school visits to museums in the North East presented by each evaluation. Arguably, the RR2 evaluation (see Figure 6.16) presents a geography where museums were potentially more successful at engaging with schools in areas of high deprivation. For instance, group G is associated with the more highly deprived SOAs (see Tables 6.4 and 6.5).

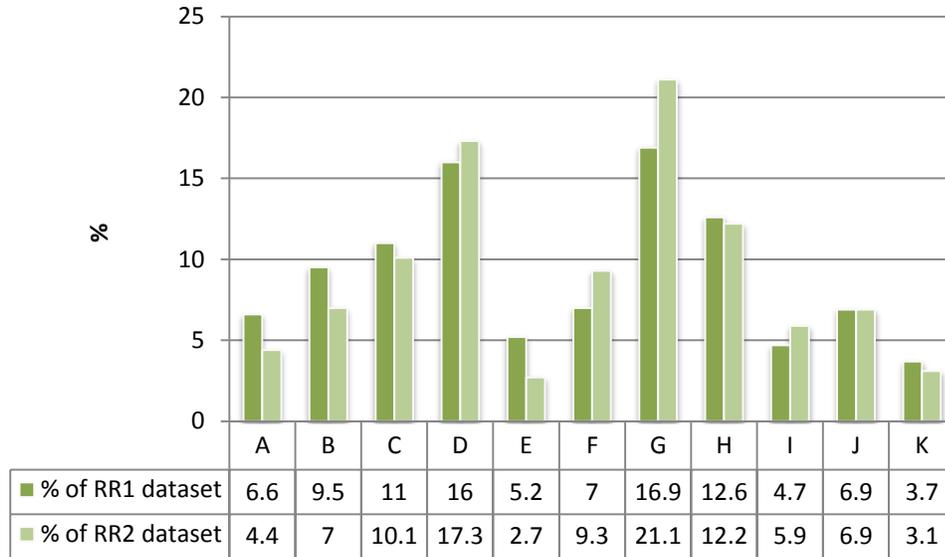


Figure 6.15: Percentage of households in the North East region from the RR1 and RR2 datasets by Mosaic group.

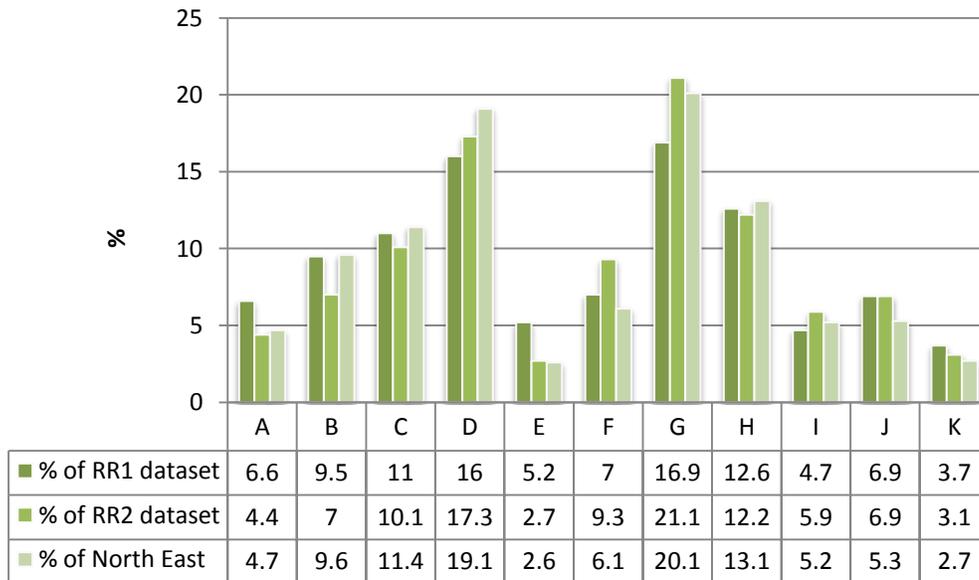


Figure 6.16: Percentage of households in the North East region from the RR1 and RR2 datasets by Mosaic group against the regional North Eastern distribution of Mosaic group.

Tables 6.8 and 6.9 show the percentages of the five most represented Mosaic types in the RR1 and RR2 datasets for the North East, alongside the regional and national percentages for those types.

<b>Mosaic Type</b>	<b>RR1%</b>	<b>North East%</b>	<b>England%</b>
G43 Ex-Industrial Legacy	9.13%	9.77%	2.49%
G42 Low Horizons	6.53%	8.59%	2.46%
H45 Older Right to Buy	5.26%	5.11%	1.96%
D24 Coronation street	4.90%	6.22%	3.10%
H44 Rustbelt Resilience	4.58%	5.50%	2.19%

Table 6.8: RR1 North East Regional breakdown Mosaic type

<b>Mosaic Type</b>	<b>RR2%</b>	<b>North East%</b>	<b>England%</b>
G43 Ex-Industrial Legacy	11.34%	9.77%	2.49%
G42 Low Horizons	8.45%	8.59%	2.46%
D24 Coronation street	5.73%	6.22%	3.10%
H45 Older Right to Buy	4.99%	5.11%	1.96%
H44 Rustbelt Resilience	4.50%	5.50%	2.19%

Table 6.9: RR2 North East Regional breakdown Mosaic type

Both the RR1 and RR2 datasets show a great deal of consistency in the Mosaic types that are present, as both Tables, 6.8 and 6.9, contain the same Mosaic types.

It is interesting, however, that in RR1, only type H45, 'Older Right to Buy', is over represented when compared to regional percentages (see Table 6.8). In RR2 only type



G43, 'Ex-Industrial Legacy', is over-represented. However, compared with the whole of England rather than just the regional distribution, the RR1 and RR2 datasets over-represent all five Mosaic types listed above. This is an indication of how the regional picture can be distorted when considering just the national distribution. There may well be variations in social composition between regions that a national picture, as considered in section 6.3.2, does not illustrate (see also Hooper-Greenhill, 2009).

Again, as with the West Midlands, the most represented Mosaic types hint at the particular economic context of the region, namely that the museum visits recorded in the data sets are significantly biased towards locations associated with the deprivation occurring in ex-industrial areas. For example, Experian (no date, a) note that 'Despite the continuing economic hardship of these areas, these are not neighbourhoods of social deprivation and the local community has managed to retain the controls that others have lost over the behaviour of its members'. This description illustrates that the particular form of deprivation experienced in these areas is predominantly economic. An awareness of this information could help museums in these areas to develop suitable programmes aimed at developing skills which may, for instance, help to increase employability, rather than specifically targeting social deprivation.

#### ***6.4.4.3 The South West***

The South West region represents a different range of Mosaic groups compared with the West Midlands and the North East regions, as illustrated in Figures 6.17 and 6.18. This pattern is also not visible from the national distribution. Groups C, 'Suburban Comfort' and D, 'Ties of the Community', still dominate as they do with each of the regional

distributions. However, the distribution of the Mosaic groups in the South West region has a far greater concentration of groups J, 'Grey Perspectives' and K, 'Rural Isolation'. The concentration of groups with a more rural emphasis is suggestive of the geography of the South West region generally. As Table 6.10 suggests, the South West has the highest percentage of SOAs classified type 3 - 'Village, Hamlet and Isolated Dwelling' using the Urban/Rural classification index (National Statistics, no date).

Region	No. of SOAs	No. of type 3 SOAs	% of type 3 SOAs
East of England	3549	538	15.2
East Midlands	2732	329	12.0
Greater London	4765	3	0.1
North East	1656	84	5.1
North West	4459	228	5.1
South East	5319	604	11.4
South West	3226	588	18.2
West Midlands	3482	306	8.8
Yorkshire and Humber	3292	266	8.1

Table 6.10: Number and percentage of SOAs classified as Village, Hamlet and Isolated Dwelling.

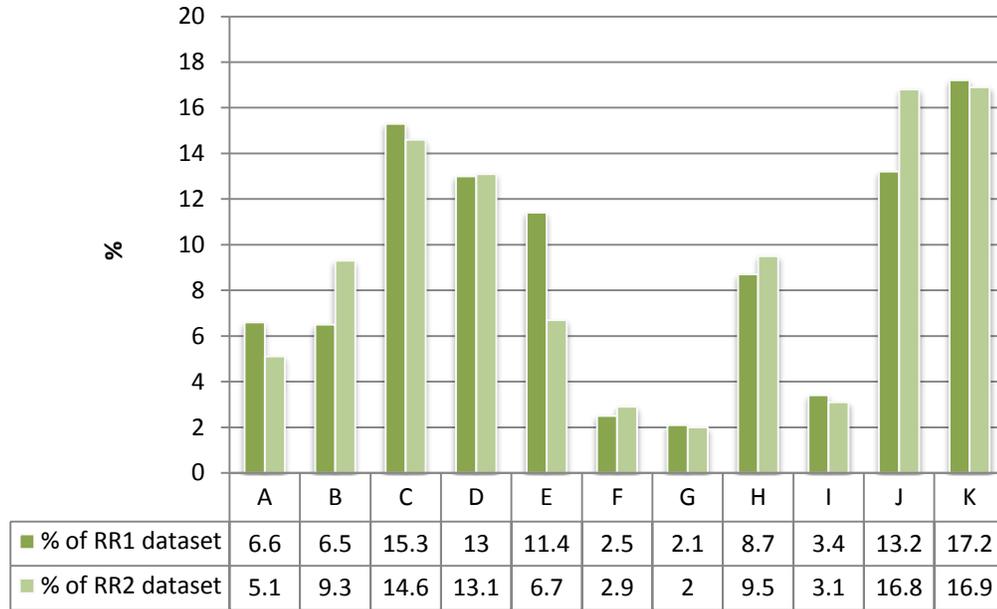


Figure 6.17: Percentage of households in the South West region from the RR1 and RR2 datasets by Mosaic group.

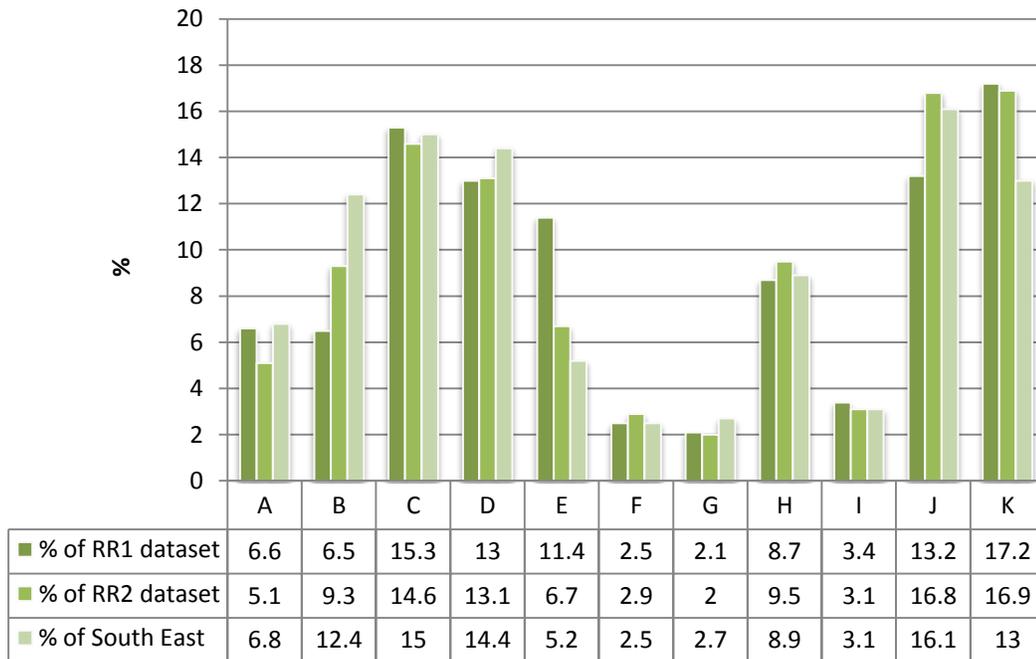


Figure 6.18: Percentage of households in the South Western region from the RR1 and RR2 datasets by Mosaic group against the regional South Western distribution by Mosaic group.

Tables 6.11 and 6.12 illustrate the percentage of the five most represented Mosaic types in the RR1 and RR2 datasets for the South West, alongside the regional and national percentages for those types.

Mosaic Type	RR1%	South West%	England%
K60 Pastoral Symphony	5.41%	3.16%	1.17%
E31 Caring Professionals	5.32%	0.30%	1.21%
C18 Sprawling Subtopia	4.56%	5.22%	3.24%
D23 Industrial Grit	4.41%	2.54%	3.89%
K59 Parochial Villagers	4.33%	3.91%	1.44%

Table 6.11: RR1 South West Regional breakdown Mosaic type.

Mosaic Type	RR2%	South West%	England%
J55 Small Town Seniors	6.45%	2.45%	2.62%
K60 Pastoral Symphony	6.02%	3.16%	1.17%
B12 Middle Rung Families	4.59%	2.72%	2.75%
C18 Sprawling Subtopia	4.01%	5.22%	3.24%
D23 Industrial Grit	3.90%	2.54%	3.89%

Table 6.12: RR2 South West Regional breakdown Mosaic type.

Tables 6.11 and 6.12 further indicate the social and economic differences between the Mosaic groups and types present in the RCMG evaluations in the South West and those from SOAs in the North East and West Midlands. However, there is still an over-representation of visits in both datasets by Mosaic type D23, 'Industrial Grit', when compared with the regional distribution of this type. This indicates that, even though the

percentage of schools in this type drops in RR2, museum visits are popular with schools in areas that are feeling the effects of the decline in local industry that is as associated with this Mosaic type (Experian, no date, a).

The other Mosaic types represented in the RR1 and RR2 datasets for the South West are also significant. They may not instantly reflect areas that would typically be associated with social exclusion but, analyses of the descriptions for some of these Mosaic types, do indicate a number of features that could contribute to a region specific form of exclusion. For example, type K60, 'Pastoral Symphony' and K59, 'Parochial Villagers' are associated with scattered farms and cottages or small agricultural villages. These may be characterised by farming that yields an unpredictable income, allowing for less disposable income. These areas also have an ageing population, as younger people have moved to larger urban areas for employment or training (Experian, no date, a). However, in contrast to these Mosaic descriptions in Tables 6.4 and 6.5 and illustrated in Figure 6.19 group K, 'Rural Isolation', was not associated with the most deprived areas as indicated by IMD 2004 rank.

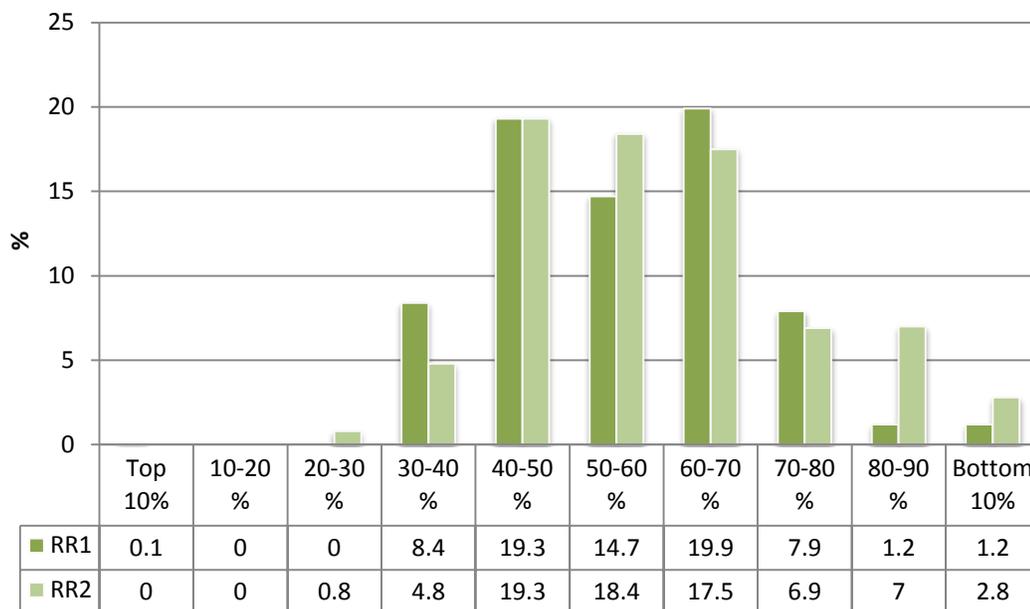


Figure 6.19: Percentage of households in Mosaic group K by IMD 2004 (10% ranges).

The percentage of households in group K across RR1 and RR2 datasets appeared to increase around the 30-40% most deprived IMD ranks and to peak at 60-70% range for RR1 and the 40-50% range for RR2. This picture may indicate that, for the SOAs where a high percentage of the households fall into group K, these areas do not experience the same level of deprivation that SOAs containing other Mosaic groups do. It should be noted, however, that this is a national picture and not specific to the South West. It is also possible that the presence of this 'Rural Isolation' group in mid-ranked IMD SOAs reflects deficiencies in the IMD in capturing rural dimensions of deprivation such as accessibility.

What the analysis as not considered so far are questions concerning the significance of museum location and this is looked at more specifically in Chapter 7. However, it is worth investigating here whether the location of the museums in the South West share the same Mosaic codes as the schools that participated in the RR1 and RR2 evaluations. If, for

example, there is a high percentage of type D23, 'Industrial Grit', in the SOAs the museums are located in, this might suggest that museums are well placed to explore issues relating to local identity, particularly the legacy of the South West's industrial past. A possible explanation of the geography of school visits may be that museums are used by schools to teach their pupils about their heritage and local identity. Figure 6.20 illustrates which Mosaic groups are predominantly represented in the SOAs where the museums in the South West region<sup>87</sup> are located.

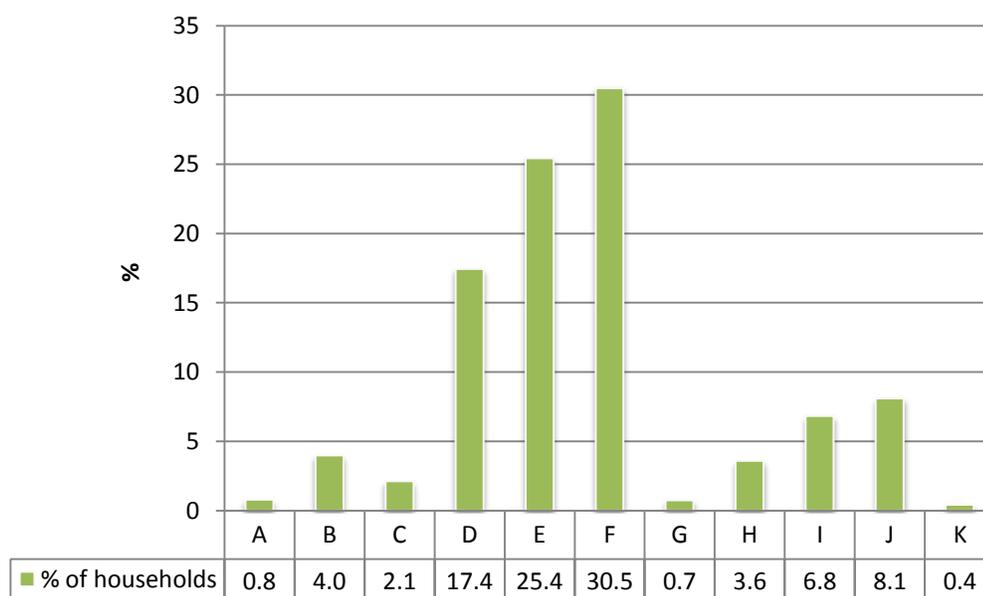


Figure 6.20: Percentages of each Mosaic group in the SOAs where the South West Museums are located.

Figure 6.20 suggests that Mosaic groups D (which includes type D23, 'Industrial Grit', a type which is highly represented in the South West, see Tables 6.10 and 6.11), E, 'Urban Intelligence' and F, 'Welfare Borderline', constitute the most highly represented Mosaic groups in these locations. Referring back to Figure 6.17, which shows the percentage of

<sup>87</sup> Museums that took part in the RR1 and RR2 studies only.

households in the South West region from the RR1 and RR2 datasets by Mosaic group, this may suggest that some of the museum locations also share a high percentage of the same Mosaic groups as the schools in the RR1 and RR2 datasets, such as groups D, E and F.

However, the high percentage of households in group F, 'Welfare Borderline', in the SOAs the museums are located in is not consistent with the picture presented in Figure 6.17, where only 2.5% (RR1) and 2.9% (RR2) of the households in SOAs in these two datasets represent group F. When Mosaic type is considered as well as group, the location of the museums appears to have a quite different character: town centre locations, characteristic of Mosaic types D25 and F35 (Experian, no date, b), are most represented.

Using Mosaic, the pattern of school visits to museums in the South West appears to be consistent with the picture of deprivation in the region as indicated by the IMD 2004 (see Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2009). Of the three regions considered here, the South West had the lowest proportion of visits from areas classified as being in the top 20% most deprived. However, Mosaic adds to this analysis by raising particular issues which may not be as visible in these traditional indices, such as the particular socio-economic context of the South West region.

#### ***6.4.4.4 Mosaic analyses overall conclusions***

Using Experian Mosaic in this chapter has enabled the RCMG datasets to take on a much more tangible quality because as Hayden et al (2007) suggest the classification system establishes detailed descriptions of the particular school locations that the IMD is not able to do. As Mosaic is a different classification system to either the Townsend Index or the IMD, it is more difficult to establish, quantifiably, how similar or contradictory the



geography of school visits is using Mosaic. However, it was established that certain Mosaic groups are more associated with areas of high deprivation than others and, using this information, it was possible to suggest that the Mosaic analysis largely supports the geography of school visits presented by RCMG. As well as situating the RCMG data within a real life context and giving comprehensive information about the audiences the participating museums might be engaged with, using Mosaic has been useful in other ways. For example, it has stimulated particular questions concerning what else may have contributed to the particular pattern of school visits such as the location of museums in relation to schools. These aspects will be considered in Chapter 7. Section 6.4 now goes on to examine whether school catchment areas and Free School Meals confirm or reject the pattern of school visits to museums.

### **6.5 Free school meals and school catchment areas: addressing the ecological fallacy.**

So far the study has tested the previous research findings at the neighbourhood level by considering deprived areas particularly as based on the level of deprivation indicated by the school postcode. This section looks again at the geography of school visits to museums and asks the following question: can a school postcode act as an indicator of the level of deprivation experienced by its pupils?

This question is addressed using data related to school catchment areas and Free School Meal eligibility (hereon FSM). The catchment areas of all schools in the RCMG dataset will be examined, with a closer discussion focusing on the seven case-study schools. A school catchment area can be defined as the geographical area that incorporates the pupils'

place of residence and they are generally undefined and unpredictable (Pearce, 2000 and Rees et al, 2007), affected by regularly changing admissions policies (Butler et al, 2007). It should, therefore, not be assumed that a school's catchment area is that geographical area which directly surrounds the school. As suggested by the Sutton Trust (2005), the catchment area may be larger than the postcode sector where the school is located. Therefore, pupils may live within different postcode sectors with varying deprivation classifications.

Information from the Pupil Level Annual School Census (PLASC)<sup>88</sup> was supplied from the DCSF for each school in the RCMG evaluation, including the seven case-study schools. The DCSF data incorporated an IMD ranking for each SOA containing a pupil's home postcode. It was therefore possible to assess if the level of deprivation of each case-study school population, was comparable with the level of deprivation indicated by each schools' postcode. The aim of this analysis is to assess the reliability of school postcode as an indicator of the levels of deprivation experienced by the school pupils and therefore to comment on the significance of the RCMG research findings.

As with the analysis of Mosaic groups and types, analysis of the deprivation experienced in a particular pupil's postcode is conducted using a measure of deprivation (IMD rank) based on the SOA that contains the pupil's postcode. As noted, SOAs are a larger spatial unit than postcodes. This means that the degree of association to the individual cannot be as accurately represented as it could be at the postcode level. Unfortunately data

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<sup>88</sup> An annually updated database maintained by DCSF containing individual pupil information such as identifiers, characteristics, status, home information, attendance, and learning aims. See [teachernet.gov.uk](http://teachernet.gov.uk) for further details.

requested from the Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF) relating to pupil postcodes was only available at SOA level. In order to compensate for this, the percentage of pupils eligible for free school meals in each school is also considered, as this gives a school level indication of the deprivation experienced by its pupils. Therefore the ecological fallacy (previously introduced in Chapter 3), which describes the pitfall of attributing the characteristics of a group to an individual, is addressed through the use of smaller scale FSM data. A school postcode is *not* used here to make assumptions about pupils that attend that school, as it has been in previous analyses using the IMD, Townsend and Mosaic. Rather, data based on a pupil's own place of residence and family socio-economic status are used to assess deprivation levels.

### **6.5.1 Free School Meals**

FSM eligibility has been used as a standard measure of assessing socio-economic status of school pupils and for targeting resources by various organisations, for example the Sutton Trust (2005) and Horgan (2007).<sup>89</sup> The measure has also been assessed as one of the most reliable predictors of a school's GCSE results (Webber and Butler, 2007:1234), indicating the relationship between socio-economic marginality and low educational attainment (see also Schagen and Schagen, 2005 and Hutchinson, 2003). However, there is research which questions the validity of FSM eligibility as a proxy for socio-economic deprivation. For example, Hobbs and Vignoles (2007:23) suggest that future research should evaluate

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<sup>89</sup> There are various criteria for FSM eligibility which are income based, including if a child's parents are in receipt of income support or income based Jobseeker's Allowance. See [www.direct.gov.uk](http://www.direct.gov.uk) for full criteria.

other contexts and datasets, in combination with alternative small level datasets of the main geographic area of interest.<sup>90</sup>

There are other cautions that should be considered about the FSM measure. First, FSM eligibility reflects the percentage of pupils *eligible*, it does not tell us how many pupils actually take up the free school meals. There are a variety of reasons why a pupil may not make use of free school meals, including the perceived stigma of this entitlement (see Storey and Chamberlin, 2001). Freedman (2008), indicates a concern with using free school meals when targeting specific financial resources, he suggests that uptake of free school meals is approximately 80% which would mean that many children would not receive the extra premiums they were entitled to. Second, concerns have been expressed that there is a deficit between who is eligible under the FSM meal scheme and who is actually living in poverty. The Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG) (no date), for example, suggest that one in three children live in poverty, yet only one in five are eligible for free school meals. In this sense FSM eligibility may identify children whose parents have an exceptionally low income, but may not identify people who are experiencing slightly less extreme levels of economic deprivation (Butler et al, 2007) Therefore, as Freedman (2008: 79) also suggests, using free school meals as an indicator is a ‘...crude all or nothing measure’ that does not allow for a targeting of resources that is subtly graded. It is with an awareness of these considerations that free school meal eligibility is used in this study.

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<sup>90</sup> The DCSF (then DfES), who commissioned the Hobbs and Vignoles study, point out that data from the longitudinal study, used as a comparison to FSM data, was not a nationally representative sample. Therefore, the study cannot be seen as definitive evidence which questions the FSM measure. See [www.dscf.gov.uk](http://www.dscf.gov.uk)

The percentage of pupils eligible for FSM was used in the RR2 study to consider the level of deprivation in each participating school using the DCSF database of schools (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2006d: 73). The analysis was based on percentage of schools in each DfES 'national quartile'. The results indicated that the schools represented in the RR2 survey were drawn disproportionately from the upper quartile,<sup>91</sup> with a FSM eligibility percentage between 24.3-100% (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2006d: 73-4). Therefore, FSM eligibility, as a school specific indicator, was able to support the claims made about the deprivation levels experienced by the schools in the RR2 dataset, which were based on an area level measure (IMD).

Whether there is an association between FSM eligibility and IMD 2004 rank in each school present in the RCMG datasets was also considered. It may be expected that, as the percentage of pupils eligible for FSM goes up, the level of deprivation experienced by the school also increases. The relationship between IMD rank and the percentage of FSM eligibility for each school was examined using a Spearman's rank correlation. The Spearman coefficient for this test is 0.72, significant at  $p < .001$ , suggesting that there is a strong association between these two sets of ranked data. Therefore, an overall picture of the schools present in the RCMG data indicates that, as IMD rank decreases (becomes more deprived), the amount of pupils eligible for FSM increases. A scatter plot (Figure 6.21) of IMD rank against percentage of pupils eligible for FSM in the schools present in the RCMG datasets

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<sup>91</sup> Considering the percentage of children eligible for FSM in quartiles takes account of the skewed nature of this data, with a high number of schools with very low percentages of FSM and a smaller proportion of schools with very high FSM percentages (see Hooper-Greenhill et al 2006b:73).

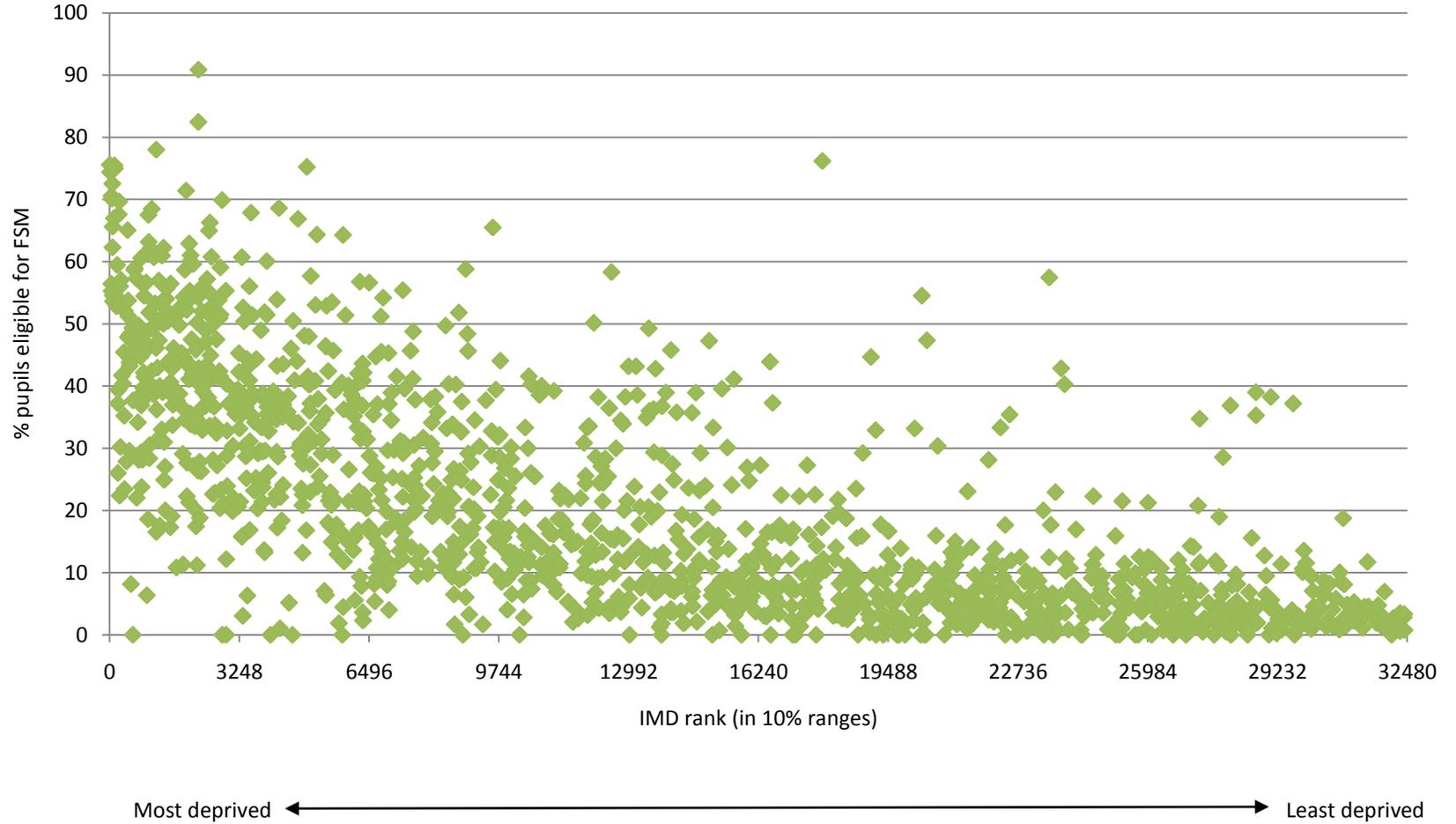


Figure 6.21 Scatter plot of % of pupils eligible for FSM in the schools present in the RCMG datasets, against IMD rank.

Figure 6.21 indicates that there is a linear relationship between FSM and IMD rank, but with significant variance. The general trend suggests that schools in the most deprived IMD ranks do appear to have the highest percentage of FSM eligibility and the more affluent schools a lower percentage. However, this may not always be the case as there are a small number of schools that have a low IMD rank (i.e. in an area of high deprivation) but that also have a low percentage of pupils eligible for FSM. Figure 6.21 also suggests that schools with a mid range IMD rank to a high IMD rank can also have a high percentage of pupils eligible for FSM. The variance in Figure 6.21 indicates that there may have been more pupils experiencing high levels of deprivation visiting the museums in the RCMG studies than is suggested by considering IMD rank of the school alone, particularly where a relatively affluent school has a high percentage of FSM eligibility. Table 6.13 details the mean, minimum and maximum percentage of pupils eligible for FSM in the schools present in the RCMG evaluations by each 10% range of the IMD, alongside the standard deviation for each range. The mean percentage for each 10% range supports the general trend that as a school becomes less deprived the percentage of pupils eligible for FSM also decreases. However, as the maximum and minimum percentages for each 10% range suggests there is significant variation in each range. The variation appears to decrease as the schools become more affluent as the standard deviation shows. This suggests that overall, although there are significant exceptions present in the RCMG datasets, a more affluent IMD rank is more likely to mean a lower FSM eligibility.

IMD range	Mean %	Max %	Min %	Standard deviation
Top 10%	43.13	90.87	0	15.69
10-20%	31.53	75.24	0	14.94
20-30%	23.84	65.50	0	12.70
30-40%	17.66	58.33	0	11.10
40-50%	14.50	49.28	0	11.93
50-60%	10.56	76.19	0	10.52
60-70%	8.16	54.54	0	8.61
70-80%	7.52	57.47	0	8.43
80-90%	6.98	39.00	0	8.18
Bottom 10%	4.59	37.20	0	5

Table 6.13: Mean, maximum, minimum% and standard deviation of pupils eligible for FSM in the schools present in the RCMG datasets, by IMD (10% ranges).

### 6.5.2 Pupil postcodes

Table 6.14 illustrates the number and percentage of pupils attending schools across the RCMG evaluations that live in the same IMD 10% range as the postcode of the school they attend



IMD 2004 School 10% rank	Number of pupils attending schools with this rank.	Number of pupils whose home postcode is in the same IMD 10% range as the school they attend.	% of pupils whose home postcode is in the same IMD 10% range as the school they attend.
Top 10% most deprived	128264	89239	69.6
10-20%	97752	35063	35.9
20-30%	79648	22569	28.3
30-40%	81639	21090	25.8
40-50%	68415	17191	25.1
50-60%	57239	14615	25.5
60-70%	65426	17542	26.8
70-80%	53525	14537	27.2
80-90%	57631	16682	29
Top 10% least deprived	47457	21993	46.3

Table 6.14: The number and percentage of pupils whose home postcode is classified as being in the same 10% IMD range as the postcode of the school they attend.

Table 6.14 suggests some interesting results indicating that if the school postcode classifies the school as being in one of top 10% most deprived SOAs in England, it is likely that the majority of the pupils attending that school will also live in the most deprived SOAs. When the 10-20% to the 80-90% range is considered, around one quarter to one third (25.1% -35.9%) of the schools pupils also live in a SOA located within this IMD range. Figure 6.22 shows a histogram of the percentages in Table 6.14.

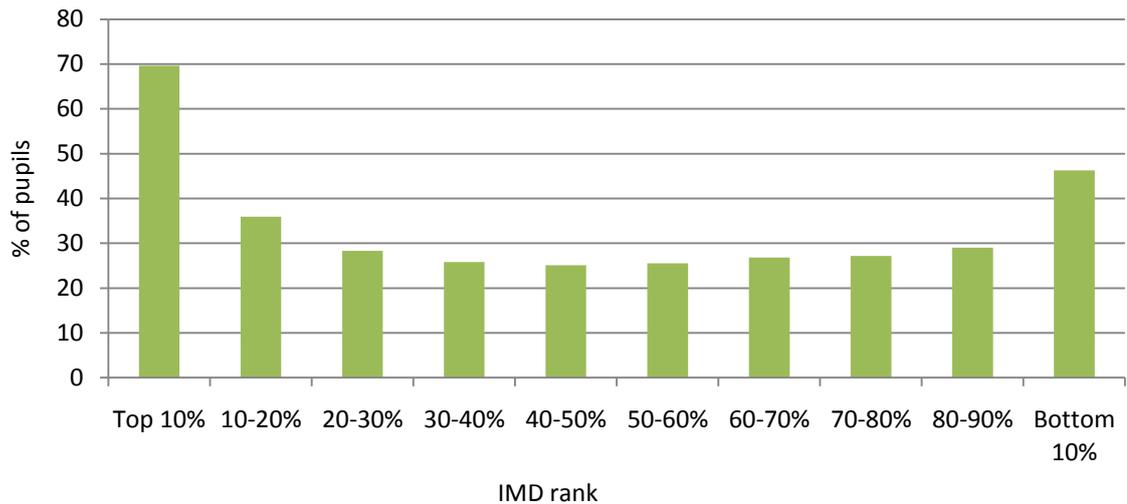


Figure 6.22: Percentage of pupil SOAs in the same 10% IMD range as the school they attend.

Figure 6.22 indicates that as the percentage of pupil postcodes that share the same IMD 10% range as the school they attend rises when the *least* deprived school postcodes are considered. Just over 46% of the pupils who attend the more affluent schools for instance, also live in an area that is classified as having very low levels of deprivation. Note that this percentage is not as high as the percentage of pupils attending schools located in the most deprived areas who also live in these areas (69.6%). However, it is interesting that the most *deprived* schools and the most *affluent* schools in the RCMG datasets draw a high percentage of their pupils from areas experiencing similar levels of deprivation as the school postcode. Overall, this analysis suggests that the IMD rank of a school's post code may act an indicator of the level of deprivation experienced by its pupils. However, this is particularly so for schools located in the top 10% *most* deprived and the top 10% *least* deprived SOAs, but less the case for schools in the IMD ranges 10-20% most deprived to 80-90% least deprived.

### **6.5.3 School catchment areas: case-study schools.**

A closer examination of the school catchment areas and percentage of FSM eligibility at the seven case-study schools will help to examine the level of deprivation experienced by the school pupils in more detail. It may be useful throughout this section to refer back to Table 5.3 in Chapter 5 for details about the case-study schools. As discussed in Chapter 5, the deprivation ranking of a school was a key criterion in the selection of case-study schools. The majority of these schools are therefore located in the top 10% most deprived areas in England. Using the DCSF schools database the average percentage of free school meal eligibility for all schools in England was calculated as 15.3%. Considering this national average against the values for the case-study schools (Table 6.14), it is clear that all of the case-study schools in this research have an above average percentages of pupils eligible for free school meals, regardless of their IMD ranking.

The following section now considers the school catchment areas and FSM eligibility for each case-study school and Table 6.15 outlines the percentage of pupils eligible for FSM in each of the case-study schools. The discussion will also utilise data from the Mosaic groups introduced in section 6.3 in order to consider the specific picture of deprivation present at each school.

Case-study school	Location	IMD 2004 rank	% of pupils eligible for FSM
1	Birmingham	543	48.5
2	Birmingham	878	45.1
3	Newcastle-upon-Tyne	1342	55.5
4	Cornwall	2849	17.4
5	Birmingham	3236	45.9
6	Gateshead	10951	17.1
7	London	15263	37

Table 6.15: Percentage of FSM eligibility in each case-study school.

For simplicity, the case-study schools (Figures 6.23 to 6.29), are separated into two groups: the first represents the first five case-study schools that have postcodes which classify them as being located in the top 10% most deprived areas in the England. If school postcode accurately predicts the deprivation levels experienced by the pupils, we would expect that the pupils who attend these schools will also live in areas of high deprivation. The second group of schools (Figures 6.28 and 6.29) have postcodes which are not classified as being located in the top 10% most deprived areas. It is hypothesised that the catchment areas of these schools will not reflect areas of such extreme deprivation as the first group of schools.

The school catchment areas for the case-study schools in the top 10% most deprived areas in England, suggest that these schools, classified as being located in areas of high deprivation, tend to also draw the majority of their pupils from areas of high deprivation. This is clearly demonstrated in Figures 6.23 and 6.24, which represent the catchment area for case-study schools 1 and 2, located in inner city Birmingham. Both

of these schools draw around 97% of their pupils from SOAs that are, like the school itself, located in the top 10% most deprived areas in England. Both of the catchment areas for schools 1 and 2 in the West Midlands include households that are classified as being made up entirely from Mosaic group D, 'Ties of the Community'. Mosaic group D describes areas of older housing in inner-city locations. Interestingly, this group includes the Mosaic types D23, 'Industrial Grit' and D26, 'South Asian Industry', which were discussed above in relation to the distribution of Mosaic types in this region. This suggests that case-study schools 1 and 2 are perhaps typical of the schools in the RCMG datasets from the West Midlands.

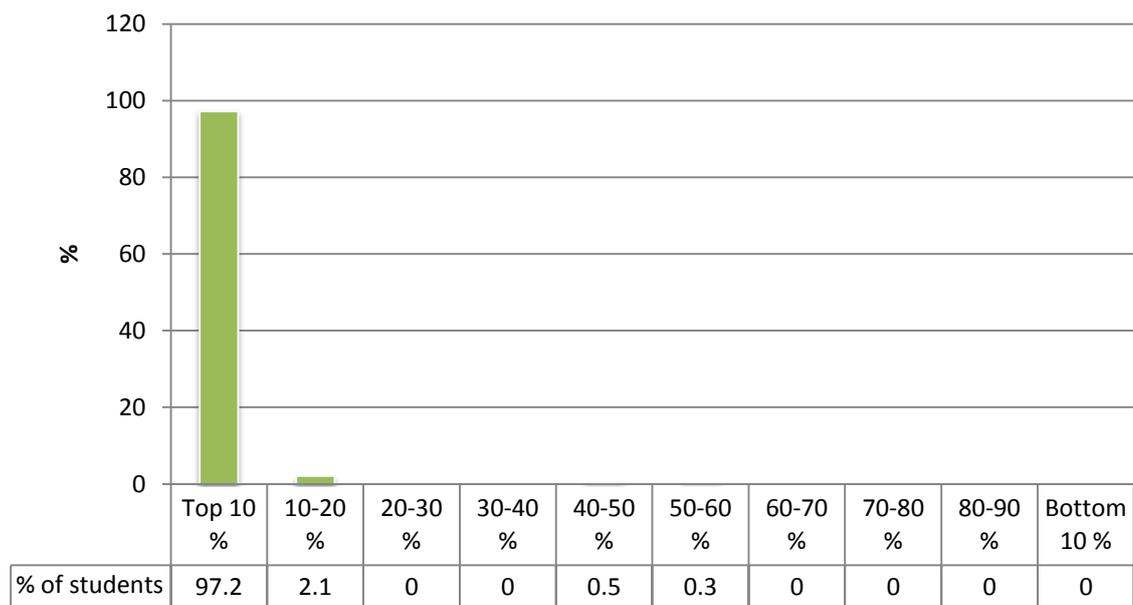


Figure 6.23: School 1 (IMD 2004 rank = 543), percentage of pupil postcodes located in SOAs in each IMD rank.

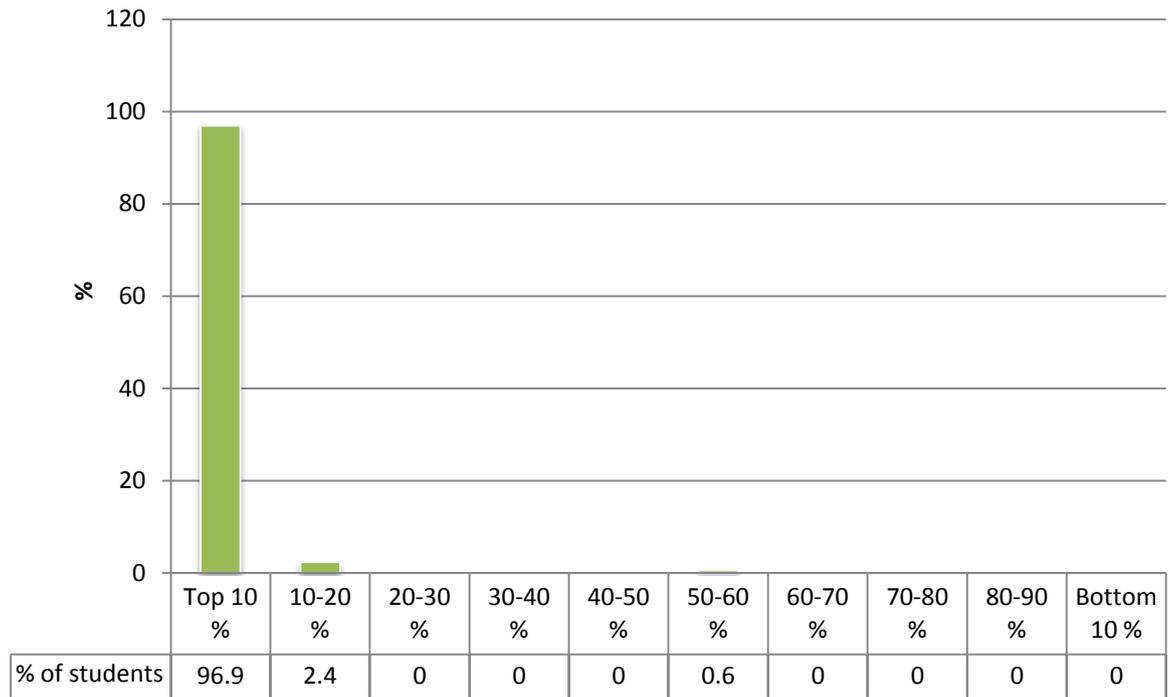


Figure 6.24: School 2 (IMD 2004 rank = 878), percentage of pupil postcodes located in SOAs in each IMD rank.

The remaining schools in the top 10% most deprived group (Figures 6.25 to 6.27) draw a lower percentage of their pupils from these highly deprived areas. There are various possible reasons for this. For example, it is not unexpected that a secondary school may draw its pupils from a wider geographic area than a primary school and this is indicated in Figure 6.27 which shows the ranking of the pupil home postcodes for case-study school 5. However, even with a greater range of deprivation levels present, the secondary school still draws the majority (56%) of its pupils from the 10% most deprived areas. The pupil postcodes of case-study school 5 also represent a small range of Mosaic groups, with group G, ‘Municipal Dependency’, representing 70.2% of the households in these SOAs and group H, ‘Blue Collar Enterprise’, representing 29.8%.

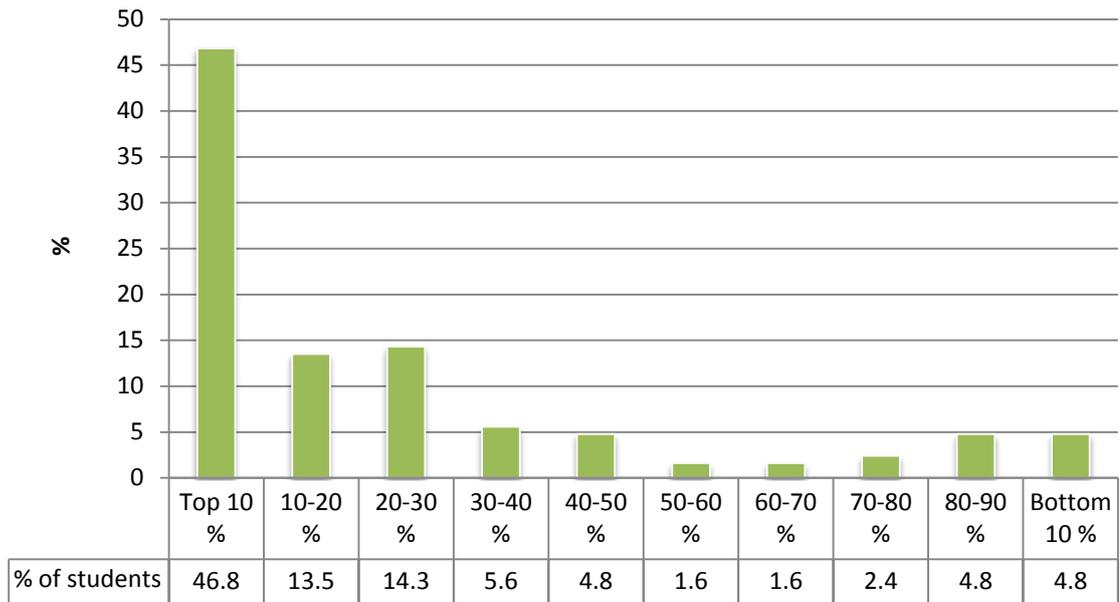


Figure 6.25: School 3 (IMD 2004 rank = 1342), percentage of pupil postcodes located in SOAs in each IMD rank.

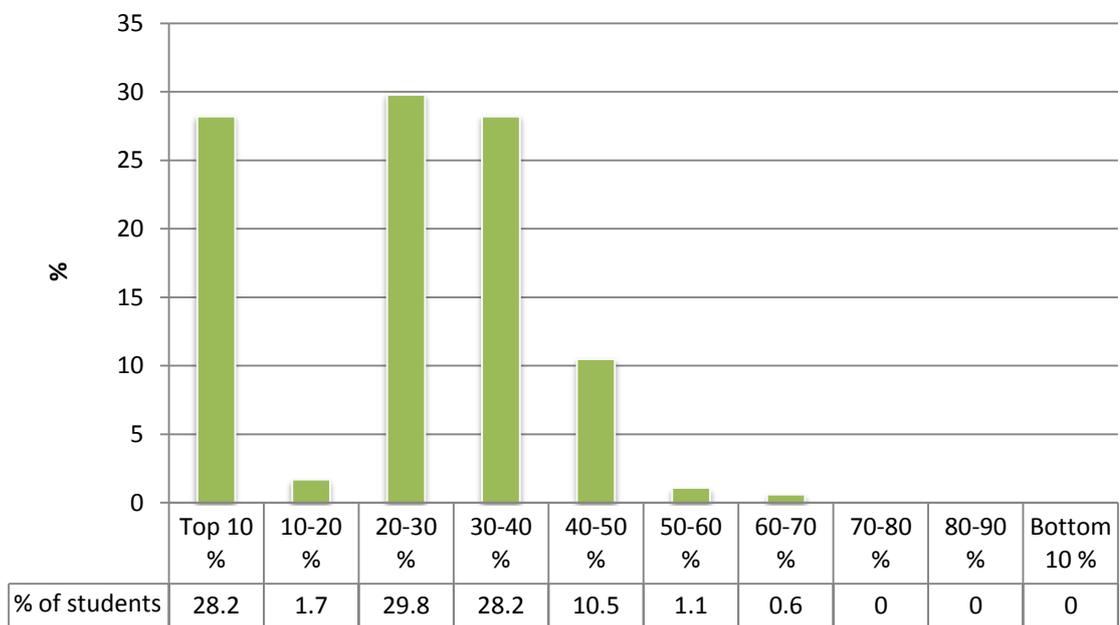


Figure 6.26: School 4 (IMD 2004 rank = 2849), percentage of pupil postcodes located in SOAs in each IMD rank.

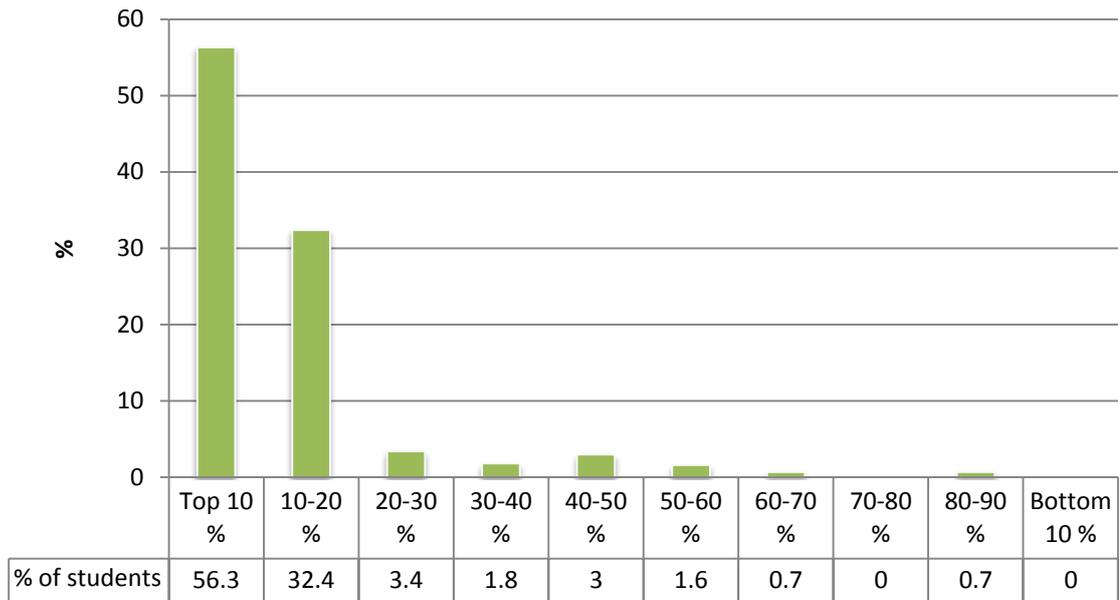


Figure 6.27: School 5 (IMD 2004 rank = 3236), percentage of pupil postcodes located in SOAs in each IMD rank.

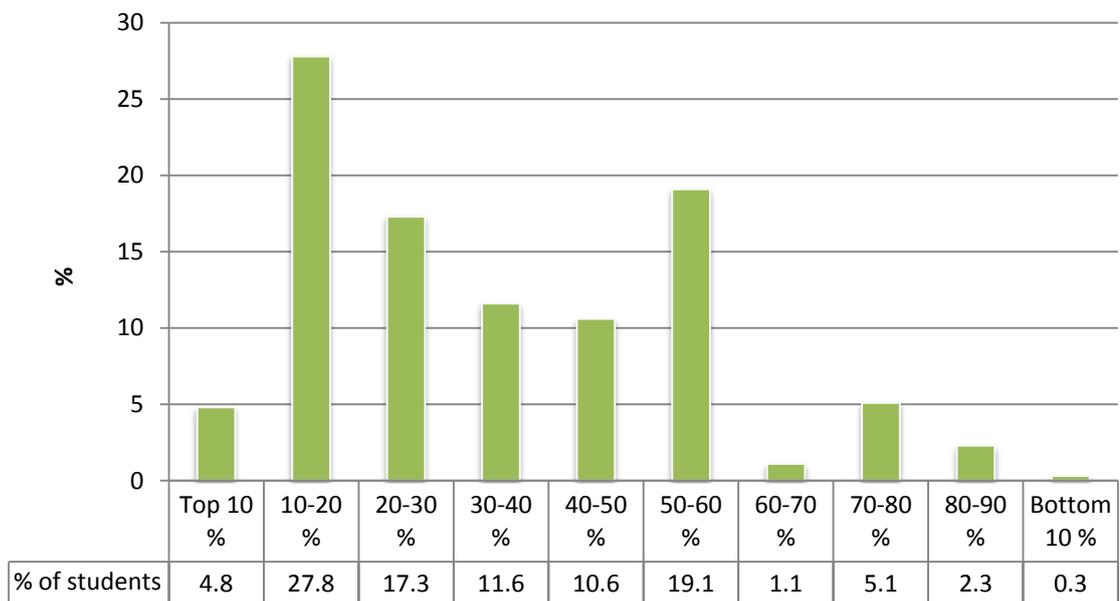


Figure 6.28: School 6 (IMD 2004 rank = 10951), percentage of pupil postcodes located in SOAs in each IMD rank.



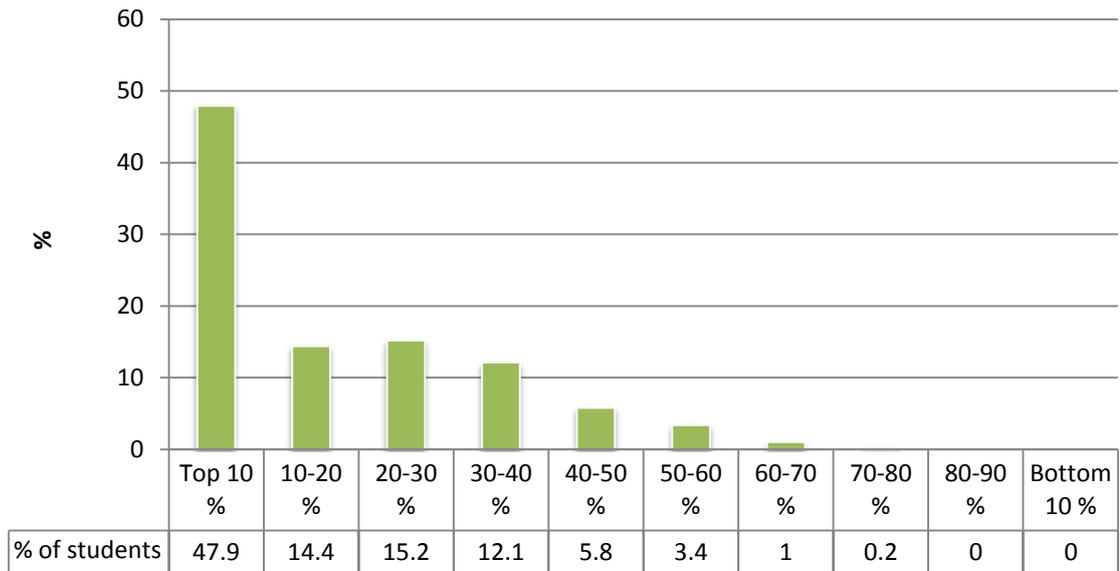


Figure 6.29: School 7 (IMD 2004 rank = 15263), percentage of pupil postcodes located in SOAs in each IMD rank.

Like the secondary schools, the school population of the Special School (school 3, Figure 6.25) is also drawn from a wider geographic area. This may be because there are fewer Special Schools overall catering for the needs of particular categories of learning difficulty, or for children with very specific physical or emotional needs. Figure 6.25 does indeed indicate a school population drawn from a greater range of deprivation levels, although the percentage of pupils whose home postcode is located in the 50% *least* deprived areas in England is small (15.2%) and the school appears to draw the majority of its pupils from the top 20% most deprived areas. Figure 6.30 shows the Mosaic groups represented in the SOAs containing the pupil home postcode for school 3.

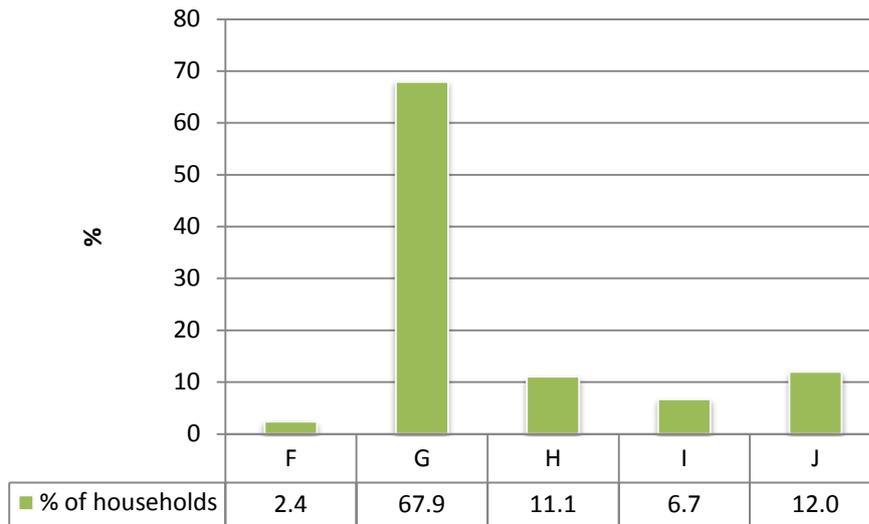


Figure 6.30: percentage of households representing the different Mosaic groups in the SOAs containing the pupil postcode of school 3.

As with school 5, the largest percentage of households in the SOAs containing the pupil postcodes of school 3, are represented by group G, one of the Mosaic groups associated with higher levels of disadvantage (see Tables 6.4 and 6.5).

The final case-study school located in the top 10% most deprived areas in England is a primary school in Cornwall (school 4, Figure 6.26).

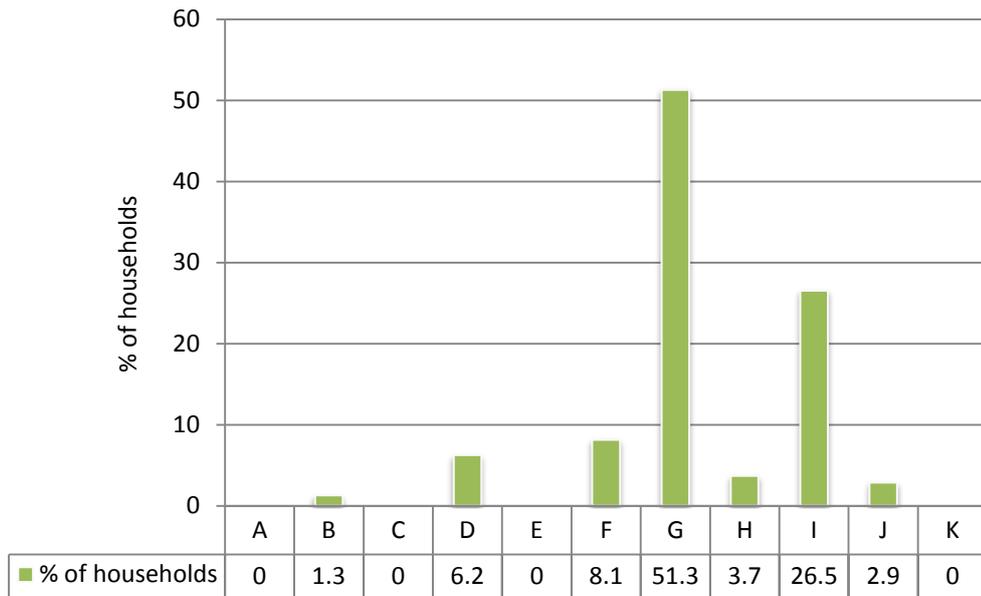


Figure 6.31: percentage of households representing the different Mosaic groups in the SOAs containing the pupil postcode of school 4.

As with school 3, there is a greater range of Mosaic groups present in the SOAs containing the pupil postcodes of those attending school 4 (see Figure 6.31). The most represented groups are group G, ‘Municipal Dependency’ and I, ‘Twilight Subsistence’. Again, as Tables 6.4 and 6.5 suggest, groups G and I appear to represent the more deprived SOAs, as classified by the IMD 2004. This suggests that, overall; the pupils attending school 4 may also experience high levels of deprivation. However, despite having an IMD ranking of 2849, school 4 appears to have a much lower percentage of FMS eligibility (17.4%). It is in fact comparable with school 6, a school which is not located in the top 10% most deprived areas. This FSM result can be considered alongside the pupil postcode analysis for the Cornwall primary school (see Figure 6.26). Despite a low percentage of pupils living in the 10-20% most deprived areas (1.7%), 28.2% of the pupils live in areas classified as being in the top 10% most deprived in England. A further 28.2% live in areas classified as being in the top 20-30% most

deprived areas. The FSM eligibility therefore appears slightly out of balance with the deprivation rankings of the pupil postcode. This school may be one of the schools in Figure 6.21 that has a high IMD but a percentage of FSM eligibility that does not quite match the deprivation score of the school postcode. A possible explanation may be that the deprivation experienced in the school is not principally economic in nature and therefore pupils may not be eligible for FSM. Alternatively there may be lots of parents with low incomes but not to the degree that means their children are eligible for FSM. As noted previously this is one of the potential draw backs of using the FSM indicator (CPAG, no date).

Overall, the examples given above for the case-study schools located in areas of high deprivation support the data presented in Table 6.14, which considers pupil postcodes across the RCMG datasets, that if the schools present in the RCMG evaluations have a postcode which is classified as being in an area of high deprivation it is likely that a high percentage of pupils attending that school will also live in areas of deprivation. The case-study schools do though suggest that there will be variation between individual schools and that catchment areas have a degree of unpredictability, as indicated by Pearce, 2000 and Rees et al, 2007.

Figures 6.28 and 6.29 show the IMD 2004 ranking of the SOA where the pupils of schools 6 and 7 live, based on their home postcodes. School 6 has an IMD ranking of 10951 and is located in an area near Newcastle-upon-Tyne and school 7 has an IMD ranking of 15263 and is located in London. In Figure 6.28 (school 6), just under 50% of the school population (49.9%) live in areas that are classified as being more deprived than the IMD ranking of the school postcode (10951). This indicates that, for many of

the pupils attending the school their home location experiences greater deprivation than the location of the school. The indication that the school has a high proportion of pupils experiencing deprivation was supported during my interviews with the Head Teacher who considered that the school served a reasonably deprived area. He also explained that 80% of the pupils did not live in the immediate locality, catching school buses from surrounding villages every day (Head Teacher, School 6, 07.02.08). The Mosaic groups represented by the SOAs containing the pupil postcodes for school 6, suggest that there is a broad range of groups represented in the SOAs containing the pupils' postcodes (see Figure 6.32). However, there are some similarities with school 5 discussed above, as group H, 'Blue Collar Enterprise', is one of the most represented Mosaic groups. This Mosaic group contain types which are associated with ex-industrial towns and this was also confirmed in my interview with the school Head Teacher, who described the locality of the school as clusters of old pit villages (ibid).

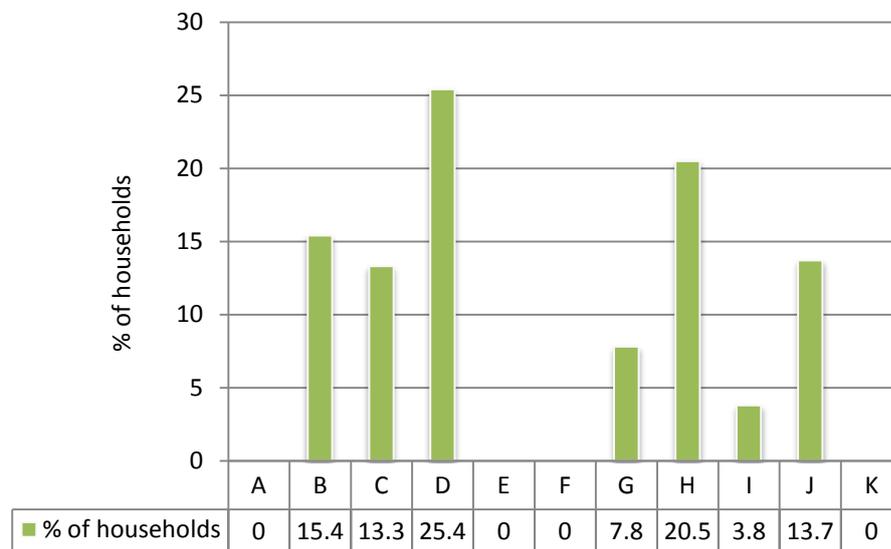


Figure 6.32: percentage of households representing the different Mosaic groups in the SOAs containing the pupil postcodes of school 6.

The catchment area for school 7 (Figure 6.29), which has an IMD rank located at the approximate midpoint of the IMD 2004 rankings, suggests that 47.9% of the pupils attending this school live in the top 10% most deprived areas of England.

This increases to 62.3% of the pupils when the top 20% most deprived areas are considered. This picture demonstrates that, although the school itself may *not* be located in an area of high deprivation, a significant percentage of the pupils live in areas that experience high deprivation. Considering the representation of Mosaic groups in the SOAs containing the pupil postcodes, the picture of deprivation present at school 7 is confirmed, with high percentages of the Mosaic groups D, E and F (associated more with high deprivation, see Figure 6.33).

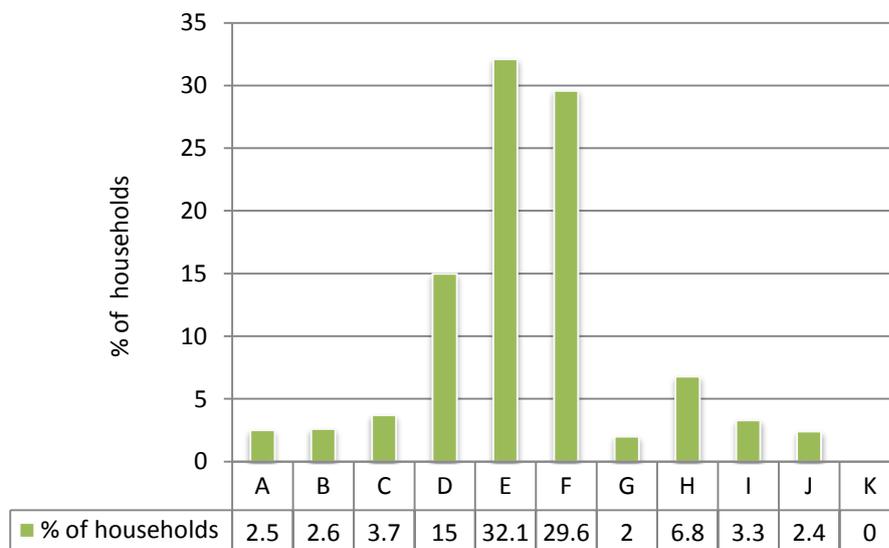


Figure 6.33: percentage of households representing the different Mosaic groups in the SOAs containing the pupil postcodes of school 7.

When the Mosaic groups present in the SOAs containing the pupil postcodes in Figure 6.33 are compared with the groups present in the SOA that contains the school postcode, a different picture emerges (Figure 6.34).

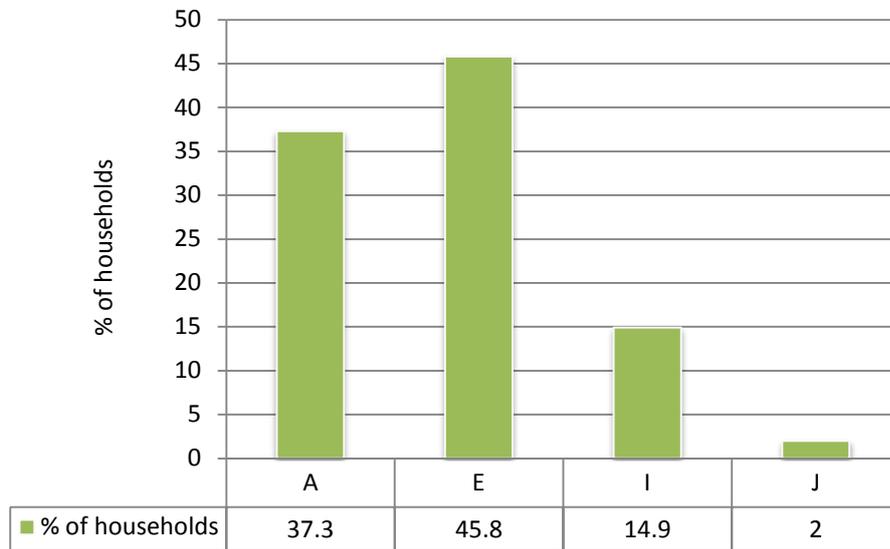


Figure 6.34 percentage of households representing the different Mosaic groups in the SOA containing the postcode of school 7.

Figure 6.34 suggests that the location of school 7 is in a fairly affluent area, with Mosaic group E ‘Urban Intelligence’ and group A ‘Symbols of Success’ being the most represented. The percentage of pupils eligible for free school meals at school 7 (37%), also confirms that the school location does not reflect the level of deprivation experienced by the pupils who attend it. School 7 (although it did not participate in the RCMG evaluations) would be positioned on Figure 6.21 as one of the schools that does not fit with the general trend, having a fairly affluent IMD rank but a high FSM eligibility percentage. The percentage of FSM eligibility at the school, place it in the fourth national quartile, amongst schools that serve children from more deprived circumstances (see Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2006d: 73-74).

#### **6.5.4 School catchment area and FSM analysis conclusions**

Analysing pupil postcodes offers a way of further clarifying the results of the previous RCMG studies, which were based on the deprivation ranking of school postcodes. The analysis conducted here supports comments made by other authors concerning the unpredictable nature of school catchment areas. However the RCMG datasets do appear to suggest that, if the school post code places the school in an area of high deprivation, the pupils attending this school are likely to also live in areas of high deprivation. This conclusion supports the geography of school visits suggested by RCMG. However, as an example of the often irregular nature of school catchment areas, school 7 indicates that if a school's postcode classifies it as being outside the highest areas of deprivation, it does not necessarily follow that its pupils will also experience this lower level of deprivation at home.

FSM data was used here to address the ecological fallacy, it has also added a further layer of support for the geography of school visits. Importantly this school level data source showed a correlation with the IMD ranks of the schools in the datasets, suggesting that there is a general trend that IMD ranks get more deprived as the percentage of pupils eligible for FSM increases. The case-study schools largely supported this conclusion (with two exceptions). It is important to note that there are schools that are not in a deprived location but who have a high FSM eligibility and others which are in a highly deprived location but who do not have a high percentage of FSM eligibility. FSM data therefore does go some way to questioning analysis of pupil and school postcode by IMD rank only. FSM data was also used here to address the ecological fallacy as it was the smallest scale data source available for this study.



## 6.6 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to first consider whether the geography of school visits was an artefact of the particular deprivation index used in the original research and, second, to consider through pupil postcode analysis and FSM data, how accurately the postcode of a school reflects the level of deprivation present in the school population.

The application of the Townsend Index supported, with some expected variation, the pattern of school visits that the original research reports had indicated as did FSM. The use of Experian Mosaic by comparing the percentage of Mosaic groups and types represented in the RR1 and RR2 datasets against the national and regional distribution of these groups and types, supported the finding that museums in the original evaluations were attracting a higher than anticipated number of visits from school groups in areas of deprivation. Mosaic also interestingly shed light on the particular manifestation of deprivation affecting the groups present in the datasets and gave some indication of the regional context for this deprivation. The Mosaic descriptions of the groups and types present in the datasets also enables these groups to be reframed in terms of the particular strengths exhibited by these communities rather than just concentrating on financial and economic issues.

This chapter has helped to contextualise and confirm the particular geography of school visits to museums. It has also indicated that deprivation levels experienced by pupils can be missed by considering school postcodes alone. This conclusion emphasises the benefits of multiple data sources, such as FSM, to more accurately consider which pupils experience deprivation. As well as confirming the pattern of school visits, the analysis conducted in this chapter raises questions about the

potential causes of the particular geography of school visits to museums. Chapter 7 now goes on to explore these issues.

## **Chapter 7: Exploring the museum-school relationship**

### **7.1 Introduction**

Chapter 6 focused primarily on exploring whether the geography of school visits suggested by the RCMG evaluations was robust and able to be reproduced using alternative measures of deprivation. One of the questions asked in Chapter 6 was whether the geography of school visits was a product of the particular index of deprivation used; despite establishing the pattern of school visits has some validity, the explanatory factors behind the pattern remain unclear.

The aim of the following chapter is, therefore, to explore why the geography of school visits may have occurred, focusing particularly on the relationship between schools and museums. This includes a discussion of museum catchment areas; distance travelled by schools and the proximity of school and museum locations. The second part of the chapter examines specific museum related issues including whether the size of the museum, how it is funded and the museums' collections may impact upon the geography of school visits. For example, a school from a deprived area which is shown to be visiting a museum some distance away could suggest that close proximity of the museum to the school comes second to the experience this venue offers. Finally, whether museums are targeting specific schools is considered. Targeting specific school groups may reflect museums response to recent changes in the cultural policy context as outlined in Chapter 1, whereby museums were increasingly being asked to contribute to inclusion strategies.

## 7.2 Mapping geography of museum visits

The RCMG evaluations suggested that a particular geographic pattern of school visits to museums could be interpreted from the data gathered. In this study the school visits have been mapped in order to consider the issue of distance and proximity between museum and school. Representing the visit patterns for each RCMG dataset as a map adds a new layer of understanding to the original observations made, as the data becomes more tangible and it is possible to see the geographic reach of each museum.

Figures 7.1-7.3 show summary maps of the museum visits in each dataset, each line representing a school visit. It is clear from these figures that many museums involved in the RCMG studies appear to have distinct regional catchment areas, signified by the star like clusters around the museum points. This suggests that school visits are primarily from within the same region as the museum. However, it is also evident that there are particular museums in each region attracting visits from schools outside of this region. For instance Figure 7.1 shows that the West Midlands Hub in particular has a broad reach, with schools visiting from areas of the South East, East of England and East Midlands. This pattern of visits in the West Midlands can be attributed predominantly to Ironbridge Gorge Museums which, across the RCMG datasets, is the museum in this region exhibiting the greatest range of distances travelled by schools (250.5 km).



Figure 7.1: Map showing the RR1 school visits to museums



Figure 7.2: Map showing the RR2 school visits to museums



Figure 7.3: Map of DCMS/DfES school visits to participating museums.

Table 7.1 gives summary details (minimum, maximum and average distance) of the school visits to the museums in each region which exhibited the greatest range of distances travelled by schools. These particularly far-reaching museums cover a range of different subject matters, from industrial history to archaeology and art. The museums are mainly Renaissance Hub museums participating in both the RR1 and RR2 or just the RR2 evaluations. The Imperial War Museum, Duxford is the only museum

represented from the DCMS/DfES evaluation, suggesting that the DCMS/DfES projects

Region	Museum Name	Min distance (km)	Max distance (km)	Range (km)	Average (km)	Project
EE	Imperial War Museum, Duxford	35.6	123.6	88	62.2	DCMS/DfES
EM	New Walk Museum	0.5	159.3	158.8	18.9	RR2
LON	Museum in Docklands	3.3	50.2	46.9	12.1	RR2
NE	Arbeia Roman Fort and Museum, Tyne and Wear Museums	4.1	219.5	215.5	31.5	RR1/RR2
NW	Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery	1.2	220.4	219.3	27.4	RR2
SE	Brighton Museums and Archives Service	1.4	67.3	65.9	18.3	RR2
SW	Russell-Cotes Art Gallery	1.8	191.3	189.5	54.9	RR1/RR2
WM	Ironbridge Gorge Museums	1.8	252.3	250.5	55.5	RR1/RR2
YO	York Castle Museum	0.6	264.6	264.0	55.8	RR2

particularly had a more regional reach (this is confirmed in Figure 7.3).

Table 7.1: Museums from each region across the RCMG datasets with the furthest reach.

### 7.2.1 Museum-school catchment areas

Figures 7.1 to 7.3 illustrate that museums may have a particular geographic reach or catchment area. In research from the UK and Canada in particular, the notion of catchment areas has been discussed (Morris Hargreaves McIntyre, 2008). For instance, Black (2005:17) suggests that museum visitors in the UK are either local residents or tourists and that a journey time of less than one hour is preferred. This preferred journey time is supported by regional surveys of museum visits. In the East Midlands, for example, a survey by the Museums' Service (1996:12) suggested that 83% of visitors travelled less than one hour, and 60% less than half an hour. During an MLA conducted exit survey in 2003 which took place at 43 Renaissance participating museums, 67%<sup>92</sup> of those visiting travelled from within the same region (MLA, no date). Also, supporting the notion that there is a distance that the majority of visitors are willing to travel, the MLA survey suggested that the closer a visitor lives to the museum, the more likely they are to make repeat visits (ibid). This is potentially significant for this study because it implies that, if a school is close to a museum, they may be more likely to make repeat visits.

Also of considerable interest to this study are conclusions drawn from evaluations of the Renaissance in the Regions programme. In the final reports collated from visitor exit surveys for the whole Hub network in 2004, 2005 and 2006, there is a specific section relating to visitors place of residence. Each successive report emphasises that social class and education have an impact on how far people are prepared to travel to the museum (Mori, 2005, 2004, Ipsos Mori, 2006). C2DE social class and those

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<sup>92</sup> The 2004 exit survey indicated this figure was 65% (Mori, 2005) and in 2005 it was 62% (Ipsos Mori, 2006)



educated up to GCSE level are more likely to visit within their local town in contrast to ABC1 social class who are more likely to visit from further afield (Ipsos Mori, 2006:30). It will be interesting to consider in the following analysis of museum-school visit catchment areas whether it is possible to see this finding reflected in the distance travelled by schools from different IMD rankings.

Distance travelled is a question often asked during visitor surveys (Davies, 1994). However, often these evaluations are not widely published and, as Selwood (2006) indicates in relation to an evaluation of museum education services, much of this 'grey' literature is restricted to internal/organisational use only. Therefore, accessing information on distance travelled by visitors can be hindered by the limited distribution of this data. The MLA hub surveys, discussed earlier are an exception to this as they are publicly available on the MLA research resources website.<sup>93</sup>

Furthermore, there appears to be little published research which analyses the distance travelled specifically by school groups, with reported research mainly focusing on general visitor surveys. The RCMG datasets therefore provide an opportunity to consider the spatial relationship between museums and the schools that visit them.

An important recent development in data recording practices within the museum sector can be seen in MLA's school participation database.<sup>94</sup> Museums throughout the country can upload data of their school visits to a single database that is searchable by region; this includes school postcodes from which it would be possible to calculate the distance travelled to each museum by schools. This database has the potential to

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<sup>93</sup> See <http://research.mla.gov.uk/index.php> (accessed 02.09.09).

<sup>94</sup> <http://www.mlaschools.org.uk/> (accessed 02.09.09)

increase the possibility for large scale analysis of museums 'school visit' catchment areas. As the database is a recent development which postdates the RCMG evaluations, it is unclear at present how museums are using it. However, MLA London have published details of their six month pilot of the database and have, for example, used it to consider which schools in London do not participate in museum activities (Morris Hargreaves McIntyre, 2008). The database may, in the future, provide a potential new source of information on the geography of school visits to museums across an even wider range of organisations.

There is some existing evidence that museums are already considering school postcodes and school locations in their evaluations (see QA Research, 2005), although, as mentioned above, this information can be hard to access. During my case study in the North East, I was able to look at Tyne and Wear Museums' internal reports concerning school and college visits. The reports contain an analysis of patterns of school and college visits to museums located both in and outside the Local Education Authority (LEA). Table 7.2 shows an example taken from the 2003-2005 report (Tyne and Wear Museums, 2005)

<b>Authority</b>	<b>Home</b>		<b>Away</b>		<b>Total Visits</b>
Sunderland	330	72%	127	28%	457
Newcastle	304	71%	126	29%	430
North Tyneside	135	44%	176	56%	311
South Tyneside	128	50%	127	50%	255
Gateshead	134	43%	180	57%	314

Table 7.2: visits to venues made by schools and colleges in each Tyne and Wear Local Authority from within the LEA and outside. Reproduced with kind permission of Tyne and Wear Museums.

It is suggested by Table 7.2 that particular local authorities in the Tyne and Wear area appear to attract more visits from the immediate locality. While, in contrast, others attract more visits from outside the Local Education Authority. Tyne and Wear Museums suggest that:

Newcastle and Sunderland schools made more home visits. The number and diversity of TWM venues in Newcastle and Sunderland go some way to explaining this. The results also indicate that schools and colleges are prepared to travel some distance to visit museums and galleries relevant to their studies (Tyne and Wear Museums, 2005:4.3).

This quotation suggests that there is a level of complexity involved in interpreting the reasons why schools visit some museums rather than others. Section 7.2 hopes to shed light on some of these reasons relating specifically to the RCMG datasets.

### **7.2.2 Distance travelled by schools to museums**

As demonstrated previously in Table 7.1, it is possible to calculate distance travelled by a school to a museum if both the school postcode and the museum postcode are known. A postcode generally represents a particular geographic location such as a street, section of a street or individual premises and can be converted into an x and y coordinate. Once both school and museum postcodes are in this format, a calculation can be made to measure distance, 'as the crow flies', between museum and school, using Pythagoras' theorem, as illustrated below.

$$c^2 = (x_m - x_s)^2 + (y_m - y_s)^2$$

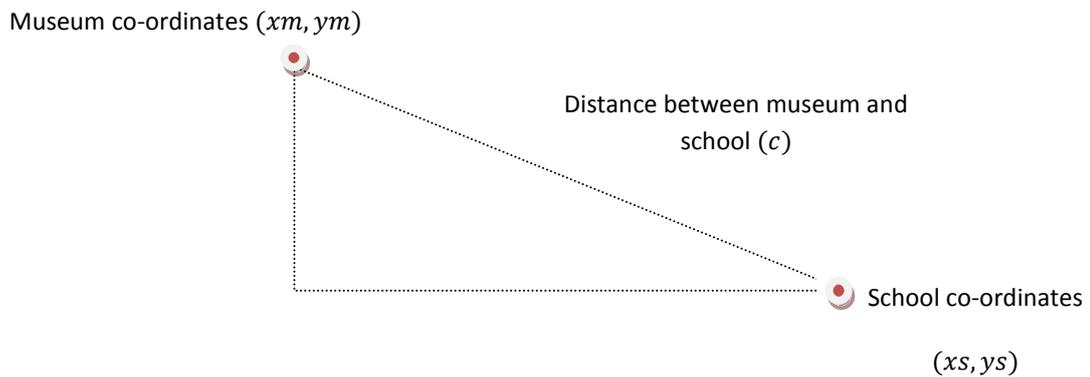


Figure 7.4 Calculating the distance travelled by schools to museums

Where the same school had multiple single visits to the same museum, the distance travelled to the museum was included in the calculations as many times as the school had visited.

Outreach visits, which are where museum staff visit the school rather than the school visiting the museum, also require special consideration. Although outreach visits still describe a spatial relationship, potentially it represents a different kind of museum-school relationship, where teachers will not need to make the same decisions about such a visit as they would a visit to the museum. Within the datasets, distinguishing which visits were outreach visits posed a considerable problem, as it was not always recorded whether the visit was an outreach session. This particularly affected projects

in the DCMS/DfES dataset, some of which (such as Partners in Time; People, Places, Portraits; Understanding Slavery; Creative Canals; and Supporting Regional Schools), that had an outreach element built into their project proposals.<sup>95</sup> As far as possible these visits were removed from analyses which consider how far a school travelled to a museum.

Within the datasets, it was also not always possible to distinguish which museum site a school had visited. This problem was particularly an issue for the DCMS/DfES projects which involved many partners. Where it was not possible to distinguish which site a school visited, it was removed from the dataset. Furthermore, wherever possible, the individual sites which form a particular museums service were considered as separate sites which, in the case of Tyne and Wear Museums, involved 11 distinct museums.<sup>96</sup> However, there was one notable exception to this, Ironbridge Gorge Museums, which comprises nine different sites. These museums are considered one 'site' as they share a common postcode.<sup>97</sup>

With the above points in mind, Figure 7.5 shows the distance travelled by schools across all RCMG evaluations to museums. A range of 20 km is used here to initially summarise the data in one graph.

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<sup>95</sup> Hooper-Greenhill et al,2004: 38-73

<sup>96</sup> Tyne and Wear Museums consists of: Arbeia Roman Fort, Discovery Museum, Hancock Museum. Laing Art Gallery, Monkwearmouth Station Museum, Segedunum Roman Fort, Shipley Art Gallery, South Shields Museum and Art Gallery, Stephenson Railway Museum. Sunderland Museum and Winter Gardens, Washington F-Pit.

<sup>97</sup> Ironbridge Gorge Museums Trust consists of: Blists Hill Victorian Town, Coalport China Museum, Darby Houses, Enginuity, Iron Bridge, Tollhouse, Jackfield Tile Museum, Museum of Iron and Darby Furnace, Museum of the Gorge & Quaker Burial Ground.

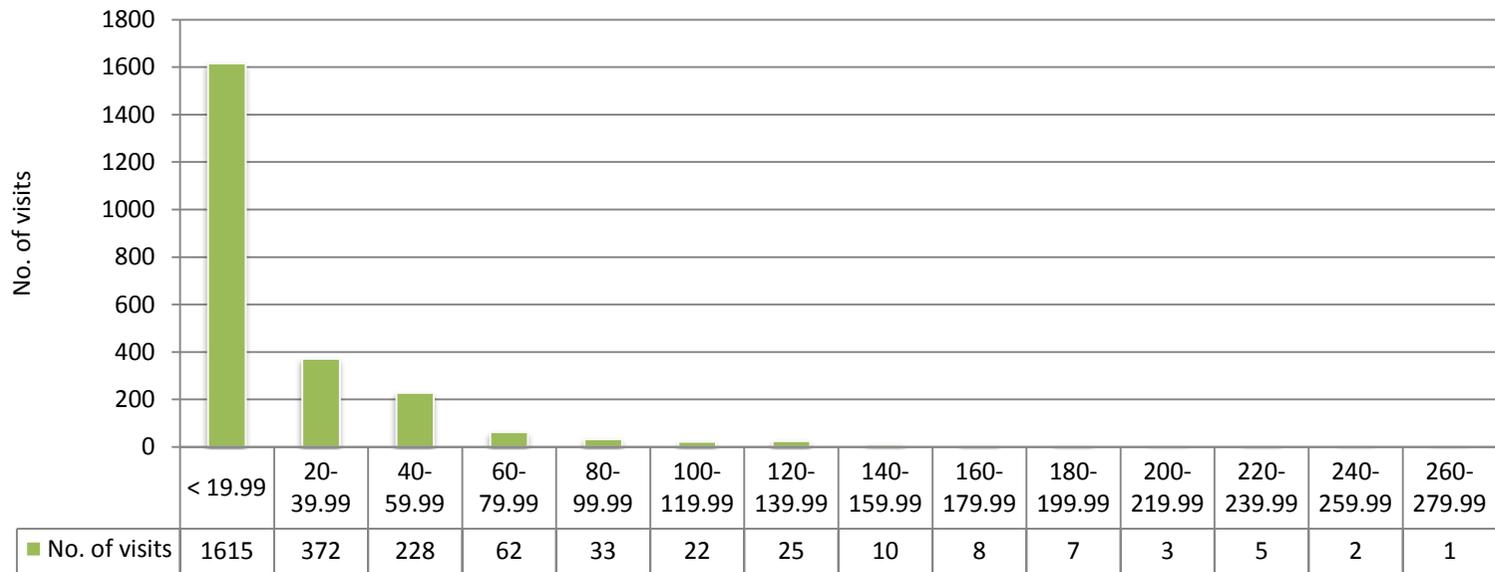


Figure 7.5: Distance travelled (km) and number of schools in each 10 km range. (Base = 2393 school visits)

Figure 7.5 indicates that 92.6% of schools in the dataset travelled less than 60 km to reach the museums, with the largest proportion travelling under 20 km (67.5%). The standard deviation of the distance travelled to museums by schools in the dataset is 31.5 km with a mean distance travelled of 21.9 km. As the 20 km range used in Figure 7.5 is a broad scale, Figure 7.6 breaks down the school visits into those travelling under 60 km by 5 km ranges.

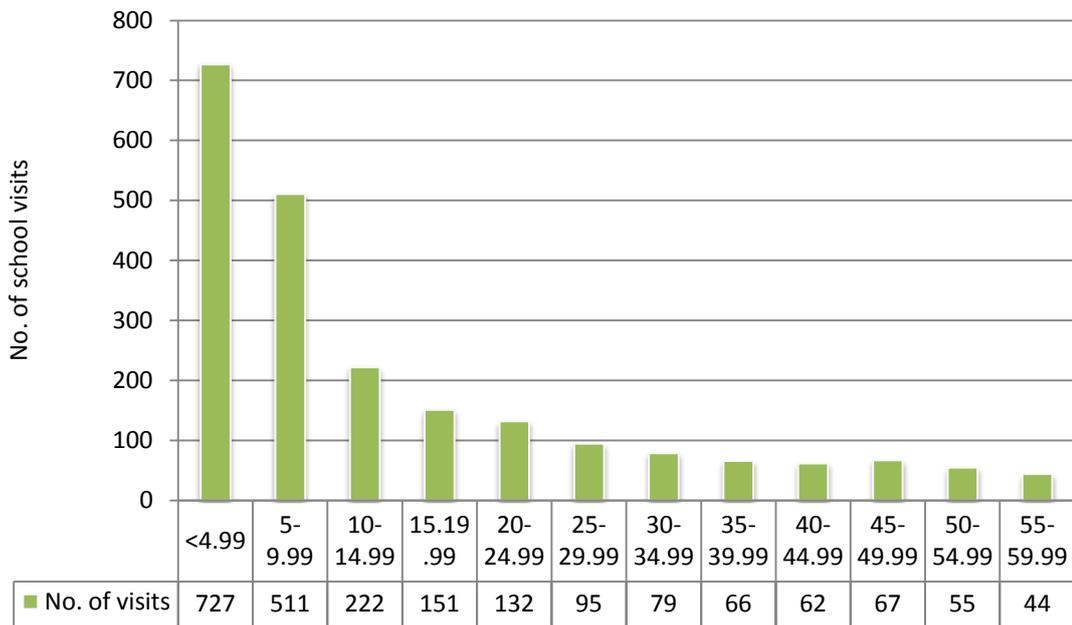


Figure 7.6: Schools travelling under 60 km in each 5 km range (Base = 2211 school visits).

Figure 7.6 confirms that a large number of the schools travel a very short distance to reach the museum, with over 700 schools travelling less than 5 km.

Translating all of the RCMG school visits data into journey times using a range of average speeds, Tables 7.3 and 7.4 suggest that the majority (87.7%) of schools, travelling at 30 mph/48.3 kmph would have travelled up to one hour to reach the museum and 72% of the schools would have travelled up to half an hour

(15miles/24.15kilometres) to reach the museum at this average speed.<sup>98</sup> However, an average speed of 30 mph may not represent a realistic speed for some journeys, particularly if they include the use of motorways. Using Tables 7.3 and 7.4, it is possible to see what percentage of schools travelled up to one hour and up to half an hour at 30, 40, 50 and 60 mph.

Average speed	No. of school visits	% of school visits
30mph/ 48.3 kmph	2094	87.7
40mph/ 64.4kmph	2232	93.4
50mph/ 80.4 kmph	2277	95.3
60mph/ 96.6 kmph	2292	95.9

Table 7.3: Number and percentage of schools travelling up to one hour at different average speeds

Average speed	No. of school visits	% of school visits
30mph/ 48.3 kmph	1721	72
40mph/ 64.4kmph	1885	78.9
50mph/ 80.4 kmph	2004	83.9
60mph/ 96.6 kmph	2094	87.7

Table 7.4: Number and percentage of schools travelling up to half an hour at different average speeds

As just under 80% of the school visits would reached their destination after half an hour of travelling at 40mph, it appears that the general picture from the RCMG datasets is that school visit catchment areas are generally quite close to the museum. Relating this finding to the literature introduced at the start of the chapter, it is also clear to see that the museums in the RCMG evaluations have a more local catchment area than the museums in the East Midlands Museums Service survey. There, 60% of

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<sup>98</sup> This is based on an 'as the crow flies' journey time, their actually journey time could be more.



the visitors travelled half an hour to the museums included in this survey. Of course, there are exceptions to the idea that schools in the datasets travelled short distances to reach the museums. For example, fewer than 4% of the schools in the RCMG datasets travelled over 96 km which, at 30 mph, represents a journey time of over two hours.

During my interviews with teachers in the case study schools it became apparent that journey time can influence the decision to take some children out of school. For instance, the Head Teacher of school 2 mentioned that, from Birmingham, it would only be the oldest pupils in the school that would realistically travel as far as London (a journey of around 102 miles each way). For the rest of the pupils at school 2, the Head Teacher considered that the school would only visit places that were within two hours journey time (Head Teacher, school 21.02.08). This is suggestive of the particular issues which affect decisions to go on school visits.

Looking in more detail at several of the longer school visits has shown that there are a variety of different motivations for travelling to a particular site or museum. For example, one primary school located in Hull is recorded as travelling 220 km in the RR2 dataset, to visit Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery in Carlisle (see Figure 7.7). The head teacher of the school told me about the context for this visit:

The visit was arranged as part of a residential week for our year 6 pupils. We stay at Once Brewed YHA [Youth Hostel Association] near Hexham and study aspects of the local area as a contrast to our own. The Roman connection is obviously one we try to explore and have a hands on 'Roman artefact' session at the museum as well as a general museum visit. We team this with a visit

from a Roman Visitor to the YHA. This is a visit that we have repeated for the last 6 years up to 2008... When we first made the visit it was as part of a promotion the YHA were doing as a history study visit to encourage schools to make use of their residential facilities (Head Teacher of Hull Primary School, email correspondence January 2009).



Figure 7.7: School visits from all datasets to Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery

Without knowing these details it would not be possible to understand the motivation behind travelling this far from the location of the school, particularly as excluding this

visit the average distance travelled to Tullie House is 18.7 km. The contextual information about this trip helps to explain that the Roman artefact session held at the Museum, where the class teacher filled in the RCMG questionnaire, was in fact part of a longer residential visit encompassing a range of other experiences. It is also interesting to note that the trip is repeated each year and part of the original attraction to the area was a promotion by the Youth Hostel Association. The original motivation therefore was at least partially determined by factors other than the location of the museum.

Residential trips provide the explanation for other long-distance museum visits present in the RCMG datasets, such as a year six trip from a school on the Isle of Wight to Ironbridge Gorge Museums. This visit included travel of around 329 km by land transport/boat (see Figure 7.8) and was part of a four day residential visit. As the sites at Ironbridge are so close together, the trip co-ordinator considered that the long journey was worthwhile because once the school was at the site there was actually very little moving around. The trip co-ordinator also considered that the uniqueness of Ironbridge, as the site where the industrial revolution started, meant that no other site was quite as well suited to supporting the Industrial Revolution topic (Class teacher, Isle of Wight Primary school, January 2009). As noted above, Ironbridge Museum has a broad school reach encompassing schools as far afield as the South East and East of England. Therefore, although the distance travelled by the school on the Isle of Wight is significant, it is more representative of the catchment area for Ironbridge. This is in contrast to the example from Tullie House, where the visit by the school in Hull appears to be non-representative of the general reach of this museum.

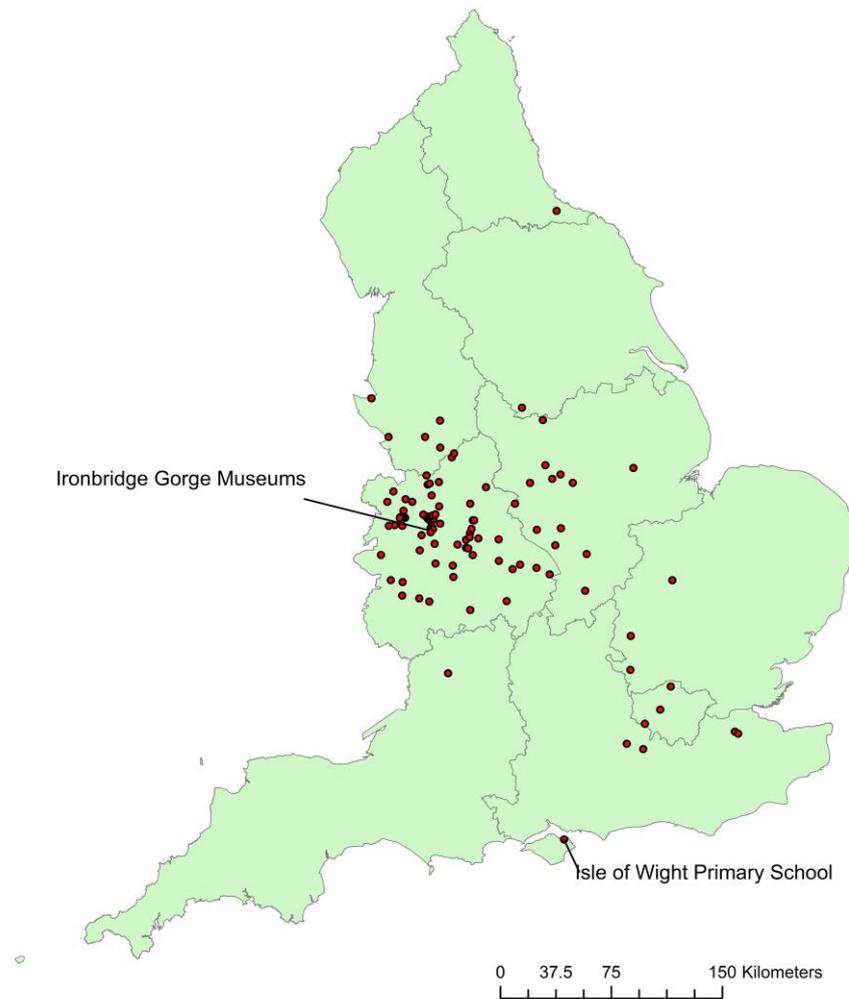


Figure 7.8: School visits from all datasets to Ironbridge Gorge Museums.

So far, it has been established that there are many local visits to museums within the RCMG datasets. In order to understand whether there is any relationship in the datasets between the distance a school travels and the level of deprivation the school experiences, the average distance travelled by each school was calculated for each 10% IMD rank. So, for example, the average distance travelled by all schools with postcodes placing them in the top 10% most deprived areas was calculated and so on. The results of this can be seen in Figure 7.9.

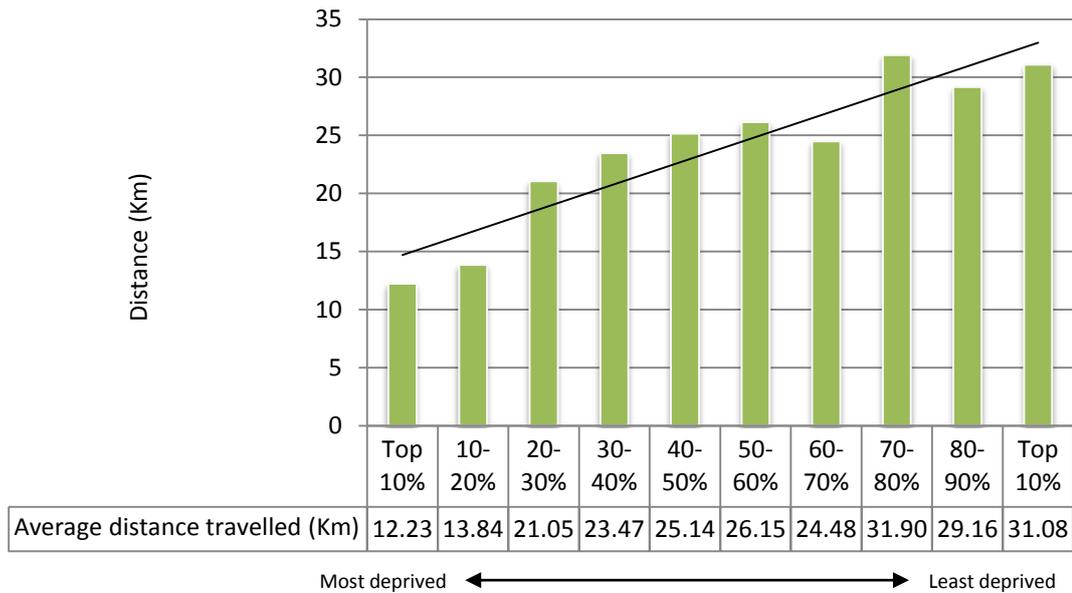


Figure 7.9: Average distance travelled by schools located in each 10% IMD 2004 range from top 10% most deprived to top 10% least deprived (base = 2392).

Figure 7.9 shows that, compared with the top 10% *least* deprived schools in the RCMG datasets, the top 10% *most* deprived schools appear to travel on average 18.85 km less to visit a museum (31.08 km-12.23 km). This does not necessarily mean that a school’s IMD rank can predict how far a school will travel to a museum, as there are a number of further variables that may affect this decision. However, the results do suggest that a relationship may exist between distance travelled and IMD rank, supporting the results from the Ipsos Mori survey (2006) which suggested that those from lower socio-economic groups do not appear to travel as far to visit museums.

A potential explanation for the pattern indicated in Figure 7.9 therefore is that the museums in the study may also be located in areas of high deprivation. This would suggest that the geography of school visits to museums may, to an extent, be explained by disadvantaged schools simply visiting their nearest museum. Location of museum was, after all, one of the criteria for the selection of Renaissance Hub

Museums (see Table 2.2). The location of museums in areas with access to diverse audiences and areas of high deprivation was particularly emphasised in these selection criteria. Therefore, Figure 7.9 may confirm that this selection criterion was successful and that the geography of museum visits is to an extent explained by the selection of particular Hub museums being located in areas of deprivation.

However, other possible explanations for the pattern in Figure 7.9 may include the issue of the cost of school visits, or perhaps a combination of both cost and location issues. As schools located in areas of deprivation may travel less far to museums because they cannot afford to go on longer trips. Support of such constraints come from the North East Hub two year plan, 2006-2008, which considered the profile of visitors to several different Hub museums using the ACORN classification system<sup>99</sup> (Renaissance North East, 2006). Over half of the visitors to The Discovery Museum, which is located in the top 10% most deprived areas in England (IMD (2004) = 2983), travel up to 30 minutes to reach the museum. The museum therefore appears to have a fairly local catchment area and is also free to access. Renaissance North East reported that it attracted visitors from ACORN types containing a higher than average proportion of socio-economic groups C2DE (Renaissance North East, 2006: 21).

In contrast, 80% of visitors to Beamish Open Air Museum (also in the North East) travel over one hour to reach the museum. The site has a strong 'tourist' audience and, compared with the Discovery museum, is located in an area of relative affluence (IMD 2004 rank=18440). The North East Hub suggested that the C2DE and BME visitors to Beamish were also less well represented (ibid).

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<sup>99</sup> ACORN stands for A Classification of Residential Neighbourhoods and is a commercial classification system published by CACI (see Harris et al, 2005).

These examples indicate that there may be multiple issues which affects who visits these museums. The first is museum location; The Discovery Museum has a town centre location in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, whereas Beamish is located in a less densely populated (and less deprived) area of County Durham. This latter location may deter visits from C2DE and BME audiences who may not live locally to Beamish and, as discussed previously, these audiences tend not to travel as far to reach a museum. The second potential issue refers to the cost of visiting. Some visitors to Beamish may be deterred by the entry fee,<sup>100</sup> as school 4 was (Class teacher school 4, interview, 9.11.07), preferring to use the Discovery museum because it was free and conveniently located (ibid). The explanation for the trend suggested in Figure 7.9 may therefore be a complex relationship between different variables. However, arguably museum location and financial outlay are highly significant elements of this relationship.

In support of this, during my case-studies of schools located in areas of high deprivation, the schools' location in relation to the museums visited was discussed with the teachers and Head Teachers. There was a sense that as Anderson and Zhang, (2003) suggest, the distance a school travels to visit a museum is weighed alongside a number of other factors including the cost of transport and expected learning impact.

One Head Teacher mentioned that:

The advantage with Birmingham is that we can all get on public services buses and travel that way. You go further afield and you are looking at £250 starters just for a coach, so it is going to have to be a day activity, and it is going to have

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<sup>100</sup> Current entry prices to Beamish are £16 for Adults £10 for children (summer season) and £6 for both adults and children (winter season) [www.beamish.org.uk/Home.aspx](http://www.beamish.org.uk/Home.aspx)

to be a very worthwhile activity. It is going to have to impact on learning quite a bit to justify that kind of expense (Interview Head Teacher, School 5, 05.11.07).

From this quotation and other opinions gathered during my fieldwork, there does appear to be a relationship between location of museum and cost, particularly of transport. Focus groups with teachers conducted for the RCMG evaluations also found that cost of transport was a persistent barrier to museum visiting (RCMG 2005; Dodd, 2005). A museum that is far away will cost more in time and money to get to and will take longer to travel to. In return, the learning impact of the visit (certainly for the Head Teacher of school 5) is expected to be greater. The issue of cost is considered in greater detail in Chapter 8, where the role of economic capital in school visits to museums is explored.

The cost/benefit analysis conducted by teachers which connects greater expense with anticipated greater learning impact does not mean that local museums are not expected to have a high learning impact. However, the impact of visits to local museums did appear to be considered slightly differently. One Head Teacher talked about how the school had travelled to London from Birmingham to visit the Natural History Museum. This trip was intended to have the effect of kick starting a science project and as it was a trip that the school would make only once, the expected impact was high (Head Teacher, school 5, interview, 05.11.07). With local museums the impact was perceived to be felt across more visits as the financial outlay would be less for this particular school and the time taken to travel to the museum would also be less. Therefore, the school could visit local museums more frequently and build closer and more sustained relationships with them: 'They do give that kind of kick start but



you can afford to go and do littler projects and you can afford to do more projects with your local museums' (ibid). As will be discussed in Chapter 8, there is evidence to suggest that a more 'positive and longer lasting impression' can be made when there are repeat interactions between the museum and a particular group, as AEA consulting (2005:5), suggests. Local museums, due to the convenience of their location, may allow this to occur.

Local museums also offer the opportunity for some schools to minimise or completely remove their transportation costs. For instance, two of the classes I accompanied to museums (from different schools), travelled to the museum on foot. Both groups walked under 2 km to reach the museum. The benefits in terms of school groups being able to walk to museums was also raised in one of the RCMG focus groups for the RR2 evaluation (RCMG, 2005). One of the school visits I accompanied which walked to the museum was to Soho House in Birmingham. I was able to consult this museum's school visit statistics for a whole year (Jan-Dec 2007). Figure 7.10 maps these visits school in relation to the location of the museum and the IMD ranking of the SOAs.

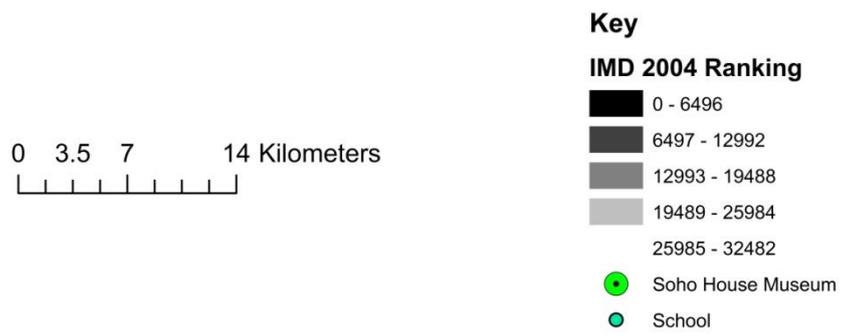
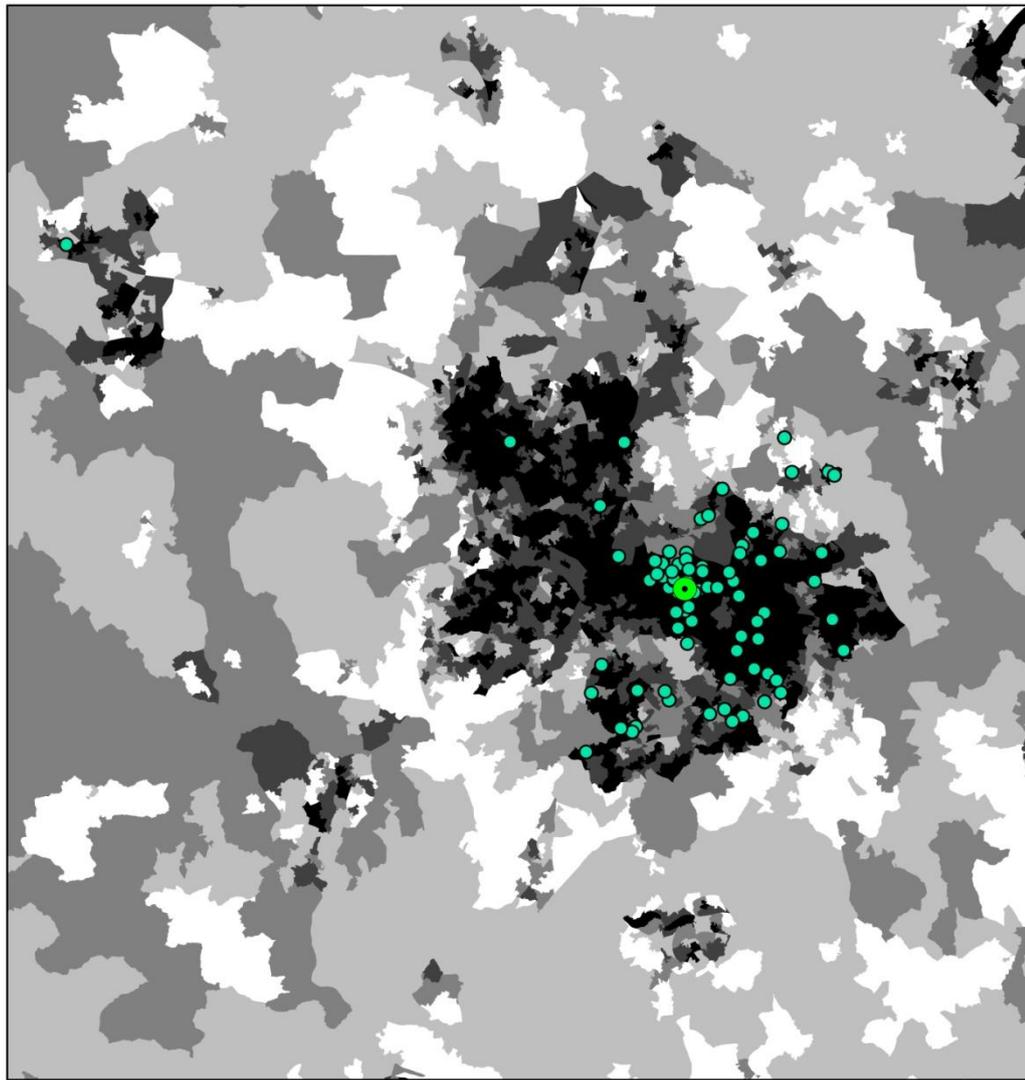


Figure 7.10: Soho House Museum (Birmingham) and the location of the schools that visited between January and December 2007. Source: Soho House Museum.

Figure 7.10 shows that just over half (52%)<sup>101</sup> of the schools that visited Soho House between January and December 2007 were from the top 10% most deprived areas and were largely clustered around the location of the museum. The visit data from Soho House allowed me to consider if very local visits, like the visit I was part of, were representative of the schools that visited the museum. The visit data also provided a way of triangulating the three months of data collected in the RR1 and RR2 evaluations. These indicated that the average distance travelled by schools to Soho House was 4.61 km. In fact the data gathered by the museum over the twelve month period of 2007 suggested a very similar picture to the RCMG studies, with the average distance travelled by schools to Soho House being 4.78 km. It is clear then that some museums appear to be a very local resource for schools.

The idea that museums local to schools may have a specific use as a 'resource', to be called on as and when required by the school was strongly supported in my research in Birmingham particularly. To an extent, this relationship was encouraged by the value the Local Education Authority (LEA) placed on museum visits. Birmingham Museums is home to a Schools Liaison Service, which has been in existence since 1964 (Davies, 1985:89). The Schools Liaison Service is directly funded by the LEA and employs qualified teachers to offer museum education sessions through Birmingham Museums to Birmingham schools.<sup>102</sup> In the early 1990s, when the local management of schools was introduced (see Emerson, 1991), Head Teachers in Birmingham LEA voted in favour of retaining the Schools Liaison Service, despite costing 11% of each school's

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<sup>101</sup> There was one postcode recorded in the Soho House data that could not be verified and therefore was not included in this calculation.

<sup>102</sup> Birmingham Museums also have their own separate museum learning team.

budget.<sup>103</sup> One of the Schools Liaison Staff at Birmingham Museums commented that this vote is an expression of how valuable the service is perceived by schools in Birmingham LEA (Museum staff, Birmingham Museums, Interview, 05.11.07). The Schools Liaison Service offers each school in Birmingham a number of free school visits each year across all Birmingham Museum sites,<sup>104</sup> with the dates of visits being in booked up to a year in advance.

Interestingly, overall the West Midlands has less SOAs classified as being in the top 10% most deprived areas than the North East, although museums in the West Midlands region appear to have engaged with a higher percentage of schools in these deprived areas than museums in the North East region (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2009: 168). It is possible that the success of museums in the West Midlands region in engaging with schools in the top 10% most deprived areas, as compared with the North East and South West is, to an extent, due to the commitment that the schools in Birmingham have to museum education.

The Head of Learning and Outreach at Birmingham Museums mentioned what he considered to be the different contributory factors for the geography of school visits to Birmingham museums as suggested by the RCMG datasets. These included the quality of the Schools Liaison Service, the length of time it had been in operation and the relationships that had been built up in this time between schools and the museums. In addition, the Head of Learning and Outreach considered it important to build

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<sup>103</sup> At this time other services in England were not retained such as Manchester Schools Liaison Service (Schools Liaison Staff member, Birmingham Museums, Interview, 5.11.07).

<sup>104</sup> Schools are still responsible for covering their own transportation costs. Also, it is interesting that in an article appearing in the *Museums Journal* in March 2001 Birmingham Museums was accused of discriminating against the private schools in the area as they do not pay into the service in the same way as LEA funded schools (Heywood, 2001) and therefore are not entitled to free visits.

relationships with teachers in areas of deprivation, emphasising that many of these teachers were committed to 'curriculum enrichment' (see section 3, Chapter 3):

BMAG has built up a relationship over many years with teachers in schools who are committed to curriculum enrichment...Curriculum enrichment is possibly more important for schools from more deprived areas, including those areas where children are from a dominant cultural background in which visits to the centre of the city may not feature, or where children rarely visit museums and heritage sites with their families (email correspondence with Head of Learning and Outreach, Birmingham Museums, 18.02.09).

It is interesting to note that the Head of Learning and Outreach at Birmingham museums considers that one of the possible attractions of museums for schools in areas of deprivation is that they may help to compensate in areas of pupils' lives where there is a perceived absence of particular experiences. This is a subject that will be returned to in Chapter 8.

The commitment of some teachers working in schools in areas of high deprivation towards museum visiting was also reflected in other interviews. For example, members of the Schools Liaison Service indicated that the long standing relationship between some schools and the service meant that museum visiting was written into the school's curriculum year on year (Museum staff, Birmingham Museums, Interview, 05.11.07). In support of this ongoing commitment by schools to the museums in the RCMG evaluations, 83.6% (225) of the schools who completed the school visits questionnaire outlined in Chapter 5, had returned to the same museum that they had been recorded as visiting during the evaluations. Potentially therefore, a contributory

factor influencing the geography of school visits to museums is the relationship that museums have built up with schools, particularly those in areas of deprivation as suggested by the quotation from the Head of Learning and Outreach at Birmingham Museums, above.

### **7.2.3 The location of museums**

Discussions so far have considered a range of different possible explanations for the geography of school visits to museums. One of these is the idea that museums might also be located in areas of high deprivation and that the geography of school visits is accounted for because schools are visiting their local museums. I would like to return to this issue and consider whether museum locations are also in areas of high deprivation.

There are 114 museum sites in the RCMG RR1, RR2 and DCMS/DfES projects. Figure 7.11 indicates the number of these museums located in each 10% range of deprivation using the IMD 2004.

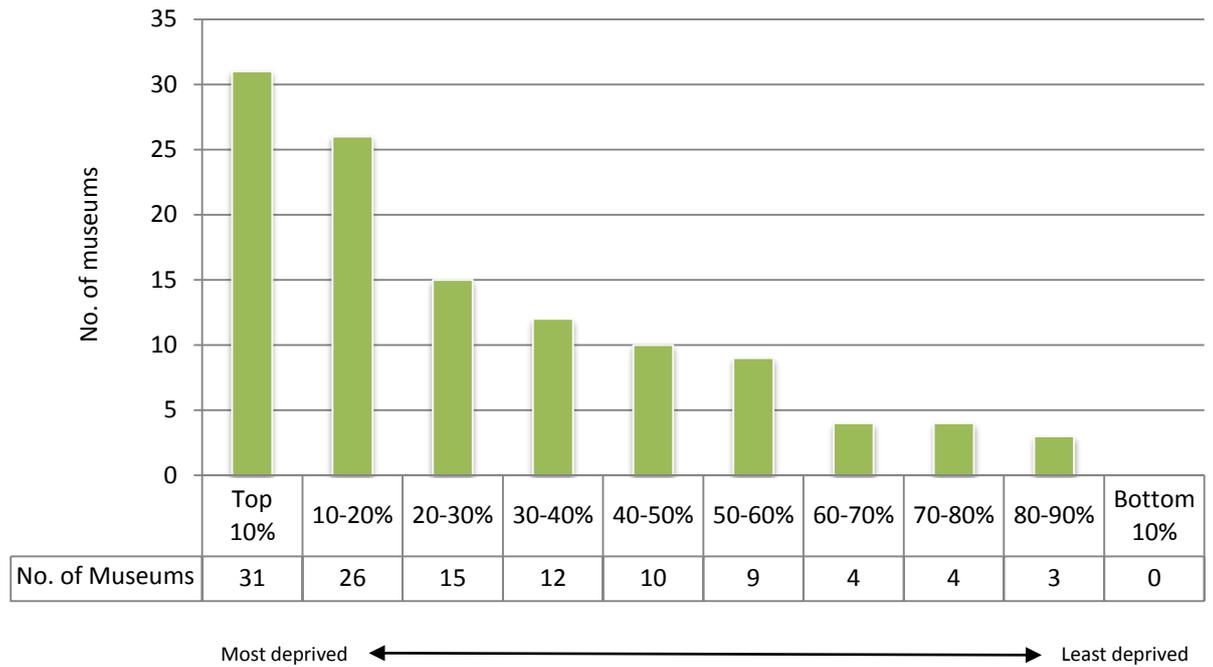
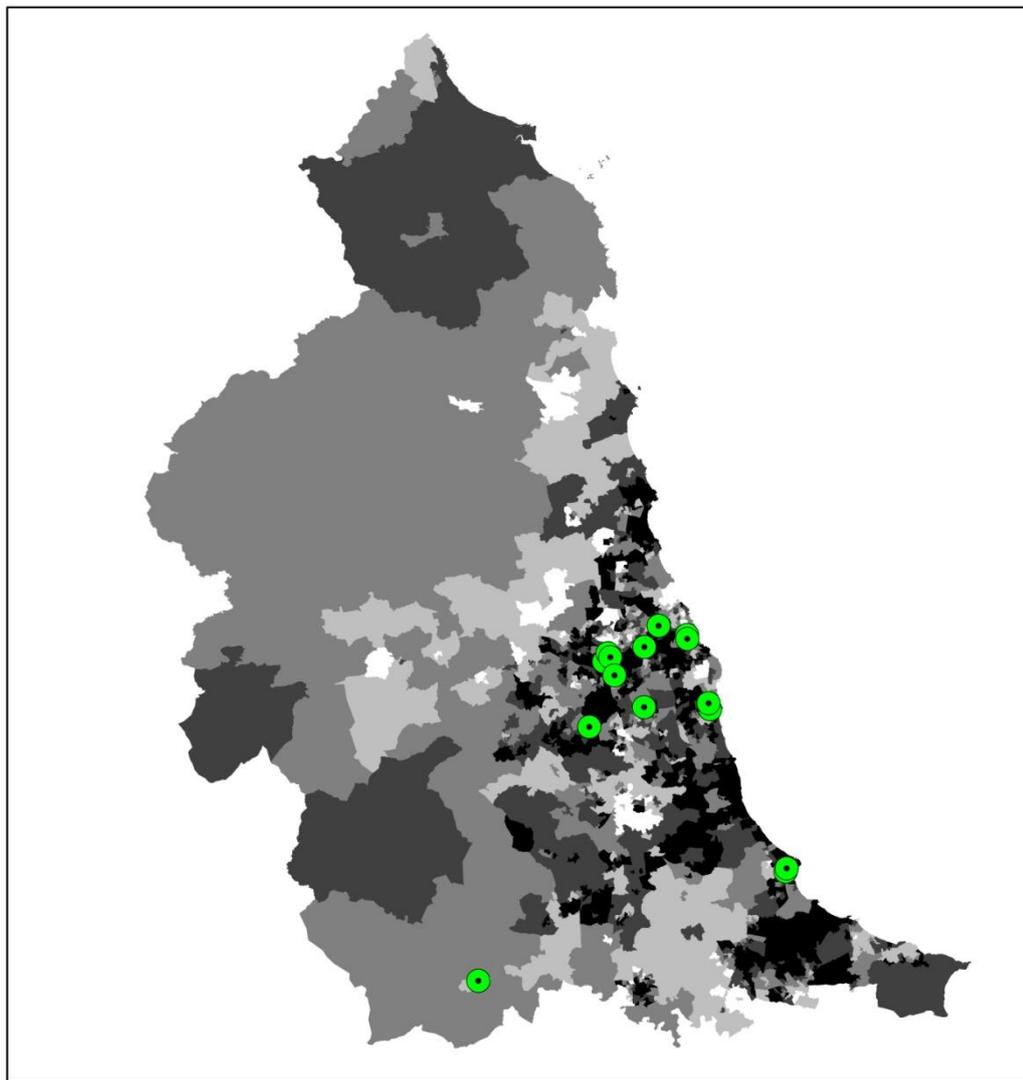


Figure 7.11: Number of museums in each 10% range, IMD 2004 (base = 114 museums)

The highest number of museums (31) are located in the top 10% most deprived areas and half of the museums (57) are located in the top 20% most deprived areas. Figure 7.12 shows the SOAs in the North East region which are shaded according to IMD rank. The black SOAs indicate the most deprived areas in the region. Figure 7.12 also shows the location of the participating museums in the region, suggesting that their location is predominantly in these highly deprived areas.



0 5 10 20 Kilometers

**Key**

North East Hub Museums

**IMD 2004 Ranking**

- 17 - 6496
- 6497 - 12992
- 12993 - 19488
- 19489 - 25984
- 25985 - 32482

Figure 7.12 Areas of high deprivation in the North East with the location of participating museums.



Figures 7.11 and 7.12 suggest that a significant proportion of the museums in the evaluations are located in areas of high deprivation, strongly indicating that the geography of school visits may be a product of the location of museums.

The museum locations are also predominantly inner city as Figure 7.13 shows. This Figure suggests that many of the most popular Mosaic types present in the SOAs that the museums are located in, appear to describe town or city centre locations. For example, as noted in Chapter 6 concerning the location of museums in the South West region, 'Bedsit Beneficiaries' (11098 households) are associated with neighbourhoods 'at the heart of larger towns and cities' (Experian, no date, a). 'Town Centre Refuge' also suggests an inner city location, as do types F39, 'Dignified Dependency', E29, 'City Adventurers' and A01, 'Global Connections' (ibid).

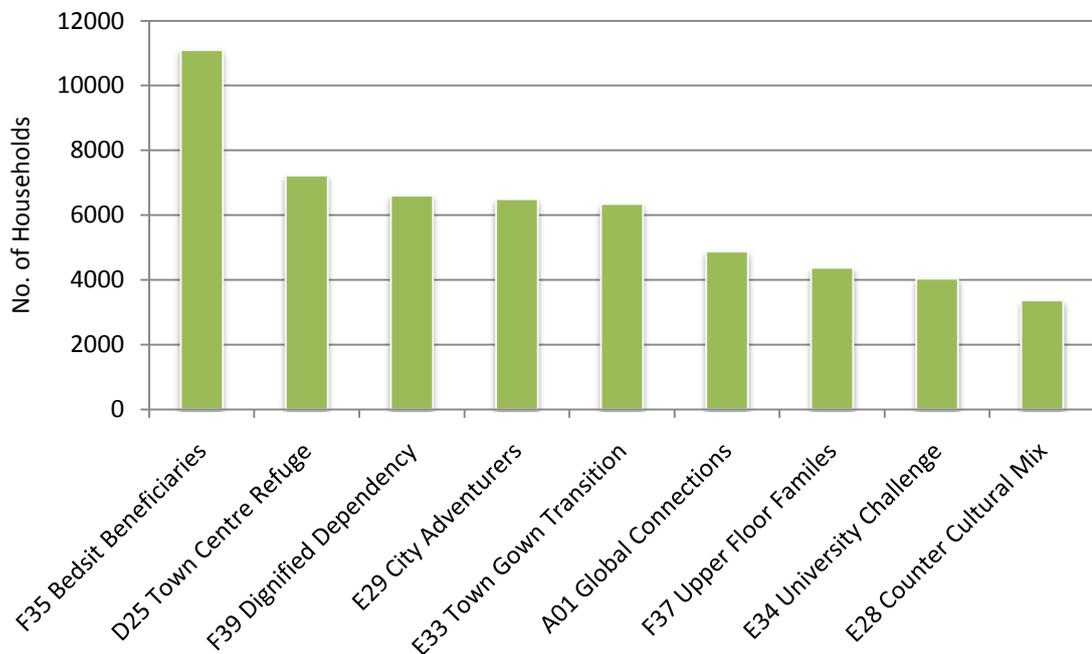


Figure 7.13 The most popular Mosaic types in the SOAs containing the museum locations.

The most prominent image of the museums participating in the RCMG evaluations is that they are located in often highly deprived inner city locations. The analysis of Mosaic group and type conducted in Chapter 6 also enabled the school locations to be considered in terms of these classifications. As with the museum locations, groups D and F are also highly represented in the school locations. However, the Mosaic types appear to differ between schools and museums with, for example, the schools located in the North East contained a number of households where Mosaic types 'Industrial Grit', 'Ex-industrial legacy' and 'Coronation Street' were highly represented, whereas, for museums (see Figure 7.13), Mosaic types such as 'City Adventurers' and 'Town Centre Refuge' are represented. This difference suggests that, although schools and museums share locations that contain types from similar Mosaic groups, these types are not the same, indicating that perhaps the schools and museums are not located in exactly the same areas. However, the fact that, as Figure 7.9 suggested, schools in areas of high deprivation tend to travel shorter distances, indicates that, even if the school and museum locations are not exactly the same in terms of the Mosaic types represented, the schools and museums may not actually be that far away from each other.

### **7.3 Type of museum**

Arguably there are further aspects which could contribute to the pattern of school visits which have not yet been discussed. These aspects focus primarily on museum specific issues such as the size of the museum, how it is funded, type of collection and the existence of particular museum policies. Section 7.3 now explores whether these issues contribute to the geography of school visits.

Classifying the museums that took part in the RCMG studies into different 'types' is potentially problematic as there are a variety of different variables museums could be classified by. Classification is further complicated by there being no generally agreed definition of what a museum is or how many there are in the UK (Resource, 2001:6). Hooper-Greenhill, for example, identifies one particular grey area when considering what is included in the category 'museum', as, sometimes; this category can omit or encompass art galleries (Hooper-Greenhill, 2006:371).

There are other ways of distinguishing between museums as Black (2005) suggests. Museums vary in size and resources, collections, staffing levels, location, audience, governing bodies and individual histories. In addition, the MLA (2008) categorises museums as those that meet particular standards in managing their collections effectively, known as accreditation or full registration. They also consider whether collections have been specifically designated as of national or international importance. As a further method of classifying museums, the International Council of Museums (ICOM, no date) has committees devoted to the study of particular disciplines or subject matters, such as museums of money and banking and museums of arms or military history.

### **7.3.1 Museum size**

East Midlands Museum Service (1996) used 'number of visitors' as a proxy for museum size in order to consider the impact of the different museums in their service. This data is available in the Museums Association's *Museums and Galleries Yearbook* (Wright, 2008). There are two problems with considering this data. The first is that not all museums and galleries in the 2008 yearbook submitted visitor figures. This affects 17

museums in the study which are therefore excluded from the following analyses.<sup>105</sup>

The second potentially problematic issue is that, although the majority of the museums in the study did submit visitor figures, they are not all from the same twelve month period. However, this should not affect this analysis as the visitor figures are only being used to gauge museum size and not to make direct comparisons between the number of visits received in a specific time period by each organisation.

Using the East Midlands Museums Service (1996) study as a model, the museums in the three RCMG projects were classified by size: as small (up to 20,000 visitors); medium (between 20,000-80,000 visitors) and large (over 80,000 visitors). Table 7.5 indicates the percentage of visits made to each size of museum by schools in the top 10% and the top 20% most deprived areas using the IMD 2004.

Type of museum	Percentage of school visits in top 10% most deprived areas.	Percentage of school visits in top 20% most deprived areas.
Small (up to 20,000 visitors)	18% (n=47)	37.5% (n=98)
Medium (20,000 – 80,000 visitors)	23.2% (n=117)	37.4% (n=189)
Large (over 80,000 visitors)	16.64% (n=235)	29.3% (n=414)

Table 7.5: Percentage of school visits in the top 10% and top 20% most deprived areas to small, medium and large museums.

It would appear from Table 7.5 that large museums do not appear to be used as much by schools in areas of high deprivation as other categories.<sup>106</sup> Medium sized museums

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<sup>105</sup> The 2009 Yearbook has subsequently been published by the Museums Association; however, this research uses the most up to date information available at the time.

<sup>106</sup> It should be noted that many of the visits to larger museums were in the DCMS/DfES evaluation which focused on partnerships between national and regional museums. As it was often difficult to

in the study appear to have the highest percentage of visits by schools in the top 10% most deprived areas, but when considering the top 20% most deprived areas, the small museums appear to attract a slightly higher percentage than the medium sized museums. The average distance travelled by each group of museums also suggests that schools travel further to visit a larger museum (25 km), with medium and small museums both having an average journey of 16 km. This average journey time, along with the results presented in Table 7.5 may suggest that small and medium sized museums are more conveniently located for schools in areas of deprivation.

It is worth noting that, within each size category, there are certain museums that appear to attract a higher percentage of schools from deprived areas than others. For example, the museums detailed in Table 7.6 had over 40% of their recorded visits from schools in the top 10% most deprived areas.

<b>Small Museums</b>	<b>Medium Museums</b>	<b>Large Museums</b>
Soho House Birmingham Museums	Ragged School Museum*	Museum of Hartlepool*
Sarehole Mill Birmingham Museums	Stephenson Railway Museum, Tyne and Wear Museums*	Merseyside Maritime Museum*
	Bilston Craft Gallery and Museum	Ferens Art Gallery
		Harris Museum and Art Gallery, Preston

Table 7.6: Small, medium and large museums with over 40% of their recorded visits from schools in the top 10% most deprived areas (IMD 2004) – Note that museums marked with \* had under 10 recorded school visits.

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distinguish in this dataset which museums within a particular project were visited by schools there may be a proportion of visits not considered here that were to national museums.

It may be therefore that certain particularly successful organisations skew the results for number of visits to each museum size as indicated in Table 7.5.

### **7.3.2 Funding**

Museum type can also be explored by considering how each organisation is funded.

Data from the Museums and Galleries Yearbook and information from DCMS was used to identify four main forms of funding: Local Authority (LA); Trust (T); University (U) and DCMS sponsored (DCMS). However, categorising museums in this way is not a straight forward process, as for some museums it is not clear from the descriptions in the Yearbook how each museum is funded. Tyne and Wear Museums is a good example of this. The Yearbook describes their governance as 'Tyne and Wear Museums joint committee' (Wright, 2008). However, the museum sites comprising Tyne and Wear Museums are actually directly funded by DCMS as one of its 'non national museums'. Using the same museums as the last analysis, Table 7.7 shows the museums with the highest percentage of visits from schools located in the top 10% most deprived areas, along with the main funding source for each museum.

Museum Name	Funding Source	Project	% of visits in top 10% most deprived	Total no. of visits
Museum of Hartlepool *	LA	RR1/RR2	100	2
Ragged school Museum*	T	DCMS/ DfES	100	1
Soho House, Birmingham Museums	LA	RR1/RR2	65	20
Ferens Art Gallery	LA	RR2	52.94	17
Stephenson Railway Museum* Tyne and Wear Museums	DCMS	RR1/RR2	50	8
Bilston Craft Gallery and Museum	LA	RR1/RR2	50	10
Merseyside Maritime Museum, Liverpool*	DCMS	DCMS/ DfES	50	4
Harris Museum and Art Gallery Preston*	LA	DCMS/ DfES	44.44	9
Sarehole Mill	LA	RR1/RR2	42.86	28
Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery	LA	RR1/RR2 and DCMS/DfES	38.1	168

Table 7.7: Museums with the highest percentage of visits from schools located in the top 10% most deprived areas (IMD 2004). Note that like Figure 7.6 museums marked with \* have under 10 recorded school visits.

Of the ten museums in Table 7.7, seven are funded by local authorities, two are DCMS sponsored museums and one has Trust status. If the top 20 museums with the highest percentage of visits from the schools located in the top 10% most deprived areas are considered, fifteen are Local Authority funded. It would appear therefore that schools in deprived areas are making more use of Local Authority funded museums. However, it should be considered that of the ninety-one museums included in the analysis for Table 7.7, 55 (60.4%) are funded by Local Authorities. Therefore, it is likely that there

will be more museums funded in this way within the range of museums engaging with schools from the most deprived areas. Also, as several of the museums have very low numbers of recorded visits, how representative these visits are of the school visit profile of each museum must be considered. Therefore, excluding museums with less than ten recorded visits, the museums with the most visits from schools located in the top 10% most deprived areas are detailed in Table 7.8.



Museum Name	IMD 2004 Rank	Funding Source	Size of museum	% of school visits in top 10%	Total no. of visits	Average distance travelled (km)
Soho House, Birmingham Museums	150	LA	Small	65	20	4.6
Ferens Art Gallery	1987	LA	Large	52.94	17	8.4
Bilston Craft Gallery and Museum	2160	LA	Medium	50	10	3.3
Sarehole Mill, Birmingham Museums	15876	LA	Small	42.86	28	7.1
Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery	4726	LA	Large	38.1	168	13.5
Blakesley Hall, Birmingham Museums	6643	LA	Medium	37.5	48	20.4
Laing Art gallery, Tyne and Wear Museums	14293	DCMS	Large	36.84	19	34.6
Aston Hall, Birmingham Museums	930	LA	Medium	36.62	71	8.3
Shipleigh Art Gallery, Tyne and Wear Museums	3949	DCMS	Medium	34.21	38	11
Graves Art Gallery, Sheffield	3088	LA	Medium	33.33	15	4.3

Table 7.8: Museums with over 10 recorded visits with the highest percentage of visits from schools located in the top 10% most deprived areas (IMD 2004).

Table 7.8 appears to confirm the idea that Local Authority museums are engaging with more schools in areas of high deprivation. Birmingham Museums, which includes Soho House, Sarehole Mill, Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery and Aston Hall, appear to be particularly successful in this respect, as indicated in section 7.2.2.

Table 7.8 also gives the average distance travelled to these museums so that their geographic reach can be considered. There are a range of distances travelled by schools to these predominantly Local Authority funded museums. The minimum average distance travelled was to Bilston Craft Gallery and Museum (3.3 km) and the maximum distance travelled was to the Laing Art Gallery (34.6 km). Apart from the Laing Art Gallery, Sarehole Mill and Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, all of the museums in Table 7.8 are located in the top 10% most deprived areas. This finding gives further support to the notion that the museums which are most successfully engaging with schools in areas of high deprivation are also located in these areas.

### **7.3.3 Type of collection and curriculum area studied**

Looking again at the museums in Table 7.8 (representing the museums with over ten recorded visits that have the highest proportion of visits from schools located in the top 10% most deprived areas), Table 7.9 considers the principle theme of these museums' collections. It is clear that there is an array of different types of collection, covering a range of subjects and disciplines, but all with a historic or art emphasis. It is interesting that art galleries, of which people typically have a more elitist perception than museums (see Chapter 1), represent five of the organisations in Table 7.9. This suggests that for some art galleries in particular, the elitist image does not appear as valid, at least in terms of number of visits from schools in areas of deprivation.

Small Museums	Principle theme of collection
Soho House, Birmingham Museums	Historic building/ local history
Ferens Art Gallery	Art/Craft
Bilston Craft Gallery and Museum	Art/Craft
Sarehole Mill, Birmingham Museums	Historic building/ local history
Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery	Mixed
Blakesley Hall, Birmingham Museums	Historic building
Laing Art gallery, Tyne and Wear Museums	Art
Aston Hall, Birmingham Museums	Historic building
Shipley Art Gallery, Tyne and Wear Museums	Art
Graves Art Gallery, Sheffield	Art

Table 7.9: Principle theme of the collection of the Museums in Table 7.8.

The principle theme of the collections as detailed in Table 7.9 should only be considered as a guide to the main themes of these museums, as classifying museums by the theme of their collections is not an exact science. The Museum Association's *Museums and Galleries Yearbook* includes a brief summary of the types of objects and specific collections present in each museum. The principle themes indicated in Table 7.9 are based on these summaries.

In the RCMG studies, the theme and curriculum areas of the school visits were considered (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2004b:70-72, 2004d: 134-135 and 2006b:105-108). In the RR1 evaluation, history and then art themes were the most popular, followed by science and technology, literacy, geography, citizenship and personal health and social education (PHSE) (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2004b:70). In the DCMS/DfES evaluation history remained the most popular theme followed by science, technology and art. The DCMS/DfES evaluation also introduced the theme 'cross-curricular' to describe visits that crossed curriculum areas (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2004d: 134). In the RR2 evaluation, greater emphasis was given to capturing the complexity of themes and

subject areas covered on a single visit and the category ‘interdisciplinary’ was introduced to accommodate this. Half of the teachers in the RR2 evaluation considered that their museum visit focused on a history theme. However, 27% of the visits were also categorised as interdisciplinary, followed by art and design, science and technology and then a range of other subjects (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2006b: 106). Returning to the RCMG data, I looked at the RR1 dataset in particular to consider whether there was any relationship between the theme of each school visit and the IMD ranking of the school. Table 7.10 shows the percentage of school visits in each 10% IMD 2004 rank that focused on different curriculum areas. The classification ‘unknown’ refers to entries which were blank due to teachers not filling in the question or where the teacher’s writing could not be deciphered by RCMG. The category ‘other’ refers to curriculum areas such as geography and religious education which were the focus of fewer visits, but also to themes where it was difficult to infer what the main focus of the visit was.

<b>IMD 2004</b>	<b>Art %</b>	<b>History %</b>	<b>Interdisciplinary/ Cross Curricular%</b>	<b>Literacy %</b>	<b>Other %</b>	<b>Science &amp; Technology %</b>	<b>Unknown %</b>
Top 10%	14	66	5.3	4	4	4	2.7
10-20%	15.8	63.4	0	1	7.9	6.9	4.9
20-30%	7.3	74.4	2.4	2.4	4.9	6.1	2.4
30-40%	9.1	75.3	0	0	6.5	3.9	5.2
40-50%	5.6	74.7	0	0	4.2	11.3	4.2
50-60%	16.2	67.6	0	1.5	2.9	2.9	8.8
60-70%	8.7	79.7	1.5	0	1.5	2.9	5.8
70-80%	11.1	69.8	0	0	6.4	1.6	11.1
80-90%	6.3	70.8	0	0	6.3	12.5	4.2
Bottom 10%	0	75.8	0	3	0	9.1	12.1

Table 7.10: Percentage of school visits in RR1 concentrating on particular curriculum areas in each 10% IMD 2004 range.

As the RCMG RR1 evaluation suggested, history followed by art, science and technology, were the most popular subject areas and this is also broadly the case in each 10% range presented in Table 7.10. History appears as the most common subject area studied by schools in museums, regardless of how deprived the postcode of the school. The same topics reoccurred throughout the whole RR1 dataset and where identified as recognisable units of work in the national curriculum, such as 'invaders and settlers' and 'homes in the past' which are both Key Stage 1 and 2 History units (The Standards Site, no date). This suggests that the national curriculum is particularly influential in the choice of subject areas that schools experiencing all levels of deprivation focus on in their museum visit.

One potential difference between the top 10% most deprived areas and the bottom 10% least deprived areas, is that there appears to be a broader range of subject areas covered by school visits in the most deprived 10% range. This may suggest that schools in these areas use museums rather differently, with the schools in less deprived areas using museums predominantly for history themes (75.8%) and the schools in the more deprived areas using them for a greater range of themes, including a small percentage of visits focusing on literacy and science and technology. However, 12.1% of the schools in the least deprived areas fell into the 'unknown' category. Therefore, Table 7.10 may not fully represent the range of subjects these least deprived schools focused on during their museum visits. However, apart from these observations, there does not appear to be a very distinct difference between the subject areas of the visits of schools from highly deprived areas and those from more affluent areas.

The RR2 data was also considered to see if it would confirm or refute the interpretation made of the RR1 data that there were no very obvious relationships between the theme of a visit and the IMD rank of the school. The analysis found that there was a much higher percentage of visits focusing on interdisciplinary themes within the RR2 dataset. To an extent this is expected because, as noted above, this category was introduced by RCMG in this particular evaluation. As in the RR1 dataset, history appears to be the most popular subject of museum visits. There does appear to be a broader range of subjects covered during visits by schools in the top 10% most deprived areas when compared to the 10% least deprived areas. The least deprived schools did not appear to focus on Literacy or Science in their museum visits. Also, the most deprived schools concentrated more on art themes than the least deprived schools. However, the schools in the 70-80% range also focused to a similar extent on art themes as the top 10% most deprived schools. It is unclear therefore whether there is a relationship between subject matter and school IMD ranking or whether the percentages in tables 7.10 and 7.11 have occurred by chance.

IMD 2004	Art %	History %	Interdisciplinary/ Cross Curricular%	Literacy %	Other %	Science %	Unknown %
Top 10%	16.9	44.4	14	2.1	9.5	4.1	9.1
10-20%	5.5	51.5	13.9	3.0	8.5	7.9	9.7
20-30%	9.6	54.4	12.8	2.4	7.2	5.6	8.0
30-40%	11.4	43.1	14.6	2.4	9.8	4.1	14.6
40-50%	8.3	53.7	21.5	0	3.3	2.5	10.7
50-60%	11.9	39.8	21.2	0	7.6	5.9	13.6
60-70%	11.5	51.9	17.6	1.5	3.1	4.6	9.9
70-80%	15.9	54.9	8.5	1.2	3.7	1.2	14.6
80-90%	6.6	60.4	17.6	0	3.3	3.3	8.8
Bottom 10%	3.4	64.0	18.0	0	1.1	0	13.5

Table 7.11: Percentage of school visits in RR2 concentrating on particular curriculum areas in each 10% IMD 2004 range.

The influence of museum collection and subject matter studied at the museum to the geography of school visits does not appear very conclusive. There do not appear to be any distinct patterns which suggest that a particular type of collection, archaeology for example, appeals more to schools in the more deprived areas more than those in the least deprived areas. It was, however, suggested that a connection may exist between the IMD rank of the school and the breadth of different subject areas studied in museums, perhaps supporting the notion that teachers in more deprived schools place a value upon the museum experiences for their children and therefore use them in the teaching of more subjects. However, what may be more significant in influencing choice of subject focused on during a museum visit are the topics in the national curriculum.

#### **7.3.4 Targeting schools in deprived areas**

I think probably, museums etc are trying to reach children in our areas and it wouldn't surprise me if their initial research told them that these were the areas that didn't use museums (Head Teacher, school 5, interview, 5.11.07).

The final section of this chapter considers whether the geography of school visits suggested by the RCMG datasets has been influenced by museums' use of targeted projects aimed at schools in areas of deprivation. This possibility stems from ideas raised in Chapters 1 and 2 particularly. These suggested that museums may at the time of the RCMG evaluations, have been motivated to contribute to government social inclusion agendas (see DCMS, 1999, 2000 and 2001). It was noted in Chapter 2 that two of DCMS' PSA targets were connected to the Renaissance in the Regions programme. These were to increase visits to Hub museums from new users by 500,000 (specifically from C2DE and ethnic minority audiences) and also to increase the number of contacts between children and Hub museums by 25% (MLA, 2006: 3). It is therefore considered possible that the geography of museum visits could be a direct consequence of actions taken by museums to both meet these government targets and become more socially inclusive organisations.

As an example of deliberate targeting of schools in areas of deprivation considered by RCMG in a different project can be seen in the 'Open Minds' education programme at Harewood House, a programme funded by the Heritage Lottery fund in 2000-2003. A central aim of the Open Minds Programme was to extend Harewood House's audience. This was achieved by using postcode data from the Arts Council of England



(1997) Area Profile Reports<sup>107</sup> to identify schools from socially deprived, inner city areas. The outcome of this programme was that the percentage of inner city schools visiting Harewood House increased from 50% in 2001 to 71% in 2003 (Dodd et al, 2004b). During my interviews with staff in other museums, questions were posed concerning whether particular schools had been targeted by the museum in a way similar to the Open Minds programme at Harewood House. As well as qualitative interviews, specific Hub documents, including Education Programme Delivery Plans (EPDPs) and two year plans were reviewed for evidence which pointed towards the existence of targeting strategies.<sup>108</sup>

MLA (2003) hints that, although much of the initial Hub education work was to support the delivery of the curriculum, Hubs should also consider identifying and working with particular groups, including gifted and talented children, children with special educational needs and children at risk of exclusion. It is therefore quite possible that the geography of school visits demonstrated in the RCMG datasets is a reflection of the policies and strategies developed by Hub museums as a consequence of Renaissance funding.

In order to understand the local context of the museum the Hubs engaged in consultation with stakeholders and made use of pre-existing research when writing

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<sup>107</sup> The Arts Council's Area Profile Reports are an initiative designed to help arts organisations understand their audiences. They provide information about a given population, see [http://artscouncil.org.uk/aboutus/project\\_detail.php?id=1152#aprofile](http://artscouncil.org.uk/aboutus/project_detail.php?id=1152#aprofile) (accessed 19.09.09).

<sup>108</sup> EPDPs are documents that Hubs were specifically funded to develop, setting out how the Hub proposed to support schools in their region over the following two years. The two year business plans and operational plans were also required by MLA and funding allocations were subject to agreement of these plans (MLA, no date).

their EPDPs and two year plans. The East of England Hub (EEMLAC et al, no date), for example, consulted with communities in Education Action Zones, Connexions and other agencies supporting out of school hours learning. The North East Hub also made use of the RR1 evaluation in their 2004-2006 EPDP to support their own evidence gathered from evaluations with school teachers (Renaissance North East, 2004: 4-5).

After this contextual research was complete, the Hub EPDPs and two year plans went on to outline the projects that would be put in place to meet these needs. Projects were identified which would target certain non-users or hard to reach groups.

Examples include the development of summer programmes with schools in Education Action Zones (EAZs)<sup>109</sup> (Renaissance South West, 2003:21) and initiatives aimed at narrowing the gap in attainment experienced by disaffected pupils, teenage mothers and school refusers (Renaissance North East, 2004: 48-9). In a later EPDP, Tyne and Wear Museums specifically identified and targeted non-visiting schools with their Magic Bus project (Renaissance North East, 2006: 30, 40, 42). The 'Magic Bus' (Magic being an acronym for Museums and Galleries Inspiring Children), toured around schools identified by the Hub as low attending or non-attending (Director, TWM, email correspondence, 13.02.08). It does not automatically follow that the schools visited by the 'Magic Bus' were specifically in areas of disadvantage although, in some instances this may have been the case.

It is possible to see from Hub documents that the West Midlands Hub (2004:3) considered how it had already catered for schools in economically deprived areas by

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<sup>109</sup> EAZs were rural and urban areas involving around twenty schools where local business, local education authorities and parents united to modernise education in areas of social deprivation (Power & Gewirtz, 2001:39). The initiative ended in 2001 when the zones were amalgamated into the 'Excellence for Schools' initiative (DCSF, no date).

offering free sessions to them in some cities. Further measures to work with schools in areas of social deprivation are summarised in the West Midlands Hub 2004-2006 EPDP (Renaissance West Midlands, 2004), including out of hours programmes concentrated in particular districts of Birmingham, Stoke on Trent, Wolverhampton and Coventry. In their 2006-2008 EPDP, the West Midlands Hub stresses its continued commitment to serving schools in areas of deprivation, indicating that they are an ongoing priority area for the Hub (Renaissance West Midlands, 2006:5). It is feasible that these strategies may help to account for the particular geography of school visits in the West Midlands region.

The examples presented above illustrate that there is evidence to suggest Hubs were indeed targeting specific groups, including schools, in their education programmes. However, it is unclear whether any of the RCMG evaluations would have necessarily recorded any of these particular targeted sessions.

A slightly different picture emerges when evidence from qualitative sources is taken into consideration. Tyne and Wear Museums, although known to have a longstanding relationship with social agendas (Museum staff, TWM, Interview, 18.03.08), indicated that within their general schools programme, they generally do not target specific groups of schools based on the deprivation experienced by these schools. However, it was mentioned that individual venues might target schools for special projects and this is perhaps what is meant by the Hub EPDP that targeted projects are additional to this main schools programme.

A similar picture is evident at the Royal Cornwall Museum. The learning department here had already targeted Pupil Referral Units (PRU), small schools and special schools

(Museum Staff, Royal Cornwall Museum, Interview, 05.02.08). All of these groups are potentially considered excluded audiences. However, this led to targeting by special projects rather than ring fencing provision within the general schools programme offered by the museum. Despite this, the deprivation ranking of schools had not been considered by the Royal Cornwall Museum for their targeted projects. However, The Royal Cornwall Museums' family learning team, as opposed to its school learning team, had directly marketed their programme to families in areas of deprivation. This was done by including leaflets about the family learning sessions inside the local newspapers distributed specifically to these areas. Although the school learning team appeared, in interview, to be far from complacent about the schools they were reaching, their schools sessions were already fully booked and it was considered that targeting schools in disadvantaged areas would be something they would come back to in the future when they had time and resources.

In Birmingham Schools Liaison Service, secondary schools were identified as a particular group of schools to encourage as they tended to have lower visiting numbers (Museum staff, Birmingham Museums, Interview, 05.11.07). However, there was no suggestion that schools from areas of high deprivation in Birmingham had been specifically targeted by the service. There was a sense that the Schools Liaison Service did not feel a need to target these groups as they already used the museum.

The picture emerging from the Hub documents and through my interviews with museum staff is that, although priority groups have been identified and specific additional projects designed to target these groups in particular, in day to day schools sessions minimal (if any) targeting was occurring. Where it did occur it was not

necessarily aimed at schools in areas of high deprivation. The RR1 and RR2 studies may well have recorded visits that were part of these special targeted projects. However, the percentage of these visits and whether they account for the geography of school visits as recorded in the RCMG evaluations remains unknown.

The DCMS/ DfES study was a different matter, as it was explicitly outlined in the national/ regional museum partnership proposals whether particular groups were going to be targeted by the projects. For example, the Laing Art Gallery, which was involved in the DCMS/DfES 'Take one Picture Project' in partnership with the National Gallery, worked with schools from particular areas of Newcastle-upon-Tyne that were at the time included in an EAZ. Likewise, several other strategic commissioning national/regional partnership projects aimed to work with communities involved in different government area based initiatives. The 'Supporting Regional Schools' project<sup>110</sup>, for example, set out to work with schools in EAZs and also New Deal areas.<sup>111</sup> The 'Creative Canals' project<sup>112</sup> also aimed to tackle social exclusion in some of London's most disadvantaged communities, '...the objective being to engage those children and young people who are under-achieving educationally due to poverty and disadvantage' (NMSI/ Science Museum, 2003). The 'Partners in Time' project also targeted schools in areas of high deprivation (the visits of this project are particularly evident in Figure 7.3 in the East of England Region), offering them a travel subsidy to visit one of the participating regional museums (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2004d: 42-3).

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<sup>110</sup> This was a partnership project between Tate Britain, New Art Gallery Walsall, Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service, Abbot Hall Art Gallery and Sheffield Galleries & Museums Trust.

<sup>111</sup> New Deal for Communities introduced in 1998 was an area based initiative which, to summarise, aimed to reduce the gap between the poorest neighbourhoods and other parts of the country, see Lawless (2004).

<sup>112</sup> A partnership project between The National Museum of Science and Industry, the Ragged School Museum, London Canal Museum and Beachamp Lodge Settlement.

It has been documented therefore that, with these particular DCMS/DfES projects, schools in areas of deprivation were specifically targeted. It may though be possible to say, with a greater degree of certainty, which visits in the DCMS/ DfES evaluation were targeted because of the school's location. However, out of the total number of visits recorded to these DCMS/DfES projects (183), only 17% (31) of them were from schools in the top 10% most deprived areas. The total percentage of schools in the top 10% areas across the whole DCMS/DfES dataset (375 recorded visits) was 22% (82 recorded visits), showing clearly that the projects that specifically targeted areas of deprivation do not, on their own, account for the geography of school visits that this evaluation suggests.

There was also the suggestion that actually targeting specific schools was perhaps not part of an inclusive remit: 'Targeted? No, we are there for all' as one staff member commented (USI staff member, National Maritime Museum, Interview, 28.11.07). Although this quotation refers to a specific DCMS/DfES project which had a remit to develop resources for all schools, it is reminiscent of some of the opinions discussed in Chapter 1 which questioned whether museums should in fact engage with social inclusion strategies.

In summary, it is difficult to ascertain whether targeting strategies on their own can explain the geography of school visits. They certainly exist, as the Hub documents and various DCMS/DfES strategic commissioning projects indicate. However, their affect on the overall pattern of school visits remains unclear.

## 7.4 Conclusions

There are several key conclusions to be drawn from this chapter which has covered much ground. What has been the most significant finding from the analysis presented here, is the importance that local or easy to access, small or medium sized museums appear to make to the geography of social inclusion. This conclusion is primarily based on the notion that schools in deprived areas tend to travel shorter distances to visit museums. It was also shown that small and medium sized museums that are local authority funded tend to be most successful in engaging with schools in areas of high deprivation. In addition, a high percentage of museums are also actually located in areas of high deprivation. Although these locations are on the whole in city centres and do not necessarily match with the locations of schools in the dataset, the distance travelled by schools in areas of high deprivation to museums was very local, suggesting that museums must be located close to these schools. The significance of proximity between school and museum must therefore not be underestimated and its contribution to the overall geography of school visits must be recognised. It is also interesting that location was one of the Renaissance Hub museum criteria. Whatever significance was given to this criterion at the time of selection, the geography of school visits may suggest that actual museum location is highly significant in encouraging access by disadvantaged communities.

This chapter has also raised particular more 'hidden' aspects of the geography of school visits which are not visible through the quantitative data alone. Through interviews with museums staff and school teachers, several significant issues were raised such as the contribution that strong relationships or social capital between

schools and museums can make to the visit pattern of certain museums. A further, potentially very important contributory factor influencing the geography of school visits is the influence of economic capital, such as the cost of the trip and issues such as transportation. Again, this links back to the suggestion that local museums in the study are more conveniently located and potentially cheaper (or free) to reach for schools in areas of deprivation, than other museums further away. As journey time was also an influential factor for schools, local visits can also be seen to potentially save both time as well as money.

A further issue of significance was the value school teachers placed on trips to local museums in contrast to less local visits. It was considered that the possibility for repeat engagement with local museums was high and therefore more sustained contact was possible. Although they may not be used in the same sense to 'kick-start' a scheme of work, rather to provide ongoing support as and when required by schools.

Other potential contributory factors influencing the geography of school visits may be the presence of targeting strategies in the participating museums. As museums were being encouraged to consider how they could contribute to social inclusion (particularly through DCMS PSA targets), it is considered possible that the geography of school visits could have been affected by this increased motivation in museums to work with excluded groups. Indeed, a number of the DCMS/ DfES projects deliberately sought to work with schools in areas of high deprivation. The Hub documentation also indicated that museums were developing specific projects to work with excluded groups including particular schools that were non-visiting or located in priority areas. Some of these projects would have been running at the time of the RCMG evaluations.



However, it is unclear how many of the visits recorded by RCMG would have been engaged in one of these special projects. The museum staff I interviewed considered that, for their general schools programmes, very little specific targeting took place. It is perhaps more likely that the majority of visits recorded by RCMG in the RR1 and RR2 datasets were general school visits and not part of special targeted projects.

Therefore, although targeting of particular schools occurred, it is difficult to say how significant a contribution this has made to the overall geography of school visits.

In summary, the geography of school visits to museums, as suggested by the RCMG evaluations, is influenced by a range of different factors, a significant aspect of which is the location of schools and museums. Therefore, museums local to schools in areas of deprivation should recognise the potential they have to act as agents of social inclusion. The qualitative evidence used in this chapter has suggested that a number of different factors influence the decision to visit a museum and, although location of the museum is one of these, so too are cost, individualised partnerships between schools and museums and the commitment of teachers to the value of museum learning.

There are clear links between these different issues and the different forms of capital introduced in Chapter 4. Chapter 8 now goes on to consider the role played by various forms of capital in more detail, including what the relationship between the forms of capital can infer about the potential impact of school visits to museum.

## **Chapter 8: Exploring the impacts of museum visits**

It has so far been established that, in the RCMG evaluations, there was an over representation in visits to museums by schools located in areas of high deprivation. The geography of school visits to museums was validated in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 considered a range of possible explanatory factors for this pattern. It was suggested that museums in the RCMG evaluations had a significant opportunity, largely as a consequence of their location, to impact upon groups of individuals who are perceived to be at risk of exclusion. This chapter now considers the impact of school visiting museums drawing on the notions of economic, social, cultural and emotional capital. Each form of capital is discussed in turn, paying particular attention to the role that it plays within the museum-school relationship. Suggestions are also made as to the inclusivity and exclusivity of museums based on these discussions.

The principle source used in this chapter is evidence from qualitative interviews with two main groups of participants: schools (class teachers, subject teachers, Head Teachers and pupils) and museums (staff from museum learning and education departments and museum directors). Evidence from quantitative sources, such as pupil questionnaires, is also used in discussions.

In Chapter 1 it was suggested that measuring the social impact of museums was problematic as there was little agreement over whether it was possible, or even desirable, to measure this impact. It was also suggested that the claims made about the potential of the cultural sector to address social inclusion do not stand up to critical scrutiny. Methodology, subjectivity and lack of theoretical grounding are just a few criticisms made by Merli (2002). However, despite the use of a variety of different

research methods (see Reeves, 2002), a causal link between social change and museum visiting has yet to be firmly constructed (see Merli, 2002; Belfiore, 2002 and Selwood, 2002c). Chapter 8 aims to explore some of the *potential* impacts of museums which may contribute to social inclusion, using an interpretive framework based on the different forms of capital. To my knowledge, although different authors have considered the role of individual forms of capital in a museum context, looking at the combination of capitals and the interrelations between them in this setting has not been explored elsewhere.

### **8.1 Social exclusion in the context of the case study schools**

Apart from schools 6 and 7, the case study schools that participated in this study are all located in the top 10% most deprived areas in England, using the IMD 2004. It is therefore considered important to outline, at the start of this chapter, the perceptions that the staff in each of these schools have of the specific challenges faced, both by their pupils and by the school as a whole. Understanding these challenges will help to consider where and how museums may potentially have an impact.

Schools 6 and 7, which have the highest IMD rankings and are therefore located in areas that are more affluent than the remaining case study schools will be considered first. In Chapter 6 pupil catchment areas were discussed and it was concluded that, although the school postcode (particularly for school 7, located in London) may place the school in an area experiencing moderate deprivation, a high percentage of the school's pupils experience more extreme deprivation based on their home postcodes. At the time of the research (January 2008), school 7 was undergoing significant challenges. An inspection by the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) in 2007

concluded that for overall effectiveness the school was inadequate. It was subsequently given 'notice to improve' by the inspecting team.<sup>113</sup> Teaching standards and pupil behaviour were specifically identified as inadequate, as was the personal development and wellbeing of the pupils (Ofsted, 2007).<sup>114</sup> My visits to the school coincided with the appointment of an interim Head Teacher after the existing head stepped down.<sup>115</sup> Ofsted (2009) recognised that the school already operated in a challenging environment where many of the pupils experienced high levels of social deprivation. The proportion of pupils eligible for free school meals was almost treble the national average and there were an above average number of pupils with specific learning difficulties or behavioural, social and emotional issues. Despite the period of change experienced by the school during the time of my research, the class teacher did not specifically discuss either the socio-economic context experienced by the school pupils, or the recent Ofsted inspections. She may have been aware that by talking about some of the recent challenges, she could create a negative image of the school.

The Head Teacher of school 6, located in Gateshead with a catchment area encompassing a range of ex-mining villages of varying sizes, was more open about discussing the challenges the school faced. He fitted these challenges into three categories: a culture of white working class low aspiration, socio-economic deprivation and the decline of pupil numbers which was a challenge faced across the North East (Head Teacher, school 6, interview, 07.02.08).

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<sup>113</sup> Ofsted can give schools a 'notice to improve' if they require significant improvements, particularly if '...they are performing significantly less well than they might in all circumstances reasonably be expected to perform. A school which is currently failing to provide an acceptable standard of education, but has demonstrated the capacity to improve, will also be in this category' (Ofsted no date).

<sup>114</sup> The school was inspected again by Ofsted in March 2009 and deemed to no longer require significant improvement.

<sup>115</sup> It was unfortunately not possible to arrange to speak to the interim Head Teacher.

The Head Teachers in the three schools located in Birmingham, two of which were primary and one secondary, identified specifically the particular socio-economic challenges faced by their pupils. The Head Teacher at school 5 (interview, 05.11.07; secondary school) considered that there were high levels of parental unemployment within his school population. He also talked a lot about the need to broaden the horizons of his pupils and the effects of poverty of experience. For example, in describing a trip to London that he had accompanied, he commented that, '...something like 19 of the 70 odd children we took with us had never been to a service station, and you know it really opens your eyes about the kids you have got' (ibid).

Similarly, the Head Teacher from school 4 also considered that the parent body exhibited a non-working culture and that this had led to parents and children having low aspirations. She mentioned that '...although we can talk to the children about college or secondary school and GCSEs, they're not getting any of that at home' (Head Teacher, school 4, interview, 06.02.08). The local area was also seen to suffer from problems with alcohol and drug abuse, particularly amongst young people, some of whom were the brothers and sisters of pupils in this primary school (ibid).

In schools 1 and 2, the Head Teachers faced similar challenges to those identified so far, with many parents apparently experiencing unemployment or very low incomes, living in poor or overcrowded housing, with few educated beyond secondary level. The Head Teacher of school 1 also identified how, in her school, staff had recognised a need to monitor and support the health of their pupils very closely. Talking about the context of the school catchment area, she remarked, '...we have one of the highest

percentages of obesity, highest percentage of the population with diabetes, highest percentage of people with heart disease' (Head Teacher school 1, interview, 09.01.08).

The Head Teachers in schools 1 and 2 also discussed the cultural backgrounds of their pupils. In school 1, which is a Church of England faith school, the Head Teacher explained that, '... in 2002 we were the only Birmingham school that was 100% Muslim...the only Birmingham church school. So that puts us in a very interesting position as a school' (ibid). The pupils at both schools 1 and 2 would traditionally be classified as being from ethnic minority backgrounds, although in these schools they formed the majority of the school population.

School 2 is located in the Lozells area of Birmingham, an area which has on several occasions seen local rioting that the media reported was caused by racial tensions.<sup>116</sup> In their comparative study on multicultural tensions, Gereluck and Race (2007) suggested that other social issues underlying the Lozells riots, including poverty, unemployment and exclusion had been noted over 30 years ago by Rex and Moore (1967). The latter suggested that a conflict in value systems was apparent in areas like Lozells. The Head Teacher of school 2 spoke about how such a conflict is present within the school environment 'for our children it is difficult, because it is a very westernized school environment, whereas at home, for a lot of our children they have a very traditional life' (Head Teacher, school 2, interview, 21.02.08).

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<sup>116</sup> The BBC reports that riots in 2005 were largely blamed on mounting inter racial tensions between the local Asian and Afro-Caribbean populations after it was claimed a young black girl was sexually assaulted by members of the local Asian community. See [http://news.bbc.co.uk/player/nol/newsid\\_4370000/newsid\\_4372000/4372034.stm?bw=bb&mp=wm&news=1&bbcws=1](http://news.bbc.co.uk/player/nol/newsid_4370000/newsid_4372000/4372034.stm?bw=bb&mp=wm&news=1&bbcws=1) for details of these riots and the subsequent aftermath (accessed 02.08.09)

Within schools 1 and 2 a priority was placed on enrichment experiences for their pupils. This was expressed in similar terms to the Head Teacher of school 5 who discussed the 'broadening of pupil horizons'. Enrichment in schools 1 and 2 appeared to entail pupils lacking experiences because their parents '...can't or won't take their children out to things...' (Head Teacher, school 1, interview, 09.01.08) and highlighting cultural reasons why the children did not participate in a range of experiences. The Head Teacher from school 2 also linked lack of enrichment experiences to the pupil's home context. However, she emphasised that enrichment also contributed to improving English language skills as, for the majority of children at this school English was not their first language: '...our children need the experiences; they need to be able to go out, touch, feel, see. It helps them with their language understanding, and also they do not have access to parents who can give them that information as well'. This Head Teacher (school 2, interview, 21.02.08) was aware that the school did make an assumption about the capabilities of their pupils' parents, as for example when considering where parents in more affluent areas might take their children during school holidays, commenting that, 'It's not something that we think, and I could be wrong, we make an assumption that our parents wouldn't be able to do [this]'. This discussion will be picked up again when museums' contribution to 'enrichment' is explored in relation to cultural capital.

The socio-economic context of school 3, which is a primary level special school located in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, is also particularly interesting. The school is the only special school catering for the needs of primary aged children with severe learning difficulties in the area. As such, the school's catchment area covered the whole of the city of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. However, despite this, almost 47% of the pupils live in the top

10% most deprived SOAs in England and the school is also located in one of these areas. The Co-ordinator of Humanities and Educational Visits explained to me that the school has a high proportion of children eligible for free school meals but that the school does have children from a variety of different social backgrounds, from professional families to those with very underprivileged home lives. The class teacher interviewed in school 3 considered that many of the pupils would not have a broad range of experiences because parents would not take their children out on trips at home (class teacher, school 3, interview, 09.11.07). She mentioned however that this may have to do with how the children's behaviour might be associated with their specific learning difficulties, and that therefore parents may not have had the confidence to give their children a variety of experiences (ibid). Again, the staff at school 3 felt that they had a role to play in providing these enrichment experiences for the pupils.

In conclusion, this brief outline of the specific challenges facing the case study schools highlights a number of the difficulties that they confront. Many of these difficulties are familiar aspects of social exclusion, such as low incomes, unemployment and poor health. Other challenges are not measured by deprivation indices but may be the result of multiple deprivation, such as poverty of opportunity and experience. There are therefore a range of different aspects of disadvantage that museums can potentially help to tackle. The following sections now consider the role that each form of capital plays in the museum-school relationship and the potential impacts, both positive and negative, upon social inclusion.



## **8.2 Economic capital**

Economic capital, as outlined in Chapter 4, refers to monetary income and other financial or material resources and assets and also potentially skills and ideas. This section considers how economic capital operates in the context of school visits to museums, from the perspective of school staff, the pupils and the museum staff.

### **8.2.1 School staff**

The most frequent discussion concerning economic capital from the school perspective was the outlay of financial resources connected with school visits. The cost of transportation to and from the museum and to a lesser extent the charge levied by the museum for entry to the venue or for specific workshops, were the main expenses mentioned by the case study schools. However, these discussions were complex and often interconnected with other issues such as health and safety concerns.

Asking for money from parents was considered in each school to be a particularly sensitive issue and the majority of teachers interviewed mentioned the need to keep costs to a minimum because of parental low incomes. School 2, for example, had a limit of how much money it could ask parents to contribute. This was set at half the true cost of the trip per pupil, with a maximum expense of five pounds per trip (Head Teacher, school 1, interview, 09.01.08). School 4 on the other hand, considered that no child would be excluded from school visits because of the inability to pay.

The cost of transport was considered in Chapter 7 in relation to the distance a school travelled to a museum. This earlier discussion considered the financial implications of hiring coaches but did not consider the issue of transport in more depth. For example, access to resources such as school mini buses could facilitate or restrict school visits.

The Educational Visits Co-ordinator at school 3, for example, was very pleased that the school had access to three mini buses, two of which were provided for the school by the Variety Club. In contrast, during conversations with the subject teacher at school 6, located in Gateshead, the Head of the Art Department stated they did not have a budget to hire coaches but did have access to a school mini bus. Unfortunately unlike school 3 where class sizes were small, the size of the mini bus actually restricted the groups that they could take out of school (Head of Art Department, school 6, interview, 22.11.07). On my visit to the school, the minibus was used to get to the Shipley Art Gallery and The Baltic, but this was for a sixth form group which was small enough to fit into it. Unfortunately, the minibus was not large enough to take a GCSE class.

School location could also have a negative impact on the economic resources of a school which was arranging a visit to a museum where coaches had to be hired. However, school location could also mean that the school did not need to use its economic resources or ask parents for contributions. In London, for example, travel using the underground and other transport networks is free for school groups taking part in educational or cultural activities under the School Party Travel Scheme, including visits to museums.<sup>117</sup> It was also noted in Chapter 7 that walking to the museum made the museum visit completely free. Ease of access to a museum appears significant, and this relates both to the availability of local public transport networks, or the convenience of the museum location which means transporting the children to the museum becomes free or less costly.

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<sup>117</sup>See [www.tfl.gov.uk/corporate/projectsandschemes/communityandeducation/schoolpartytravelscheme/2507.aspx](http://www.tfl.gov.uk/corporate/projectsandschemes/communityandeducation/schoolpartytravelscheme/2507.aspx) (accessed 02.08.09)

In another instance, a member of staff at Tyne and Wear Museums<sup>118</sup> considered that the cost of coaches may actually be an excuse used by schools to explain why they do not use museums. This opinion was based on prior experience of where grants were given as an incentive to encourage schools to visit sites along Hadrian's Wall, but take up was limited. This is confirmed by the Head Teacher of school 6 who mentioned, in reference to the cost of trips generally, '...you can always find a way of subsidising it if you want to'. This raises the interesting question of whether the attitudes of the school staff could also be a barrier to museum visiting, as well as the amount of economic capital a school has access to. For example, there is evidence to suggest that teacher attitudes, motivation and commitment to museum visits are significant aspects for museums to consider when they want to facilitate school trips (see for example Kisiel, 2005). One example, from an RCMG research project, shows how an unsupportive teacher may actually have an impact on the attainment levels of the pupils:

During one of the case studies, a teacher was observed deliberately trying to undermine the work of the facilitators in the museum, and encouraging the pupils to take the same approach. It is interesting to see that from the evidence provided by the assessment marks this teacher's class did not achieve as well in relation to other classes from the same school with more supportive teachers...Where teachers are sceptical and make their scepticism explicit, this can potentially undermine the ability of pupils to learn effectively and benefit from the experience (Watson et al, 2007:49-50).

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<sup>118</sup> This is not necessarily the opinion of Tyne and Wear Museums.

Museums may therefore have limited control over the potential impact of museum visits for pupils, as maximising successful impact also depends on the attitudes of the school teachers.

It was interesting to hear how the different schools regarded the cost of entry to museums. For example, the Head Teacher in school 1 considered that free entry to museums did not have an impact on the school's decision to go to them (Head Teacher, school 1, interview, 09.01.08). However, if trips are arranged to free museums, this is considered by the school as a positive factor because it means that the cost of the transport would be the only expense the school would have to meet. It was noted in Chapter 7 that the cost of entry to some museums was considered prohibitive. In the case of school 3, which is a special school, one teacher expressed concerns over the cost of entry to Beamish museums because the school needed to take a higher ratio of adults in order to cater for the needs of their children:

...it is the cost for the adults really as opposed to the children. I mean usually if you have got ten children you will get 1 adult free or something like that, but when you are taking eight [adults] it is quite a lot of money (class teacher, school 3, interview, 09.11.07).

In this example, the school excluded itself on financial grounds due to the adult ticket costs: the museum had, according to this teacher, not considered the specific needs of special schools.

The financial circumstances of schools may vary, depending the different funding mechanisms that each school has access to, some of which such as 'excellence in

cities'<sup>119</sup> funding can be linked to deprivation. Therefore, perhaps contrary to what might be expected, schools in areas of deprivation may have access to extra economic capital. The Head Teachers at several case study schools mentioned the fortunate position they felt their school was in financially and how that allowed them to subsidise regular trips for their pupils. For example, the Head Teacher of school 2 explained that, because of the school's location they received a school development grant which took account of this context.<sup>120</sup> The school also benefited from extra funding from government because of the high number of pupils with English as a second language. The Head Teacher in school 2 considered that going to museums and other venues benefitted literacy and so directed money from these funds into school visits.

Interestingly, economic capital associated with particular education strategies such as the Gifted and Talented and personalised learning schemes<sup>121</sup> were also used by schools to fund school trips to museums (Head Teacher, school 6, interview, 07.02.08). In my discussions with a subject teacher from school 5 it was explained that, in order to fund a school trip to RAF Cosford Museum for a graffiti workshop, money from the Gifted and Talented budget might be considered. Funding a school trip through this budget meant that school visits, originally intended for a different group of children,

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<sup>119</sup> See [www.standards.dfes.gov.uk/local/excellence/index.html](http://www.standards.dfes.gov.uk/local/excellence/index.html) (accessed 02.10.09).

<sup>120</sup> School development grants are calculated based on a number of different criteria including number of pupils, other grants awarded such as 'excellence in cities' money, and an amount of funding allocated to schools that have at least 20% of their pupils eligible for free school meals. See [www.teachernet.gov.uk/docbank/index.cfm?id=9406](http://www.teachernet.gov.uk/docbank/index.cfm?id=9406) for a spreadsheet outlining the different criteria.

<sup>121</sup> The Gifted and Talented scheme recognises that gifted and talented learners have a right to an education that suits their particular needs, that stretches and challenges them and provides opportunities to further their skills and abilities. See [www.standards.dcsf.gov.uk/giftedandtalented/](http://www.standards.dcsf.gov.uk/giftedandtalented/) (accessed 02.08.09). Personalised learning is based on a similar ethos of encouraging learning that meets the needs of the individual learner, therefore helping children to achieve, see <http://nationalstrategies.standards.dcsf.gov.uk/personalisedlearning/> (accessed 02.08.09).

would then become trips solely for Gifted and Talented pupils because it could be funded through this budget. The subject teacher felt that making the trip into an experience for Gifted and Talented children was in a sense a shame, and not what she had originally intended, '...I would like my GCSE group to go, because I think...they would get a lot out of it, and there is some lads in there that really are quite into graffiti' (ibid). In the end the GCSE class did participate in this trip but it is interesting to consider that specific funding streams might exclude some of the neediest groups from taking part in museum experiences.

In some instances, the economic capital that enters a school in the form of grants, can translate into increased cultural capital for that school in terms of knowledge about cultural opportunities. An example present in this research was at school 3. Here, the Co-ordinator of Humanities and Educational Visits applied for £6,000 so that she could have a secondment of two months to develop resources for her subject area in the school. She used the time that this money bought her to apply her labour power to researching how local resources could be integrated into the school's humanities curriculum. This staff member developed a resource that outlined exactly which venues offered suitable activities to support the school's humanities curriculum so that the other class teachers would have the most up to date information about the different resources available. In the case of the Discovery Museum in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, information was provided on the sessions they offered, how to book them, descriptions of the different galleries and contents of the loans boxes available on particular subjects. This period spent collating and researching information meant that subsequently, the school increased its use of locally available resources, including museums, such that they became an integral part of the way the curriculum was

delivered. This example showed how economic capital can translate into increased cultural capital for an organisation through the application of the teacher's labour power. The financial investment in the acquisition of knowledge concerning cultural opportunities meant that more children were able to experience these opportunities.

In summary, for schools, lack of economic capital could exclude them from making use of museums. Museum charges were a potential barrier; however, the cost of transportation is also a constraint. Museums could potentially do more to work with schools and coach companies to reduce the cost of hiring coaches and this has been discussed by the Group for Education in Museums (GEM) in their email discussion list.<sup>122</sup> Through this forum, museum workers have commented on the idea of developing schemes with local coach companies and several museums have joined local community transport schemes. However, as was also noted in the discussion so far, lack of economic capital may also have been used as an excuse by teachers. This raised the question of how teachers attitudes could impact upon the experiences pupils are able to take part in. This aspect will be returned to when emotional capital is discussed. Schools in areas of deprivation may also have access to greater funds for educational visits and this connected to government priorities at the time. Therefore, the flow of economic capital from central government to schools may also affect the potential for museums to engage with schools in areas of deprivation. Economic capital therefore operates in a multiplicity of different ways, which influence school trips to museums and the potential for them to impact on social inclusion. In addition, many of these are out of museums' control.

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<sup>122</sup> See [www.gem.org.uk/pubs/jiscmail.html](http://www.gem.org.uk/pubs/jiscmail.html) (accessed 24.09.09).

### **8.2.2 Pupils**

Children in areas of deprivation may well live in households with low incomes, for example as discussed in Chapter 6 pupils eligible for FSM are those whose parents have low incomes. Therefore, if museums are to contribute to reducing social exclusion (and its intergenerational reproduction), then museum visits might need to help build pupil's economic capital. For instance, by helping pupils develop new labour skills.

In the RCMG evaluations, teachers were asked to consider which of the Generic Learning Outcomes (GLOs, introduced in Chapter 2) were the most important potential outcome for the pupils during their museum visit. The acquisition of skills was consistently considered to be the least important GLO. In the RR1 evaluation, 44% of teachers considered the 'skills' GLO very important as compared to 96% of teachers for whom enjoyment, inspiration and creativity was very important (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2004b: 95). While in both the RR2 and the DCMS/DfES evaluation 46% teachers thought acquiring skills in the museum was very important (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2006b:119, 2004d: 144) Within the skills set, thinking and communication skills were, across the RCMG evaluations, seen as the most likely to have been gained in the museum (Hooper-Greenhill et al 2004b: 132, 2004d: 243, 2006b:189). This suggested that in the teachers' view, although skills acquisition was perhaps not what is most highly valued in the museum, nevertheless the visit did have the potential to impact in this way.

On the questionnaire distributed to older pupils both in the RCMG evaluations and in this study, a question was included which asked whether a museum visit was a good



chance to pick up new skills. In the RCMG datasets a high percentage of the pupils agreed with this question (RR1, 62%, Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2004b: 178; RR2, 68%, Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2006b:246; DCMS/DfES, 71%, Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2006d:312). In my study, two groups of older pupils answered this question, representing quite different thoughts on this issue. In school 5, which visited Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, half of the pupils agreed that a museum is a good chance to pick up new skills and 42% didn't know. Of the pupils in school 7, who visited the National Maritime Museum, 80% agreed with this proposition.

Furthermore, the same percentage of pupils in each school considered that they left the museum more interested in the subject than when they came, which may imply that the focus of the visit and how much this motivated the pupils has an impact on skills gained from that visit. It is interesting that the pupils in school 5 actually visited museums much more often than the pupils in school 7 and yet had a less positive impression that museums were places where skills development could take place. Potentially, for these pupils, as museum visiting was more of a common occurrence, they were less positive about the impacts there may have been. It may be that for the pupils in school 5, they could see through the novelty of the experience and assess their learning outcomes more specifically. Of course it may be that this was the opinion of this particular group of pupils.

### **8.2.3 Museum staff**

For museums, an increase in economic capital, specifically through the Renaissance in the Regions programme has, in some instances, meant an increase in resources in both equipment and staffing (Birmingham Museum staff, interviews, 05.11.07 and Tyne and

Wear Museum staff interview, 18.03.08). This increase in resources meant that Tyne and Wear museums were able to reach school audiences in ways that they had not been able to before, such as by offering much improved web resources, better marketing materials and programmes such as after school and breakfast clubs. Increased resources also meant that, for some, there was an anxiety over what would happen if the resources were withdrawn (Birmingham Museum staff, interview 05.11.07). For instance, museum staff wondered how they would be able to continue to offer the same service to schools (Royal Cornwall Museum Staff, interview, 05.02.08) without external input of economic capital.

Number of pupil contacts, which is a statistic recorded by each of the Renaissance in the Regions Hub museums, can also be viewed as a type of enabler of economic capital for Hub museums, in the form of continuation of Renaissance funding. Hub museums were required to meet DCMS PSA targets, one of which, as noted in Chapter 2, required a twenty-five percent increase in Hub contacts with school children. In discussions with school liaison staff at Birmingham Museums, it was clear that there was some resentment of the drive to have contact with as many pupils as possible: '...I feel very strongly that this numbers system is really getting out of hand, because it means, it penalises groups like [special schools/ hospital schools]...that we wouldn't have to worry about before' (Birmingham Museums staff member, interview, 05.11.07). As some school groups consist of small numbers of pupils, such as those from special or hospital schools, these groups would be considered as simply small classes which made less of an impact on the pupil contact figures. Some museum staff clearly felt pressure to make contact with as many pupils as possible in order to meet their targets, which made them consider smaller classes in a way that they would not

have done prior to Renaissance funding. In this respect, whilst funding enabled Hub museums to become more inclusive, reaching a wider section of the school population, the pupil contact targets perhaps encourage disengagement in some instances with other groups of children.

Economic capital, in the form of greater government investment in museums, appear to have built capacity and resources so that museums can become more inclusive organisations and have contact with audiences they may not otherwise be able to. Increased economic capital and the subsequent requirement to provide evidence of the impact of this capital may also mean that museum staff are encouraged to think about issues, such as number of pupil contacts, quite strategically. This could potentially contrast with an inclusive philosophy and the notion that some groups of potentially socially excluded pupils with small numbers must be more actively engaged.

### **8.3 Social capital**

Social capital, as outlined in Chapter 4, refers to the ‘...sum of actual and potential resources that can be mobilised through membership in social networks of actors and organisations’ (Butler, 2003:2483). Social capital is a multidimensional concept, ranging from highly formal memberships of groups to casual forms such as the ‘nodding acquaintance you have with the person you occasionally see at the supermarket’ (Putnam, 2001). This section considers how social capital is used and created, through school visits to museums, for both of these organisations and also for individual pupils and teachers.

### **8.3.1 School staff**

Visiting museums and taking part in specific projects with them, did, to an extent, rely on, or was facilitated by, social networks that had been built between schools and museums. Some teachers interviewed had built up networks of connections in different museums and other organisations. The art teacher I interviewed in school 5, in a similar manner to teachers in the RR2 project (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2006b: 153), mentioned how visiting places on school trips and continual professional development sessions, gave her an opportunity to meet new contacts. She had, for example, met an artist through a residential workshop for pupils, who she subsequently kept in touch with, and who led her to make contact with the Barber Art Gallery to take part in out-of-hours workshops with some of her pupils. This teacher was also involved with a teacher placement scheme run through MLA. Here she was funded to take eight days out of school to work with a museum or gallery in order to plan and create resources for schools with them. The teacher had worked with the art gallery at the Royal Birmingham Society of Artists (RBSA) and explained why she wanted to take part in the scheme and the knock on effect that it had then had:

I feel like doing it because it gets you out of school and it gets you kind of...looking at different avenues and also building up contacts for the future. Because I know with the RBSA Gallery...the curator used to be an art teacher...and he is also a print maker so he came into our school and did like a print-making workshop (subject teacher, school 5, interview, 06.11.07)

In this example, the stocks of social capital that the teacher had built up, enabled her pupils to take part in a variety of different experiences that they might not have done without her making this contact.

### **8.3.2 Pupils**

The accumulation of social capital was also evident to varying degrees amongst many of the pupils I observed. For example, there were many examples of where the museum visit enabled some pupils to come into contact with and work with different groups of people. On my follow up visit to school 5, pupils talked about the Graffiti workshop they had taken part in at RAF Cosford Museum. I recorded the following notes in my research diary:

*Pupil 2 told me that it had been good to work with another school group at the museum, they were put into groups. Both pupils liked the opportunity to work with kids from this other school, and chat to them. Pupil 1 mentioned that he had thought initially they were quite loud, but it had been nice to find out that other kids had the same views as them about graffiti.*

Extract from research diary, 12.03.08.

Social capital here was perhaps found in its bridging form (see, for example Larsen et al, 2004), where the co-operation and team work between the different groups of children enabled them to understand that they shared similar views.

Similarly, at the National Maritime Museum, the group I accompanied from school 7 played football with a group of French tourists in the park behind the museum. Figure 8.1 is a photograph of this football match taken by one of the pupils in their photo diary of the visit.



Figure 8.1: Pupils playing football in Greenwich Park, taken by a pupil from school 7.

Pupils from this school did not necessarily talk about this social interaction in a way which suggested the acquisition of social capital. Pupil 1, for example, talked about the football match in the context of being able to get out doors and use up some energy, ‘we was like active, we could run around, walk around, fresh air. Yeah I played football, and we played with erm, French. There was French tourists around and they gave us a match, but we scored first!’ (Pupil 1, school 7, interview 01.04.08). For others on the visit to the National Maritime Museum, the interaction with the group of French tourists could be interpreted as building a form of social capital which contributes to the process of socialisation as Figure 8.2 illustrates:

The most interesting thing about today was...

when paige &  
farhana told me  
that the french  
boys were checkin'  
me out then donna  
went J'appell donna  
& they kept lookin  
at us

Figure 8.2: Pupil (school 7) response to the visit to the National Maritime Museum.

For other pupils, the museum visit reinforced their existing social capital (see Figure 8.3).

The most interesting thing about today was...

I was around  
a group & like  
~~and~~

Figure 8.3: Pupil (school 5) response to a visit to Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery.

For the pupil in Figure 8.3 the experience of being with his friends was, for him, the most interesting aspect of his museum visit. This response suggested that museums may help to reaffirm an individual's sense of self by allowing pupils to build on their existing friendships in an environment that was outside school. Holland et al (2007) suggested that contrary to negative perceptions of the impact of peer relations on educational attainment, drawing on friendship networks may be a way of coping with new situations. An emotional dimension of social capital is also evident here, as being surrounded by people that the pupil in Figure 8.3 felt comfortable with may have helped to potentially lessen the stresses of a new experience for this pupil. In this sense museum visits may have helped to consolidate and strengthen existing forms of social capital.

For some pupils, it is regular contact with a museum enabled the acquisition of social capital to occur. One of the pupils at school 7 was involved with the teen panel at The Baltic Art Gallery in Newcastle-upon-Tyne called Blah, Blah, Blah.<sup>123</sup> The group met for two hours every month, its aim being to encourage young people to get more involved in The Baltic Art Gallery through fun activities which helped improve the facilities and activities that the gallery offered for teenagers. Membership of the panel was by application, and pupil L recalled how she was interviewed by members of the existing teen panel when she applied. Membership of Blah, Blah, Blah gave pupil L the opportunity to meet different artists and staff at the gallery. She felt proud to have met the director of The Baltic during one of the groups meetings. Pupil L also made lots of new friends through the group, including members of the youth group from the

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<sup>123</sup> For further details about Blah, Blah, Blah see their facebook page at [www.facebook.com/note.php?note\\_id=111336213627](http://www.facebook.com/note.php?note_id=111336213627).



Tate Gallery in London. Meeting this group face to face helped to dispel her preconceived ideas that the young people from the Tate would be 'a bit pretentious', pupil L concluded that they were in fact 'really nice' (Pupil L, school 6, interview, 07.02.08). Belonging to the Blah, Blah, Blah group also meant that pupil L felt sufficiently well known by the staff in the gallery that she considered she stood a good chance of acquiring summer employment here. In this way, pupil L felt that the connections she had developed at The Baltic could benefit her in the future. This example is suggestive of the potential that museums may have to help young people in a practical sense by acquiring useful life skills. It also gives an indication of how an increase in social capital may potentially have benefit in terms of gains in economic capital.

Successful accumulation of social capital that was felt to be useful for the pupil's future did not automatically occur during every museum visit. Examples like pupil L appear to be exceptions. This is potentially because the amount of contact between the museum and the pupils in the majority of cases is limited to one session. Glaeser (2001), found that individuals were more likely to invest in social capital building when they going to be in a situation for an extended period. This research suggested that individuals invested more in social capital building if they bought a house in a location, indicating they are likely to stay in this location for some time. If this is transferable to a museum visit context, it would suggest that the more time a pupil spends in a museum context, perhaps the more likely they are to invest in building social capital in this situation. For example, pupil L was part of Blah, Blah, Blah for twelve months and therefore had more time to develop social networks within the museum. For young people this form of social capital with museum staff may be particularly beneficial. For example, Raffo

and Reeves (2000) studied disaffected young people, their life transitions, experience of schooling, careers advice and hopes for the future. This study indicated how, for several young people, forming supportive, collaborative and equal relationships with staff at training centres had a valuable effect on their life paths.

During my case study with school 7 it became apparent that visiting the museum was viewed by the subject teacher as an opportunity to bridge differences between different social groups. She felt that by sharing the space of the National Maritime Museum with the local residents it would allow the two groups to come into contact with each other. However, her experiences of taking pupils to the museum had unfortunately not resulted in a positive outcome in terms of building bridging social capital with other local residents. The class teacher at school 7 explained that museum staff had received complaints from elderly visitors about the behaviour of the group. She considered that her pupils were not behaving badly in the museum but were simply expressing their excitement. On the same trip a further incident occurred during the pupil's lunch break whilst they were in the park. The class teacher recalled that local residents had called the police because they thought that the group of pupils were playing truant. Although neither of these incidences were directly the fault of the museum, they occurred while the group was visiting the museum. The class teacher felt that with the complaints the group received from other museum visitors, there was more that the museum could have done to resolve the situation. It is interesting that this example points towards the problems that may be associated with using the museum as a cohesive space. The class teacher wanted to use the museum as a place where different sections of society could inhabit the same space cooperatively, but was unable to do so. This suggests that museum staff may benefit from a greater

awareness of both the potential conflicts that may occur when different groups are confronted with each other in the museum space and how they can act to resolve and reconcile these differences.

Arguably, cultural capital influenced this last example. For instance, the complaints were made about the pupils because other visitors considered that the pupils did not have sufficient amounts of, or the right types of cultural capital to know how they were expected to behave in a museum. This also suggests that, although some museums may have gone through a process of organisational change towards greater inclusiveness, this does not mean that other social groups using the museum have also gone through this process. It is clear that museums mean different things to different groups and that this affects how groups behave within them. Where contrasting opinions and behaviours come to be expressed, as in this example, the potential inclusive impacts for the pupils may well be reduced and indeed they could even foster increased resentment with social others.

### **8.3.3 Museum staff**

This section explores whether, by gathering stocks of social capital, museums might better position and resource themselves to impact on social inclusion. As with the schools and school teachers included in this research, the social capital built up by museums was also important, enabling them to offer school groups and visitors generally, creative and exciting experiences that may otherwise not have been possible.

The Discovery Museum, for example, because of the contacts it had made with Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery in Carlisle, was able to create a project was enabled

named 'Blitzed' where school groups were 'evacuated' from Newcastle-upon-Tyne to Carlisle by train and vice versa (see Figure 8.4). The staff member at the Discovery Museum explained how one of the days progressed,

...schools from Carlisle came here and we met them at the station dressed as billeting officers... and bought them back here [Discovery Museum] where they had a chat with an evacuee and did a hands on session and then went back again (Tyne and Wear Museums staff member, interview, 18.03.08).



Figure 8.4: School pupils participating in the 'Blitzed' programme. Photograph reproduced with kind permission of Tyne and Wear Museums.

The Discovery Museum's relationship with Tullie House also extended to helping to plug gaps in the sessions that Tullie House offered. When, for example, a school approached Tullie House for a session about Britain since the 1950s, which the museum does not offer, staff contacted the Discovery Museum and made a booking with them. Tullie House, by using its stocks of social and cultural capital rather than

turning schools away, was able to provide for the school's needs by arranging sessions with another museum.

In summary, social capital has been shown to be a particularly useful resource for school teachers and museums as, without it, the pupils they work with may not have the opportunities to visit and take part in some museum experiences that they have done. Connecting this to how social exclusion affects children, discussed in Chapter 3, this supports the notion that social exclusion for children may be heavily affected by the actions of adults. In the example shown here, the option to visit a museum and therefore take part in a potentially inclusive experience may be limited by the stocks of social capital held by their teachers. It was shown that, particularly for some school teachers their contacts and involvement in different projects had a positive knock on effects in terms of the learning opportunities they developed for their pupils. For school pupils museum visits also offered opportunities to acquire social capital. The more sustained programmes, such as the Baltic's Blah, Blah, Blah project, had the greatest impact in this respect and this example is interesting in terms of the discussions concerning the significance of local museums in Chapter 7. If regular interactions with museums provide the opportunity for greater impact for pupils in terms of the acquisition of social capital, then local museums may be in the best position to offer this more sustained contact because of their convenient location.

## **8.4 Cultural capital**

In Chapter 4 it was considered that there are three main forms of cultural capital, an institutionalised, objectified and embodied form. This section considers the relative importance placed on the acquisition of each of these forms during the museum visit.

### **8.4.1 Institutionalised cultural capital**

The connection between educational failure and social exclusion was noted in Chapter 3 (see Sparkes and Glennerster, 2002). A way of museums potentially having an impact on educational success and therefore the likelihood of social inclusion might be through building institutionalised cultural capital. This also demonstrates in a sense one of the most direct means of instrumentalising culture (see Chapter 1).

As it was suggested in Chapter 1, the education strand of Renaissance (co-funded by DfES) was one of the programme's main priorities. Within this funding, there may have been an expectation from DfES for museums to contribute to raising school attainment.<sup>124</sup> However, as pupils do not receive institutionalised cultural capital directly from a museum visit, i.e. they are not awarded academically sanctioned qualifications as a direct consequence of the visit, it is difficult to assess whether museums can impact in this way.

However, other studies (for example Watson et al, 2007) have suggested that a positive impact on attainment levels is visible when pupils complete a piece of assessed coursework based on a museum visit (ibid: 12). This may in turn lead to the acquisition of institutionalised cultural capital; however, the relationship between

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<sup>124</sup> Although this was not one of the areas evaluated by RCMG.

institutionalised cultural capital and museum visits would benefit from further research.

#### **8.4.2 Objectified cultural capital**

Objectified cultural capital in a museum context is considered here as the cognitive knowledge acquired through interactions with museum objects and the histories that they present. In the RCMG evaluations acquiring 'knowledge and understanding' was a very important aspect of museum visiting for pupils. In each of the RCMG evaluations this GLO was the second most valued outcome of a museum visit, with 72% of the teachers in the RR1 evaluation considering it very important (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2004b: 94). In the RR2 evaluation this percentage was 68% (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2006b: 119) and 63% in the DCMS/ DfES evaluation (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2004d: 182).

For some schools in this study the potential for museums to support the national curriculum was noticeable,<sup>125</sup> for example, one teacher explained how going to the museum had become part of the school's routine, supporting the subject areas they were concentrating on, '...if we're on a cycle of work, if it's a repeating cycle then...every time the cycle comes up the children go to the museum' (Class teacher, school 4, pers. interview, 05.02.08). Each of the visits I accompanied with schools supported an area of the curriculum that the class was either focusing on at that time or intended to focus on in the future. In some cases there was only a loose or indirect connection but nevertheless it was still present. School 2 for example visited the Back to Back Houses to primarily support their work on the science theme 'plugged in,

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<sup>125</sup> This was also confirmed in the RCMG studies, see Chapter 7.

switched on' which concentrated on the topic of electricity. However, the class teacher considered that during the visit links would be made across curriculum areas to history where the class had previously studied homes in the past and also areas of literacy (class teacher, school 2, interview, 19.11.07).

There were other particular forms of objectified cultural capital that it appeared pupils acquired on their museum visits. In my interview with staff at the National Maritime Museum, interviewees connected their increased awareness of pupils developing 'museum etiquette' and becoming more 'museum literate', with the encouragement government has recently given to increasing the number of pupil contacts with museums (museum staff, National Maritime Museum, interview, 28.11.07). It was interesting that going to museums developed a specific set of skills concerning how to 'read' or interpret museum objects.

Significantly, teachers also valued the cultural capital that the museum staff had access to; with both the knowledge of objects being appreciated along with the way museum staff conveyed this knowledge to the pupils. The Head Teacher from school 5 emphasised that the expertise of the museum staff, particularly in communicating effectively with the pupils, was crucial in determining whether or not the museum visit was a success. This was echoed by the art teacher from the same school who considered that '...old fashioned pictures of somebody might not necessarily inspire a 15 year old pupil at [school 5] unless it has been spoken about and explained' (art teacher, school 5, interview, 06.11.07). Both of these teachers drew attention to the potential for museum staff to act as translators of cultural knowledge, shifting it from a form which involved more traditional cultural capital, into knowledge which appears



relevant to the young people's lives. The ability of museum staff to enable this transfer of knowledge to occur can potentially impact on how socially inclusive the organisation is perceived. For instance, the subject teacher from school 7 considered that the museum had initially failed to take account of the varying learning needs and abilities of the different classes she had brought to the museum and had therefore not communicated with them effectively. In her opinion, this had a significant effect on the impact of the day for these pupils (subject teacher, school 7, interview, 26.02.08).

#### **8.4.3 Embodied cultural capital through 'enrichment'**

Although acquiring objectified cultural capital was an important aspect of the museum visit, teachers interviewed in the RR1 evaluation also expressed the view that it was not enough on its own for the museum visit to support the National Curriculum, but that museums should provide an experience which is enjoyable, inspirational and which importantly takes the pupils beyond their everyday experience (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2004b: xvii). Likewise, the class teacher at school 3 viewed school visits generally as providing the opportunity to experience 'society' and to learn how to be part of it. With reference to museum visits this teacher mentioned that:

When we're out and about we are part of a community, they have to be polite, they have to wait their turn, all different social skills, life skills, are coming in...So it is as much in a way...as important as taking them to learn about the history part (Class teacher, school 3, interview, 09.11.07).

In this sense, museums may also be an important space for the acquisition of embodied cultural capital a form more commonly thought to be acquired through an individual's upbringing and family life. For example, I noticed during my observations

of visits to the Discovery Museum in Newcastle-upon-Tyne with school 3 that, during the visit, some pupils were rehearsing particular social norms. For instance, when we got into the lift to go up to a different floor of the museum, a young pupil with severe learning difficulties said 'mind the doors' as though copying the automated instructions given when entering a lift, even though in that particular lift there were no such instructions given. This event, although perhaps seemingly insignificant, suggested to me that during the visit this particular pupil was actively making connections between this experience and others he had come across. Again, it is hard to say with certainty what impact rehearsing social norms in this way has on social inclusion. However, it suggests that, as the teacher from school 3 indicated, museums may broadly help those at risk of social exclusion by allowing them to practice interacting in a social setting and learning the 'rules' of that setting.

As outlined in the start of this chapter, Head Teachers and teachers appeared to place significant emphasis on museums as organisations that can contribute to 'enrichment' and 'broadening horizons' and this theme is connected to the idea of compensatory education introduced in Chapter 3. Reference to these ideas was also made by teachers in the DCMS/DfES evaluation where, in the 'Take One Picture' project, museums worked with groups at risk of exclusion such as a pupil referral unit for pregnant school pupils and teenage mothers (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2004d: 330).

In my study the notion of enrichment was particularly apparent in the schools located in Birmingham and Newcastle-upon-Tyne. These schools incorporated museums into their strategy to reduce the cultural effects of growing up in a context of socio-economic deprivation and also to improve literacy levels and inspire learning (Head

Teacher, school 2, interview, 21.02.08). The value of museums for these schools appears to relate in several instances to giving the pupils experiences that their teachers consider are lacking in the home environment. Teachers, particularly in Birmingham, appeared to view museum visiting as a way of providing the pupils with opportunities to have the best chances in life, to develop both as a person and in an academic sense. In this way the notion of enrichment incorporates both an objectified and embodied sense of cultural capital. However it was the more embodied 'experiential' aspects of enrichment through museum visiting that appeared to form the primary focus of the concept for teachers. For example, assessing that his pupils did not circulate beyond their immediate environment, the Head Teacher of one school clearly connected museum visiting with the opportunity to interact with the wider social world:

When I first came here the pupils would say to me, 'we have been into town on the weekend' and I would say 'oh isn't Birmingham lovely, haven't they really turned the city centre around? What do you think of Selfridges? What do you think of the Bullring? What about Broadstreet? What about the International Convention Centre?' And they would kind of look at me blankly and say 'No, no. we didn't go into Birmingham we went into Northfield' which is about two miles down the road. And *that's* the big day out (Head Teacher, school 5, interview, 05.11.07).

In a sense the idea of 'enrichment' or 'broadening horizons' may infer that the schools utilise a moralist undertones discourse (MUD, see Chapter 3). The pupils in these schools might be perceived as having the 'wrong' culture and values and museums are

therefore seen as vehicles for a 'civilising' affect, helping the pupils to acquire the more valid forms cultural capital. The connection between museums and a civilising effect as been commented on by Bennett (1996 and 1995) and Duncan (1995) and was previously mentioned in Chapter 1. The 'civilising' argument also connects into discussions on the instrumental view of culture also considered in Chapter 1.

Although museums may be used in this sense for their 'civilising effect' by schools, this appears to be reframed and focuses now on the potential that visiting museums have to give pupils experiences they have never had before rather than 'civilising' them through contact with 'high' culture as may have been the case during the Victorian era. This supports Bennett et al's (2008: 43) finding that that although there has previously been a distinction between 'high' and 'low' cultural forms, this has been eclipsed by a perceived difference between those who do and do not take part in cultural activities. This is evident in the fact that for school 2, for instance, museum visiting was part of an enrichment programme which also involved taking the children to the cinema to watch popular films such as *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* (Head Teacher, school 2, interview, 21.02.08). This suggests that schools do not necessarily work with a notion that some cultural forms are more 'legitimate' than others in terms of their potential enrichment value.

On the other hand, this Head Teacher and also the Head Teacher from school 6, both showed an awareness that museums might be viewed as elitist. However, rather than putting schools off, this image made museum visiting more attractive, in that it was seen as giving access to experiences that more middle class pupils would have and

therefore potentially helping to connect these less advantaged pupils to the middle classes:

I think partly it is to do with the fact that museums can feel like elitist places, but teachers, in the very nature of being a teacher and a learner yourself, you want the children to have good experiences. And there is a sort of, within teaching we do tend to think that if we are in a leafy suburb with middle class children, that the parents will do that with them as well (ibid).

In summary, it is suggested here that museums may then provide the opportunity to acquire all forms of cultural capital although to varying degrees. Institutionalised cultural capital, for example, is acquired more through the process of converting objectified cultural capital into institutionalised cultural capital, rather than directly through museum visits (although museum visits were valued as places where objectified cultural capital could be acquired).

Museums' ability to provide embodied cultural capital may be in opposition to the traditional perception of the museum as being focused on objectified knowledge only. This is, however, not a new theory, as Bennett (1995: Chapter 2) and Duncan and Wallach (1978) have previously noted how the organisation of the museum space encourages visitors to imitate forms of conduct that are evident in the wider world.

Cultural capital appears to play a significant role in explaining why schools in areas of deprivation use museums. Research conducted for this study points towards museums being part of compensatory strategies employed by schools in areas of deprivation. These are designed to ensure that their pupils participate in a range of cultural forms that are perceived more affluent pupils take part in automatically. Teachers in this

study do not appear to be especially concerned with exposing pupils to high cultural forms, rather, the theory which appears to be utilised by schools is that enrichment may occur through access to a range of different cultural activities. However, within this range of activities, museums appear to be considered a more middle class activity.

## **8.5 Emotional capital**

In Chapter 4 emotional capital was identified as a useful addition to the more traditional forms of capital already discussed in this chapter, not least because evidence from RCMG studies and elsewhere suggested that emotional engagement is a recognised (and valued) aspect of what occurs in school visits to museums. It was theorised that there is an, often neglected, emotional aspect to the experience of social exclusion, with the emotional affects of social exclusion primarily, it appears, a concern of social and clinical psychology (see Leary, 1990, Stanley and Arora, 1998 and Targosz et al, 2003) rather than a broader range of disciplines. It is also increasingly evident that emotions form an important way of understanding social actions (see Barbalet, 1998) and therefore play a role in theorising the processes which take place in museums which might impact on social inclusion. However, although one may accept that visitors to museums have emotional responses, whether this actually translates into a form of capital that will ultimately benefit the visitor is unknown and would require a much larger study to confirm. Section 8.5 considers examples of where emotional responses have been elicited during the museum visits I accompanied and then what can be said about the potential that these responses have to form stocks of emotional capital. It has been suggested in Chapter 4 that emotional capital may act as a booster capital, helping to increase stocks of social and cultural

capital. This is also considered alongside the possibility that emotional engagement itself impacts upon social inclusion. This section is structured around the themes of empathy, confidence, self-confidence and action, emotional growth and reflexivity and empowerment, as these are the central ideas which emerged from the analysis of the qualitative data. It should be noted that there is some element of overlap between them.

### **8.5.1 Empathy**

Empathy is an emotion observed in the RCMG studies in relation to pupil experience of museum visits (see particularly Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2006b: 172, 181, and 191). It has also been recognised and encouraged as a particular response widely associated with visits to museums and heritage sites (Johnsson, 2004). With Turner and Stets (2005:109), arguing that empathy connects people at an emotional level, it is this element of connection that I would like to focus on initially.

One of the pupils in the case-study school in Cornwall had recently moved to the area with his foster parents. The class teacher explaining that this pupil had been through a very disruptive period in his life and was often difficult to motivate in class, his written work being particularly limited. However, the class teacher had been very impressed with the writing this pupil had done based on his experience in the museum, where he placed himself in the shoes of a chimney sweep that he called Chipper:

Today am called Chipper and I work as a [??] worker for my family because we are poor. I don't get paid very much, 10p for 30 [??] but I do work 12 hours. It is very hard but if I get stuck they will leave me and they will light the fire and I

would [??] and get hot and die but I've been lucky, but it is really hard work  
(piece of creative writing by pupil 3 at school 4).<sup>126</sup>

Over three months after this visit, both this pupil and his classmates still talked about the experience of taking on the roles of different Victorian characters and exploring details of their lives using census data. They recalled many specific details about the lives of their Victorian characters.

Pupil 4: ...I had a wife and I was a father and I was fifty-three years old and my wife was fifty-two years old...my oldest son was thirteen and I had two daughters (pupil 3 and 4, school 4, interview, 29.04.08).

One of their classmates noted that this experience enabled her to think about her own life by comparing it with the lives of the Victorian characters that they were pretending to be (pupil 2, school 4, interview, 29.04.08). A class teacher from the same school also commented on this notion, suggesting that museums gave the opportunity to examine the past and, by doing so, the pupils might be able to look at their own lives and put their own problems into perspective (class teacher, school 4, interview, 05.02.08).

There is the possibility that the action of putting oneself in the shoes of another person and empathising with them, in the way that the pupils in school 4 had done, reaffirmed their sense of self and their own identity. As loss of identity is associated by Woodward (1997) with social exclusion, it may be particularly important for children at risk of exclusion to have a strong sense of who they are. Potentially then, through empathising with others, stocks of emotional capital may be accrued by these individuals.

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<sup>126</sup> The question marks refer to undecipherable text.



Empathy potentially acts to also build bonding social capital between pupils, as discussed earlier and apparent when I accompanied a group of pupils to the 'Oludah Equiano' exhibition at Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery.<sup>127</sup> During this visit the pupils had a range of opportunities to experience what life may have been like on a slave ship crossing from Africa to the Caribbean. During the museum session the facilitator encouraged the pupils to consider the cramped conditions on the slave ships by lying side by side on the floor next to each other and rolling from side to side along the ground as though mimicking the motion of the sea. Figure 8.5 illustrates one pupil's image of this activity that she drew directly after the visit.

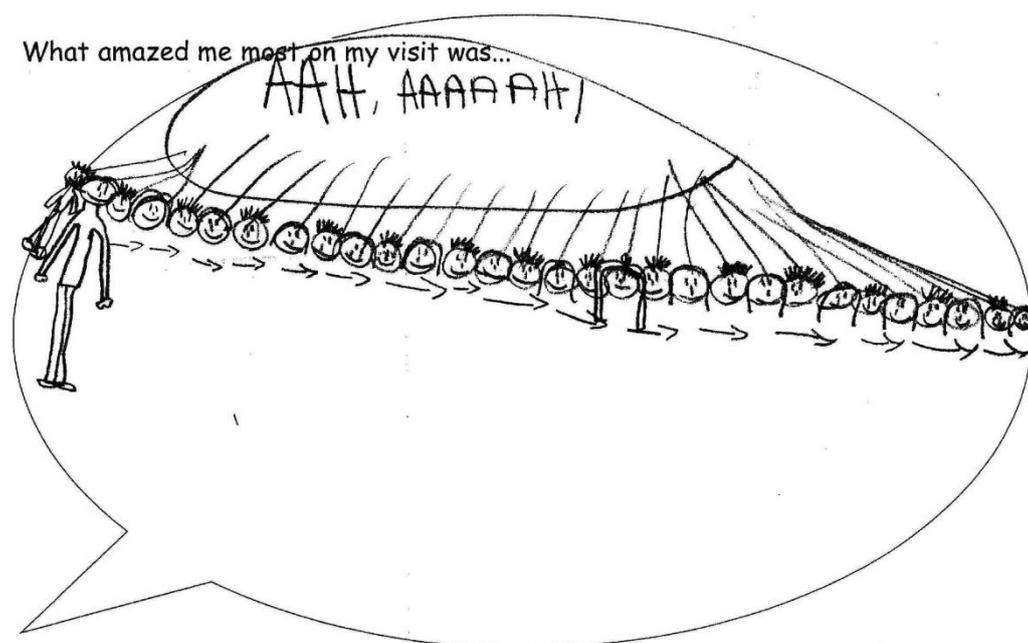


Figure 8.5: What amazed a pupil from school 1 on her visit to Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery.

It is possible to see in Figure 8.8 the session facilitator standing in front of the pupils as they laid on the floor and the sense of motion that this pupil has incorporated into her drawing. This was an experience that was recalled many times by the class after their

<sup>127</sup> See <http://www.equiano.org/> for details about this exhibition.

visit. It had obviously been a fun experience for them, but at the same time the activity had conveyed an important message to the pupils about the conditions slaves would have experienced.

The sense of a common shared experience is notable in Figure 8.8 and, experiencing this activity as a group, was the impression conveyed to me by the pupils after the visit. Arguably, the visit helped to strengthen their cohesion as a class. This may be evidence to suggest that emotional capital acts to boost the acquisition of social capital. However, it is unclear whether emotional capital or simply a common emotional response leads to the presence of social capital in this instance.

### **8.5.2 Confidence, self confidence and action**

Barbalet (1998:83) considers that confidence, which he argues is an emotion, is significant in the theory of action: 'in the unknowability of the future, confidence is a basic foundation of action'. I would like to consider the notions of confidence and self confidence using Mehrabian and Russell's (1974) theory of a primary emotional response. Orford (1992:23), referring to Mehrabian and Russell theories, argues that the characteristics of a setting are a powerful determinant of how an individual behaves in that setting. If an individual experiences pleasure in an environment he or she is more likely to remain in that setting and return to it in the future. If an individual experienced arousal, the response would be greater activity. If dominance is experienced, this suggests an individual has a sense of control over a setting and might have a tendency to show commitment and greater responsibility to it.

This theory has many transferable applications in a museum setting I would argue, it can, for example, be used to explain why some of the pupils I observed during my

research chose to return to the museum after their visit with school. These pupils primary emotional response to the museum visit was a positive, pleasurable one which would mean that the chance of returning to that setting again would be high. One pupil explained to me why he had returned to the museum after the visit, 'because we didn't get to look at all of it and I wanted to look at other bits, so I asked my family and we went back there' (pupil 4, school 4, interview, 29.04.08). It is clear that this pupil had found the original museum visit stimulating and this had resulted in greater activity and levels of motivation. He had subsequently returned to the museum some time after the visit to pick up where he had left off during his visit with school. A primary emotional response of dominance can be seen through pupil L's involvement with the Baltic's teen forum. Pupil L obviously felt a great deal of commitment and responsibility towards this organisation as, through her opinions and feedback, at least in her mind, she helped to make the organisation more inclusive of the needs of teenagers. Each of these examples requires a certain level of self-confidence which, as noted previously, Barbalet (1998:86) sees as prompting to social action. Although these pupils may already have had high levels of self confidence, if the museum had not prompted these particular primary emotional responses, the pupils may have withdrawn from this setting and not returned.

An example of inactivity can be seen in the response of a subject teacher from school 5 to the possibility of taking pupils with challenging behaviour to the museum. As noted previously, the teacher's previous experience with these children meant that she felt she had a lack of control over these pupils in this situation. Subsequently she withdrew from the museum visit with these pupils. In this situation it may be suggested that the school teacher had an external 'locus of control' (Rotter, 1990 and Maltby et al, 2007).

Locus of control is a theory used to consider how people will react in a given situation. Rotter (1990) suggested that an individual assesses the likelihood of an outcome for each potential option they face. Those with an external locus of control are more likely to feel, simply put, that they are not in control of a situation and to then react accordingly. Therefore, when faced with a barrier such as a pupils' behaviour, an external locus of control may mean that the teacher feels powerless and lacking in confidence because he or she is unable to control this behaviour in a given setting (a museum or on public transport for example). It is interesting that a teacher's emotional response, which resulted in lack of confidence, may potentially exclude pupils who could benefit from the museum experience. This example suggests that confidence is an important emotion for teachers to have and may affect the decision to take school groups to museums. Self-confidence is also necessary for pupils to act on their experience at the museum. It follows that if museums are interested in contributing to social change, they may wish to involve pupils in sessions which focus specifically on developing self-confidence.

### **8.5.3 Emotional growth and reflexivity**

Although reflexivity is arguably a state rather than an emotion, according to Rosenberg (1990) emotions may prompt reflexivity to occur. This in turn may actually have a transformative effect as in the 'reflexivity thesis' discussed in Chapter 4. Silva (2007) considered that emotional capital is essential for self-reflexivity. However, as argued in Chapter 4, the 'reflexivity thesis' does not take into consideration the effect of social structures, which imply that not everybody is equally able to engage in self-reflexivity. Also, as Newman and McLean (2004a) suggest, the ability to acquire 'identity capital' (which is a focus of their study), may rely on existing stocks of other forms of capital.

The acquisition of emotional capital may also rely on the stocks of other forms of capital that an individual has access to. Newman and McLean comment that it is:

possible to envisage a feedback system operating where higher levels of capital in turn facilitated greater investment and greater benefits from that investment and conversely lower levels of capital make that investment more problematic and reduce returns (ibid:495).

It follows that a person who is socially excluded and who may not have high levels of the various forms of capital, may find it harder to invest in 'emotional capital'. This suggests that, rather than emotional capital being a booster capital for social and cultural capital, the reverse may be true. Or, that forms of capital are so interrelated with each other that they may all have an element of this 'booster' function.

In this study it is argued that museums may be able to play a role in developing emotional growth. This, in turn, may aid in the acquisition of different forms of capital subsequently allowing self-reflexivity to occur. Reflecting on self and forming 'identity capital' is something Newman and McLean argued may 'enable people to understand and modify the social world to their advantage' (ibid). As social exclusion may involve circumstances where people are less able to do this, reflecting on self and allowing emotional growth may be a process which allows this capacity to become 're-established' (ibid).

A member of staff at the National Maritime Museum considered that the topic of slavery may particularly have had the effect of challenging existing conceptions of self.

...kids are going through a process of developing and you know from the standpoint of social emotion development, a topic like this might really challenge kids to push the limits on who they are, where they stand and how they see human beings' (Staff member, National Maritime Museum, 28.11.07).

It is clear from my interviews with the pupils who took part in the slavery session at the National Maritime Museum that they were quite surprised and, in some cases rather stunned, at the level of emotional engagement that they experienced. For instance, certain objects prompted particularly emotional responses, such as slave manacles and an accounts book which listed the details of hundreds of African slaves one trader had purchased in Ghana. When I asked pupils on my return visit to the school several months later which objects they would like to go back to the museum to see this object was very popular:

Pupil 4: There's a book in there that's got names and like I'd go and see that.

Interviewer: Why's that?

Pupil 4: It's like their life just on one page

(pupil 4, school 7, interview, 01.04.08).

The same pupil had commented directly after the museum visit that she had appreciated the opportunity the session gave her to express her feelings and she reiterated this when I returned to the school several months later. She had obviously felt quite empowered by her experience. Vocalising opinions suggests that a person has the self-confidence to know what they think and also feels comfortable enough in the space to offer their opinions to the scrutiny of others. Pupil 4 considered that the

space of the museum was secure enough and that there were strong enough levels of social capital within the group that she could voice what she was thinking without fearing the reaction of others. This experience may therefore have allowed her to reflect on her own identity, by having her opinions validated by the museum staff and by her peers.

Self-reflexivity was certainly an action that the teacher who organised this trip had hoped would occur. She felt that it was very important for the pupils' sense of who they are that they understood the history of the area that they were part of. In this sense engaging in self reflexivity was an aim of the visit. As history and particularly local history, themes were the focus of the majority of school visits in the RCMG datasets, understanding identity can be considered as a central idea in why museums are used by schools. As Rosenberg (1990) has suggested reflexivity forms an aspect of identity formation, it is therefore an important aspect to consider even if it is very difficult to make the connection between a person reflecting on who they are and then becoming socially included. However, what my research has shown is the significance of emotion in self-reflexivity.

#### **8.5.4 Empowerment**

The feeling of empowerment, as noted earlier, is very much intertwined with the themes of reflexivity and self confidence. It stands that an empowered individual may experience increased self confidence and therefore, potentially feel more able to cope with challenging circumstances such as those experienced through social exclusion.

In this section, I would like to consider how museums can empower individuals and therefore stimulate the acquisition of emotional capital. Pupils from school 6 took part

in the Image and Identity project at Shipley Art Gallery. This is an example of where the potential for empowerment fluctuated at different times throughout the project. During the project the pupils worked with a professional artist to produce a piece of gallery quality art that was then placed on public display. This was considered by the pupil to be an exciting experience (see Figure 8.6).

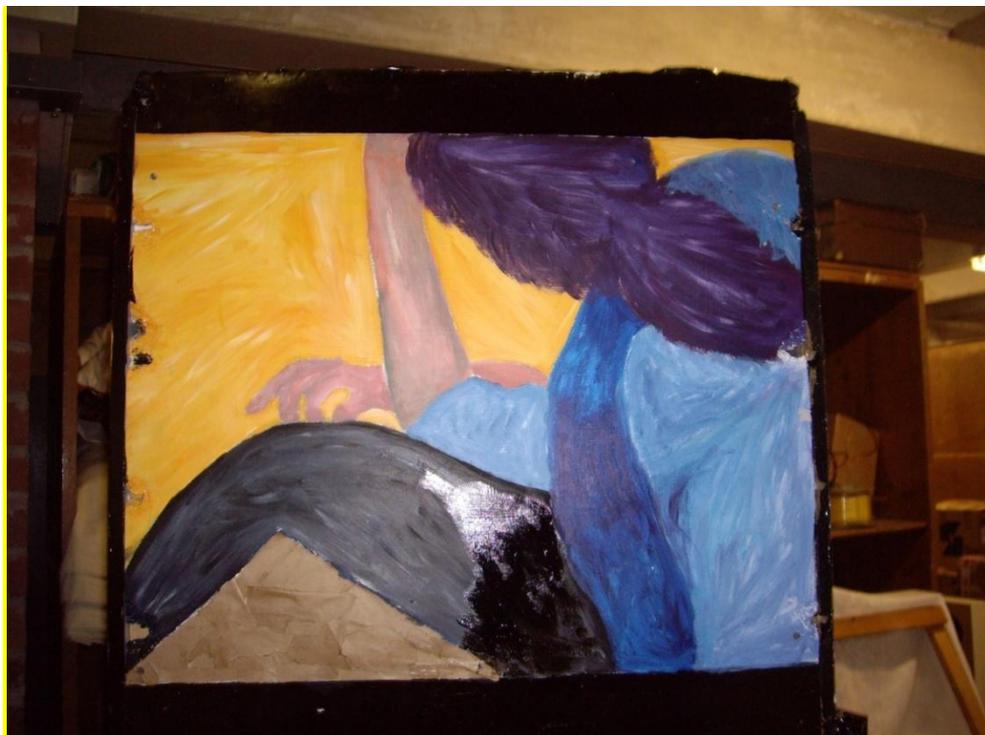


Figure 8.6: 'Slave Ship' Sculpture by pupils at school 6.

Visitors to the museum could interact with the sculpture by using the typewriter to type their name thereby becoming part of the sculpture. The fact that other museum



visitors had taken the time to interact with the sculpture was an empowering experience for the pupils as it meant external validation of the value of their sculpture. However, the project did not always give this sense of empowerment. Certainly the art teachers at the school considered that control of the project resided with the artist and that the pupils did not get to input their own ideas into the artwork created. When I spoke to the pupils themselves about the creation of the sculpture in Figure 8.5, I asked them what the different aspects of the sculpture symbolised and why they had included them. The pupils were actually quite unsure about many of the decisions made about this piece and gave me the impression that they did not have much to do with any decision making processes. In contrast, they were able to talk much more avidly about their own artworks created on the same theme but not back in school rather than with a professional artist (see Figures 8.7 and 8.8).



Figures 8.7: work on the theme of slavery by a pupil from school 6.



Figures 8.8: work on the theme of slavery by a pupil from school 6.

Arguably, these pupils exhibited an external locus of control during the creation of the official piece of artwork included in the public exhibition. The impact of being involved with this project may have been greater if the pupils had felt more in control of the creative process and although a feeling of empowerment was exhibited, it could have been enhanced by giving the pupils a greater stake in the project. This may be an issue concerning the character of the artist rather than the ethos of the project itself.

Although, if museums want to empower individuals, they must be aware of where the balance of power lies in projects like this one.

Although some emotional capital may have been acquired during the Image and Identity project, it may not have been as great as in other examples where the level of empowerment experienced was greater. This can be seen in, for example, the Baltic Art Gallery's teen forum Blah, Blah, Blah. One of the activities this group took part in

was making a video of themselves acting as art critics in the gallery space. The Baltic had subsequently posted this video on the social sharing website Myspace.<sup>128</sup> Placing this video in the public domain is symbolic of the value that the gallery give teen opinions. It was clear from my interview with pupil L, that she felt that the teen forum was far from tokenistic and that the gallery was genuinely interested to know what teenagers thought. This feeling of empowerment would arguably have increased pupil L's levels of self confidence and she did come across as a confident pupil. However, it was difficult to be sure that her experiences at the Baltic Art Gallery have directly caused this as there are many other contributory factors in the construction of an individual's levels of confidence.

This section has aimed to show that, through the feeling of empowerment, stocks of emotional capital may be accrued which may lead to increases in confidence and self-confidence. In the examples given here, it is also possible to see the interplay of different forms of capital. In both the Image and Identity project and the Baltic Art Gallery's teen forum, individuals had chances to increase their levels of social and cultural capital. It is unclear what effect emotional capital had on these forms of capital and it may be the case that they actually have more impact on the acquisition of emotional capital itself.

In summary, emotions and the emotional responses that take place in museums, are important mechanisms through which to understand what happens in museums at the individual level in terms of their potential impact on social inclusion. Forming a connection between emotional responses or emotional capital and social inclusion

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<sup>128</sup> <http://vids.myspace.com/index.cfm?fuseaction=vids.individual&VideoID=14767988> (accessed 24.09.09).

presents the same challenges that are present with other forms of capital, in that it is very difficult to establish a direct causal effect. From the examples used in this section, it is also unclear if emotional capital acts as a booster capital and evidence may point towards the fact that other forms of capital actually help to boost emotional capital or that there is an element of the booster function evident in each of the forms of capital. Again, a much longer study would be needed to make more informed conclusions about how emotional capital operates.

## **8.6 Conclusion**

The aim of this chapter was to consider the impact on social inclusion of school visits to museums, using the theoretical constructs of economic, social, cultural and emotional capital. A range of evidence has been presented concerning the processes involved in planning, organising and conducting school visits to museums. This evidence suggests that the different forms of capital influence and condition school visits to museums in different ways.

Considering each form of capital in more detail, it was argued that schools in areas of deprivation may in some instances have increased access to economic capital through different government funding schemes aimed at schools in areas of disadvantage.

However, the boost such schools receive is limited in scale and may well be insufficient to deal with more general lack of economic capital within the school and wider community. Also, although increased economic capital may help a school to provide better opportunities, Chapter 7 also suggested that access to cultural opportunities may in part be a function of a school's location in close proximity to these

opportunities, rather than just the outcome of a school's stocks of economic capital. In a sense, therefore geography does matter quite directly, at least in some instances.

For pupils in particular, museum visits may help to build different forms of capital, although this chapter has suggested that they are not all necessarily acquired equally. It is has been argued that museum visits may, in particular, not be the best mechanisms for addressing significant deficiencies in economic capital. So, for example, while acquiring new skills was a valued aspect of museum visiting, it was not as valued as other aspects such as enjoyment, inspiration and creativity and knowledge and understanding (Hooper-Greenhill et al, 2006d, 2004d, 2004b).

Examination of social capital has highlighted some instances where pupils seem to have quite directly benefited from visiting a museum, in that it has given them an opportunity to network with museums professionals and others. However, the more general benefit to pupils stemming from social capital might be seen in the opportunities made available to pupils as a consequence of social networking by their teachers. It was, for example, shown in Chapter 7 that museums in Birmingham have particularly strong relationships with schools in the city, while in this chapter the grant given to the Co-ordinator of Humanities and Educational Visits in school 3 enabled her to spend time building social networks with local museums.

The discussion of social capital in this chapter has also suggested that using museums as spaces where social differences may be bridged is potentially problematic due to the attitudes of other museum visitors, rather than necessarily the museum. If museums are to more effectively be used in this way, they may need to consider how they can help resolve conflict between different visitor groups. The case studies

presented here arguably suggested that museums might be rather more effective in developing bonding rather than bridging capital, with teachers and pupils clearly valuing the opportunities that a museum visit provided in terms of building social skills and relations between pupils. Despite evident problems associated with using the museum as a space to form bridging social capital, museums may still be seen as being potentially important mechanisms to develop this form of capital because they represent a space where a range of otherwise quite segregated populations might come together at the same point in time.

This chapter's discussions of cultural capital have suggested that museums have the potential to contribute to the acquisition of all forms of this capital, but particularly the objectified and embodied forms. It may be surprising that schools use museums for the acquisition of embodied cultural capital as traditionally museums may be more connected with institutionalised and objectified knowledge.

One of the main reasons for using museums suggested by the case study schools appears to have been to provide enrichment experiences for pupils; often as part of a strategy of giving pupils opportunities that they were perceived to lack in comparison with affluent pupils. In this way, the case study schools use museums as part of a strategy to help their pupils broaden their horizons, inspire learning and in some cases improve literacy levels, all aspects which have been associated with limiting an individual's risk of social exclusion. It is interesting however, that in some instances, museum visiting was associated by teachers as being a middle class experience. There may be therefore a sense that these teachers are hoping to connect their pupils to this class even though this is not overtly expressed.

This chapter has considered the role of emotions within the museum visit experience and whether they might be important predictors of how an individual responds in museum settings and the impact that museums visits might have. Neglecting the function of emotions in the museum context potentially omits an important dimension of school visits to museums. Methodological issues, including the number of case studies it was possible to conduct in the available time, means that it has not been possible to fully substantiate that emotions are a specific asset acquired through visiting museums, or to consider in detail whether they have a booster function as proposed by Gendron (2004). Although further work needs to be directed to this area, museums do appear to have the potential to build stocks of emotional capital, particularly through work which involves an individual's sense of self.

Discussions here have demonstrated how the affects of social, cultural, emotional and economic capital are very much intertwined. For example, lack of economic capital may be used as an excuse not to visit a museum by a teacher who actually lacks emotional capital in the form of self-confidence. This potentially has a knock on effect for the acquisition of different forms of capital by the pupils in this teacher's class. It has also been shown that social capital is often connected to flows of economic capital, with for example, the networking of museums and schools in Birmingham being in operation only as a consequence of significant investment from Head Teachers and governors. More generally, one might suggest that the development of effective volumes of social capital operating between schools and museums may require some considerable outlays in economic capital.

It is possible therefore to suggest that a model of how the notions of capital operate in schools visits to museums would show that the forms of capital are analytically distinct, but interconnect closely as suggested in Figure 8.9. In this diagram, each sphere represents each of the particular form of capital considered in this chapter.

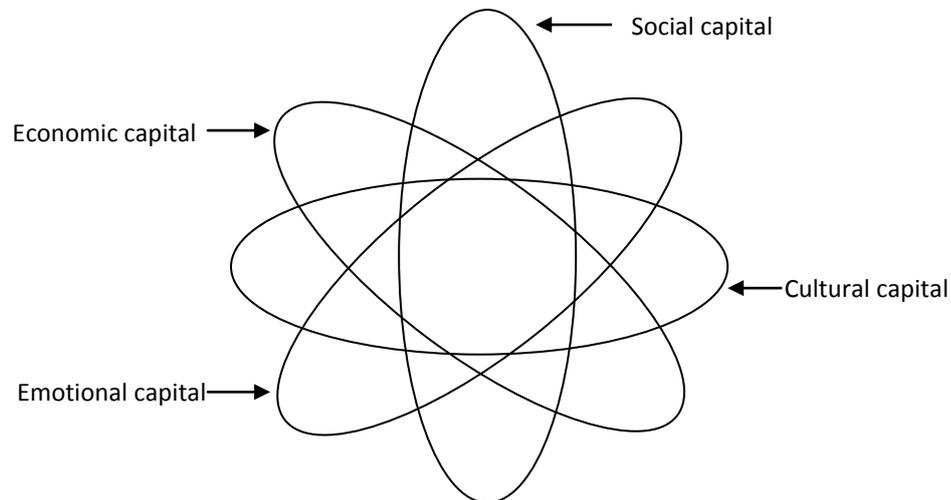


Figure 8.9 Forms of capital operating in school visits to museums

In summary, this chapter has identified particular ways in which museum visits are influenced by different forms of capital and the particular forms that are more likely to be acquired by pupils through their visit. Appreciation of these different relationships contributes to our understanding of how museums might be able to impact on social inclusion. The following chapter moves on to draw together the different aspects of this thesis and make some concluding remarks regarding the geography of school visits to museums.



## **Chapter 9: the geography of school visits to museums**

Our mission statement: ‘To help people determine their place in the world and define their identity so enhancing their self-respect and their respect for others’ is now some nine years old and notwithstanding a few tweaks, has not changed (Director, Tyne and Wear Museums, interview, 13.02.08).

The three RCMG evaluations suggested that a significant percentage of school visits to museums were made by schools located in areas of high deprivation. This study set out to explore this pattern of school visits to museums, which suggested that museums are highly spatialised organisations with the potential to act as agents of social inclusion, despite their association with elitism. This concluding chapter presents the key findings of this research, highlighting the contribution the study makes to ongoing discussions surrounding the social impact of museums and also to social geography and the geographies of education. The chapter is structured in two sections, focusing on the central aims of this research: to investigate the geography of school visits to museums proposed by the RCMG studies and to consider how museums may potentially impact upon social inclusion. The limitations of the study and recommendations for future research are also suggested.

### **9.1 The social geography of museums**

Chapter 6 examined the validity of the RCMG research findings first by considering whether the geography of school visits to museums could be explained as an artefact of the particular index of deprivation used to classify school postcodes. The Townsend Index and Mosaic were applied to the three RCMG datasets in order to examine this issue. Both classification systems supported the original proposition made by RCMG

concerning the percentage of schools located in areas of high deprivation that were visiting museums. This conclusion may affect our understanding of museums in the study, as the RCMG evaluations demonstrate that these museums are including potentially excluded audiences, challenging the perception of elitism.

Triangulating the geography of school visits with different data sources also allowed several further conclusions to be drawn. As outlined in Chapter 1, surveys of museum visitor demographics have arguably acted to perpetuate the elitist image of the museum, as many of these surveys suggest that museum visitors are predominantly well educated and from higher social groups. However, these surveys rarely include school parties and it is suggested, based on arguments presented in this study, that if school groups were considered in visitor demographics, a different image of the traditional museum visitor may be presented. A recommendation would be therefore to include school groups in demographic profiling of museum visitors.

A way that this could be achieved is through the MLA school participation database,<sup>129</sup> introduced in Chapter 7. The database records the details of the schools that visit every museum that wishes to upload its school visit data. Therefore, there is huge potential for the application of this database to further analyse the geography of school visits to museums, to confirm the conclusions made in this thesis and probe deeper into other aspects of museum visiting by schools. For example, this study has focused primarily on schools in the top 10% most deprived areas. It has not considered how and why schools in more affluent areas use museums and why they may use them less than schools in areas of deprivation. Although the data used in this study is more

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<sup>129</sup> See [www.mlaschools.org.uk](http://www.mlaschools.org.uk)

extensive than anything previously available, the MLA database has the potential to examine museum usage by schools at an even greater scale which extends beyond the Hub museums, their partners and the museums that took part in the DCMS/DfES evaluation.

The use of different data sources to consider the geography of school visits to museums enables conclusions to be drawn about the suitability of these methods for identifying schools and school populations experiencing different levels of deprivation. For example, the percentage of pupils eligible for FSM appears to identify that pupils experiencing disadvantage may not always attend schools where the postcode classifies it as being located in an area of deprivation. For instance, schools in areas of relative affluence may have a high percentage of pupils eligible for FSM. Overall, this may suggest that the percentage of pupils eligible for FSM is a better measure of a school's deprivation levels, rendering other measures redundant. FSM data is also at the school level, which avoids the ecological fallacy. However, FSM have been criticised for being a black and white measure. FSM eligibility also does not consider that there may be other, less economic aspects to deprivation, features which the IMD is supposed to recognise, even though, as noted in Chapters 3 and 4, it still retains a clear focus on economic forms of disadvantage.

To conclude this discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of using different deprivation classification systems, there does not appear to be one particular classification system or data source which supersedes the others used here. Rather it appears to depend on the particular aims of the analysis conducted. Triangulation of different classification systems such as the Townsend Index and Mosaic has enabled a

more in depth exploration of the RCMG datasets enabling the subtleties of deprivation in particular places to become visible. There are, therefore, grounds to argue that a multi-layered approach, such as that used in this study, has its advantages over using one single method of classification. It is also considered that Mosaic was particularly valuable in this study for the fine grained consideration it allowed of different manifestations of deprivation across the regions. The classification system, because of the variables it contains and the descriptions given for each group and type, also connects to identity in a way that the Townsend Index and the IMD does not. This enabled the perspective of social exclusion (introduced in Chapter 3) as a holistic 'lived experience' to be continued, as community strengths and weaknesses could be gauged through the Mosaic descriptions.

The RCMG studies were commissioned in a particular policy context with several interconnected agendas. Museums were considered by DCMS as organisations that could contribute to social inclusion and education but also were in need of modernisation. The Renaissance and Strategic Commissioning funding therefore connected into each of these different priority areas. An additional aspect of this particular policy context was the need for museums to show that they were providing value for money. This may initially suggest that the geography of school visits is a consequence of increased motivation in museums to reach DCMS PSA targets and demonstrate value for money. However, analysis in Chapter 7 suggested that although small scale projects which targeted particular groups at risk of social exclusion were occurring in museums, it is unlikely that, on their own, these would account for high percentage of schools visiting from areas of deprivation.

Conclusions made in Chapter 7 supported evidence from other studies (Mori, 2005, 2004, Ipsos Mori 2006) which suggest the importance of museum location particularly in relation to those from lower socio-economic groups. Evidence presented in Chapter 7 indicated that schools in areas of high deprivation did not travel as far to museums as schools in more affluent areas. This finding suggested that the relative location of museums to schools is highly significant in explaining the geography of school visits to museums, including its social dimension whereby schools located in more deprived areas were making most of the visits recorded in the RCMG studies. For cultural policy makers and social geographers this finding points towards the significance of the local and the importance of place. Even though it is often claimed that people are living in an increasingly globalised world, this study has highlighted the significance of local connections, particularly for schools located in areas of social deprivation. While museums have been seen as heterotopias (see Hetherington, 1998; Lord, 2006), bringing together objects, representations and people from all manner of disparate places, the value that local museums to schools in areas of social deprivation is particularly evident in this study. Museums in or near areas of high deprivation appear more likely to have greater contact with pupils who are at risk of social exclusion, and awareness of this may therefore be important for those wishing to see museums to play a role in social inclusion policy initiatives.

As noted in Chapter 2 museum location was one of the criteria for the selection of Renaissance Hub museums, particularly a location that gave access to areas of deprivation. The research findings presented here suggest that this strategy, which as noted previously, was perhaps not fully implemented, may be a useful one and that consideration of museum locations and their potential catchment areas might usefully

be employed more widely. Evidence from qualitative interviews also suggested that schools may be able to visit their local museums more frequently. Encouraging and enabling local museums to build social capital with schools and create regular sustained contact between them may also therefore have a greater impact on social inclusion and this would be a recommendation to policy makers.

Accessibility to museum is not simply a function of distance, and further evidence from interviews indicated that not only proximity of museums but also the geography of transport links played an important role in determining school visits to museums. The case study schools in Birmingham and London, for example, were clearly able to take advantage of public transport infrastructures that connected school and museum locations, often preferring to use these networks rather incur the expense of hiring coaches. However, not all of the case study schools had such convenient access to public transport, particularly those that were located in more rural or less densely populated areas. Such schools had no choice but to rely on hiring coaches if they did not have access to a school mini bus or community transport scheme. Potentially therefore ease of access to cultural organisations in terms of public transport may be an area for policy makers to consider if they wish to broaden access to museums. This may be particularly relevant for museums which are not in or near areas of deprivation.

Chapter 7 also revealed that as well as travelling shorter distances than schools in more affluent areas, schools in areas of high deprivation tended to make greater use of small to medium sized local authority museums. The majority of the museums in the RCMG evaluations were local authority funded, and as a consequence this finding is

perhaps not unexpected. However, it is important to note that the Renaissance and DCMS Strategic Commissions both placed emphasis on large museums, in part because national and regional museums were seen as catalysts of modernisation. However, this research suggests that it is important to recognise how useful smaller scale museums might be for social inclusion projects. The success of these museums in attracting schools from areas of deprivation might also suggest that staff in these museums may have greater experience and understanding of how museums can act as agents of social inclusion, in a school context, than is available within larger and more distant museums

## **9.2 Museums and social inclusion**

Discussions in Chapter 3 focused on considering the multiple ways disadvantage is conceptualised through policy and academic research. It was argued that the concept of social exclusion had broadened and extended the notion of poverty, enabling an approach to disadvantage which considered the economic, social and cultural dimensions. However, it was also suggested that the concept was still rather abstract, often operationalised with a 'service providers' perspective. It was therefore decided to incorporate a further dimension to this concept which would allow it to be viewed as a lived experience through the addition of an 'emotional' dimension. This would not only reflect the more subjective aspects of how disadvantage 'feels' but also connect to DCMS thinking with regard to how museums could tackle social inclusion.

In Chapter 4 a way of theorising social exclusion was established based on notions of capital and subsequently this was then used as a coding frame through which to consider the potential impacts of museum visits. Although Chapters 6 and 7 helped to

consider what may and may not have contributed to the geography of school visits, it was unclear what particular value museums had for schools in deprived areas and whether museums could have the potential to impact on social inclusion. The visits to museums I accompanied and the interviews with school teachers, pupils and museum staff enabled me to consider these ideas in a way that quantitative data would not have allowed. Two main conclusions can be drawn from the analysis of qualitative data, first that the different forms of capital held by school teachers and museum staff may particularly influence and condition museum visits; second, that there appear to be particular forms of capital that museums may more effectively be able to build for pupils than others.

It is considered that acquisition of social capital, cultural capital and emotional capital are where the more likely impacts of museum visits will be felt, rather than economic capital, some of which may have an impact on social inclusion, in conjunction with other influences. This finding is more than it has been possible to suggest previously about how the forms of capital operate in a school-museum visit context. However, in influencing and enabling a museum visit, economic as well as social, cultural and emotional capital were felt to be significant and highly interconnected. For instance, economic capital may allow for coaches to be hired, but this is not the only significant influence as booking the museum visit may depend on the teacher's stocks of cultural capital, in the form of knowledge about what the museum offers, social capital, in the form of the teacher's professional networks and contacts and emotional capital, through the confidence and attitude of the teacher to take a group into the museum. Consideration of these four interconnected aspects may provide a useful model for



museums wishing to understand the dynamics of school visits and to remove potential barriers.

Emotional capital was used in this study as a continuation of the approach to social exclusion as a 'lived experience' as suggested in Chapter 3 and also because there is evidence to suggest that emotions, particularly emotional responses, are one of the dimensions of museum visiting. This study supports this suggestion, considering emotions central to the impacts and potential impacts museums may have. As the quotation that opens this chapter suggests, museums are seen by some as places where people can consider and reflect upon their own identity, arguably a concept which requires emotional engagement. Therefore, the museum experience may be a good way of accumulating emotional capital. As Chapter 8 suggested, a more detailed study would be needed to test this hypothesis and it is suggested this would be an area for future consideration. However, potentially, building this form of capital for pupils and school teachers may be a significant way for museums to impact upon social inclusion.

The notion of primary emotional response introduced in Chapter 8 is also considered a useful concept for museums to employ, as our emotions may act as a predictor of our level of engagement. Therefore, museums wishing to maximise the impact they have on pupils at risk of exclusion could train their staff to have greater awareness of the importance of these primary responses.

In terms of a contribution to the geographies of education, this study highlights how museums, alongside a range of other cultural experiences, are part of compensatory education strategies employed by schools in areas of deprivation. These strategies are

in response to a perceived deficit that they consider their pupils have in these experiences. However, museums appear to function slightly differently to other experiences as on several occasions Head Teachers and class teachers inferred that visiting museums was a middle class activity. Museum visiting may be viewed as a tool for social leverage. A limitation of this study is that only the opinions of teachers in seven case-study school could be considered. Thus, although this study has highlighted this aspect as a particular function of museums, further work in this area with a greater number of schools would help to understand if this hypothesis can be applied to disadvantaged schools more generally.

It may have been beneficial for this study to have considered the views of parents alongside those of pupils, class teachers and Head Teachers. Although questions were asked concerning whether pupils visited museums with their families, a greater understanding of the role museums play in areas of deprivation may have been possible if the pupils' parents were included in the study. By conducting interviews with this group it may also have been possible to consider whether parents' views and attitudes towards museum visiting matched the views of the school. Furthermore, the geography of *school* visits has been considered here, but it may also be of interest in terms of the impact museums can have on social inclusion to compare this with the geography of *family* visits to museums. If families in areas of high deprivation use museums in the same way that schools do, the social impact museums could then be seen to extend further into the local neighbourhood.

### **9.3 Conclusion**

This study started by introducing a potentially significant geography of school visits, which had not been previously considered in detail. Perhaps the most important conclusion to be drawn from the analysis conducted here is the confirmation of this geography, as it suggests that the school audience visiting museums encompasses a high percentage of children that are potentially at risk of social exclusion. This substantiates the notion that museums are well positioned to act as agents of social inclusion. Museums may therefore wish to employ the strategy of analysing and mapping school postcodes in order to build up evidence of their social reach for funders and policy makers. In addition, evidence presented through a theoretical framework based on notions of capital, has also suggested that it is through the potential to accumulate social, cultural and emotional capital in particular that museums could have the greatest impact on inclusion. Therefore these three dimensions may provide a useful focus for future social inclusion strategies. By considering museums' relationship with a particular spatial pattern, this research also goes beyond the shorthand thinking that museums are either elitist or non-elitist, by adding further layers of complexity to this discussion. Furthermore, this study has added additional support to the value of considering museums as spatial organisations and it is hoped that future research builds on and extends this valuable area of study.

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## Appendices



## Appendix 1: Hub Museums

Hub	Museums/museum services (Lead partners in bold)
East Midlands	<p>Leicester Museums Service  Derby Museums and Art Gallery  Leicestershire Museums Service  Lincolnshire Museums Service  Nottingham City Museums and Galleries</p>
East of England	<p>Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service  Colchester Museums  Luton Museums service  Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge.</p>
London	<p>Museum of London  Geffrye Museum Trust  Horniman Public Museum and Public Park Trust  London’s Transport Museum</p>
North East	<p>Tyne and Wear Museums  Beamish, the North of England Open Air Museum  Hartlepool Museums  The Bowes Museum (County Durham)</p>
North West	<p>Manchester City Galleries (with The Museum of Science and Industry in Manchester and People’s History Museum as ‘First Partners’)  Bolton Museum and Art Gallery  Harries Museum and Art Gallery, Preston (With Lancashire County Museums Service as ‘First Partner’)  Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery, Carlisle  University of Manchester Museums and Galleries</p>
South East	<p>Hampshire County Museums Service  Chatham Historic Dockyard  Oxford University Museums  The Royal Pavilion, Libraries and Museums, Brighton and Hove.</p>
South West	<p>Bristol Museums and Art Gallery  Plymouth City Museum and Art Gallery  Royal Albert Memorial Museum and Art Gallery, Exeter  Royal Cornwall Museum, Truro  Russell-Cotes Art Gallery, Bournemouth</p>
West Midlands	<p>Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery  Herbert Art Gallery and Museum, Coventry  Ironbridge Gorge Museum Trust, Telford.  Potteries Museum and Art Gallery, Stoke on Trent  Wolverhampton Arts and Museums.</p>
Yorkshire	<p>Sheffield Galleries and Museums Trust</p>

	Bradford Museums Hull Museums Leeds Museums and Galleries, York Museums Trust
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## Appendix 2: 14 museum services and their 36 museum sites in the Phase One Hubs

(Adapted from Hooper-Greenhill et al 2006b: 4-5)

Hub	List of Museum Services and their sites
South West (SW)	Bristol Museums Galleries and Archives Blaise Castle House Museum Bristol Industrial Museum City Museum and Art Gallery Georgian House Kings Weston Roman Villa Red Lodge
	Plymouth City Museum and Art Gallery City Museum and Art Gallery Elizabethan House Merchant's House Plymouth Dome Smeaton's Tower
	Royal Cornwall Museum
	Exeter City Museums and Art Gallery Royal Albert Memorial Museum Connections Discovery Centre St Nicholas Priory
North East (NE)	Beamish, The North of England Open Air Museum
	The Bowes Museum, County Durham
	Hartlepool Arts and Museum Service Museum of Hartlepool Hartlepool Art Gallery
	Tyne and Wear Museums Arbeia Roman Fort and Museum Discovery Museum, Newcastle-upon-Tyne Hancock Museum, Newcastle-upon-Tyne Laing Art Gallery Monkwearmouth Station Museum Segedunum Roman Fort, Baths and Museum, Wallsend Shipley Art Gallery South Shields Museum and Art Gallery Stephenson Railway Museum Sunderland Museum and Winter Gardens
	Washington F-Pit, Sunderland

West Midlands (WM)	<p>Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery  Aston Hall  Blakesley Hall  Museum of the Jewellery Quarter  Sarehole Mill  Soho House</p>
	<p>Coventry Arts and Heritage  Herbert Art Gallery and Museum  Lunt Roman Fort, Baginton  Priory Visitor Centre</p>
	<p>Ironbridge Gorge Museums Trust  Blists Hill Victorian Town  Coalport China Museum  Darby Houses  Enginuity, Coalbrookdale  Iron Bridge Tollhouse  Jackfield Tile Museum  Museum of Iron and Darby Furnace  Museum of the Gorge  Quaker Burial Ground</p>
	<p>Potteries Museum and Art Gallery  Etruria Industrial Museum  Ford Green Hall  Gladstone Pottery Museum  Potteries Museum and Art Gallery</p>
	<p>Wolverhampton Arts and Museums  Bantock House and Park  Bilston Craft Gallery and Museum  Wolverhampton Art Gallery</p>

**Appendix 3: The 22 museums and 15 museums services participating in the RR2 evaluation from the Phase Two Hubs.** (Adapted from Hooper-Greenhill et al 2006b)

Hub	List of Museum Services and their sites
East Midlands (EM)	Leicester City Museums Service Jewry Wall New Walk
	Lincolnshire Museums Service The Collection, Lincoln
East of England (EE)	Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service Roots of Norfolk, Gressenhall
	Colchester Museums Colchester Castle Museum Hollytrees Museum
	Luton Museums service Wardown Park Museum Stockwood Park Museum
London (LO)	Horniman Museum
	Museum of London London Wall Museum in Docklands
North West (NW)	Manchester City Galleries Manchester Art Gallery
	Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery, Carlisle
	Bolton Museums, Art Gallery and Aquarium Bolton Museum
South East (SE)	Hampshire Museums and Archives Service Milestones
	Brighton and Hove Museums Museum and Art Gallery
Yorkshire (YO)	Leeds Heritage Services Temple Newsham House City Art Gallery Lotherton Hall Armley Mills
	Hull Museums and Art Gallery

	Ferens Art Gallery
	York Museums Trust Castle Museum

**Appendix 4: The 12 DCMS/DfES Strategic Commissioning projects** (adapted from Hooper-Greenhill et al 2004b)

Project Title	Lead Museum	Partners
The Story of Money	British Museum	Manchester Museum
Texts in Context	British Library	Philpot Museum, Lyme Regis Dorset County Museum Roman Baths Museum, Bath British Empire and Commonwealth Museum, Bristol.
Partners in Time	Imperial War Museum, Duxford	Norfolk Museums & Archaeology Service Luton Museums service Mid Anglia SATRO <sup>130</sup>
People, Places, Portraits	National Portrait Gallery	Beningborough Hall Montacute House Dove Cottage, Wordsworth Trust Sheffield Galleries and Museums Trust Sunderland Museum & Winter Gardens
Understanding Slavery	National Maritime Museum	National Museums Liverpool Bristol City Museums and Art Gallery British Empire and Commonwealth Museum
Anim8ed	National Museum of Photography Film & Television (now the National Media Museum)	Bradford Museums Galleries & Heritage York Museums Trust
Creative Canals	National Museum of Science and Industry	Ragged School Museum London Canal Museum Beauchamp Lodge Settlement <sup>131</sup>
Supporting Regional Schools	Tate Britain	New Art Gallery, Walsall Norfolk Museums & Archaeology Service Abbot Hall Art Gallery, Kendal Sheffield Galleries and Museums Trust
Image and Identity	Victoria & Albert Museum	Sheffield Galleries and Museums Trust. Birmingham Museums & Art Gallery Manchester Art Gallery Royal Pavilion Libraries & Museums, Brighton Harris Museum & Art Gallery, Preston

<sup>130</sup> Mid Anglia SATRO is an educational charity and Science and Technology Organisation

<sup>131</sup> Beauchamp Lodge is a floating classroom.

Take one Picture	National Gallery	Bristol City Museums & Art Gallery Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
Engaging Refugees and Asylum Seekers	National Museums Liverpool	Sunderland Museum & Winter Gardens Leicester City Museums Service Salford Museum & Art Gallery
Moving Minds	Imperial War Museum North	Leeds Museums & Art Gallery Bradford Museums, Galleries & Heritage



# Using the Museum

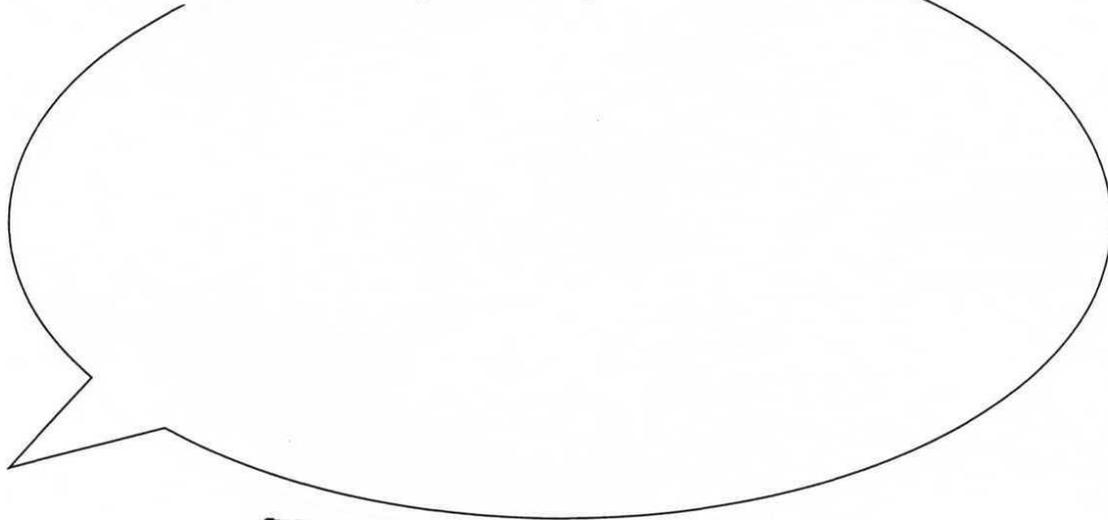
---

What is your first name?

What is your age?  Are you a Boy?  a Girl?

Please tick	Yes	No	Don't Know
1. I enjoyed using the museum	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. I learned some interesting new things	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. I could understand most of the things we saw and did	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. Working with the museum was exciting	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. It has given me lots of ideas for things I could do	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. What I learnt will be useful for other things	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. I want to find out more	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

What amazed me most about my museum experience...



**Appendix 6: Example of RCMG Key Stage 3 and above pupil questionnaire (From RR2 evaluation)**

Form B

KS3, 4 & 5

# Using the Museum

First name

Age  Male  Female

**Please tick one box for each question**

	Yes	No	Don't Know
1. I enjoyed today	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. Working with the museum has been very inspiring for me	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. I discovered some interesting things	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. I feel I have a better understanding of the subject	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. It was a good chance to pick up new skills	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. Using the museum was a good chance to learn in new ways I had not considered before	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. I could make sense of most of the things we saw and did	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. I would like to do this again	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
9. I am now much more interested in the subject than when I started	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

The most interesting thing about the museum was...



department for  
**education and skills**

For office use only

**Appendix 7: example of Teachers' questionnaire [used in RR1 and DCMS/DfES]**

**Renaissance in the Regions  
and DCMS/DfES Museum  
Education Evaluation**



*re:SOURCE*  
The Council for Museums, Archives and Libraries  
department for  
**education and skills**



**Form A: Evaluation of museum school visits**

The Research Centre for Museums and Galleries (RCMG) at the University of Leicester has been commissioned by Resource: the Council for Museums, Archives and Libraries and by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport /Department for Education and Skills to evaluate the value to schools of a museum visit. The results of the research may lead to increased funding for museum education. Thank you for your help with this research.

**Please complete this short questionnaire and hand it to a member of museum staff BEFORE you leave the museum. Thank you.**

Q1. Name of museum: \_\_\_\_\_

Q2. Name of teacher completing this form (PLEASE PRINT): \_\_\_\_\_

Q3. Date:     /     /2003

Q4. What theme are you studying? \_\_\_\_\_

Q5. Name of school visiting: \_\_\_\_\_

Address of school: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Post code: \_\_\_\_\_

Q6. Type of school (Tick all the boxes that apply)

Nursery	Primary	Infant	Junior	Middle	Secondary	College	Special	Private	Non-UK
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Q7. Year(s) of pupils/students (Tick all the boxes that apply):

Early Years	<input type="checkbox"/>	Y2	<input type="checkbox"/>	Y5	<input type="checkbox"/>	Y8	<input type="checkbox"/>	Y11	<input type="checkbox"/>
Reception	<input type="checkbox"/>	Y3	<input type="checkbox"/>	Y6	<input type="checkbox"/>	Y9	<input type="checkbox"/>	Y12	<input type="checkbox"/>
Y1	<input type="checkbox"/>	Y4	<input type="checkbox"/>	Y7	<input type="checkbox"/>	Y10	<input type="checkbox"/>	Y13	<input type="checkbox"/>

Q8. Total number of pupils in the group:

Q9. Total number of teachers accompanying the group:

Q10. Total number of accompanying adults with the group:

Q11. Has this school completed the 'My Visit' sheets?     Yes      No   

KS1 pupils should not complete a 'My Visit' sheet.  
KS2 pupils should complete the 'My Visit KS2' sheets  
KS3 and above should complete 'My Visit KS3 and above' sheets

## Your school's museum visit

Please complete this quick questionnaire to help us with a national survey of the value of museums to schools.

Q12. Is this your first visit (as a teacher) to this museum with a class? Yes  No

Q13. Is the work done with the museum today directly linked to the curriculum? Yes  No

Q14. Does your school make regular visits to cultural organisations? Yes  No

We are interested in what your pupils will gain from the museum visit.

Q15. To what extent do you think pupils will have gained facts and information during their museum visit? (please tick one box for each)

	Very likely	Quite Likely	Neither	Quite unlikely	Very unlikely
Subject-specific facts	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Inter-disciplinary or thematic facts	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Information about museums or galleries	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Facts about themselves, their families or the wider world	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other kinds of facts	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Q16. To what extent do you think that your pupils will have increased or gained skills during their museum visit? (please tick one box for each)

	Very likely	Quite Likely	Neither	Quite unlikely	Very unlikely
Numeracy skills	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Literacy skills	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Communication skills	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Spatial skills	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Thinking skills	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Social skills	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Practical skills	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Creative skills	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other skills	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Q17. To what extent do you think the museum visit will have enabled pupils will to feel more positive about any of the following? (please tick one box for each)

	Very likely	Quite Likely	Neither	Quite unlikely	Very unlikely
Themselves and their abilities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other people/communities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Learning	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Museums /galleries	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Anything else	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Q20. To what extent will you be using the museum experience to promote creativity? (please tick one box for each)

	Very likely	Quite Likely	Neither	Quite unlikely	Very unlikely
Designing and making	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Exploring new ideas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Dance/drama	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Creative writing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other forms of creative work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Q21. To what extent do you think that the experience of the museum will result in you working with your students in a different way? (please tick one box for each)

	Very likely	Quite Likely	Neither	Quite unlikely	Very unlikely
Using their new skills	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enabling them to work with their peers in new ways	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Undertaking new activities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Other new ways of working in the classroom

Q22. To what extent do you anticipate that the museum visit will support pupil development: (please tick one box for each)

	Very likely	Quite Likely	Neither	Quite unlikely	Very unlikely
In their subject-related understanding	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
In learning across the curriculum	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
In their cultural understanding	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
In increased motivation to learn	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
In increased confidence	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
In their assessed work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Q23. For each of the following potential outcomes from the use of the museum, please could you rate the importance of each one in your view: (please tick one box for each)

	Very important	Important	Neither	Not very important	Not at all important
Knowledge and understanding	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Skills	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Attitudes and values	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enjoyment, inspiration, creativity	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Activity, behaviour, progression	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**And what do you feel about your use of museums?**

	Very important	Important	Neither	Not very important	Not at all important
Q24. How important are museums to your teaching?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neither	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied
Q25. How satisfied are you with the museum's provision?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	Very likely	Quite Likely	Neither	Quite unlikely	Very unlikely
Q26. To what extent has the experience of this visit increased your own confidence to use museums as part of your teaching?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Q27. Would you be willing to be contacted later in our research? Yes  No

Contact phone number (including STD): \_\_\_\_\_

**Thank you very much for your time. Please return the form to the museum staff.**

## Appendix 8: Questionnaire sent to potential case-study schools.

### SCHOOL VISITS TO MUSEUMS QUESTIONNAIRE

Please complete the short questionnaire below and return in the pre-paid envelope provided.

- 1) Have any groups from your school returned to the museum(s) that you visited in 2003-2005?

YES                      NO                      Don't know                      (Please Tick)

- 2) Have any groups from your school visited any other museums since the visits that were recorded in 2003-2005?

YES                      NO                      Don't know                      (Please Tick)

- 3) What is your opinion about the value of museums for school pupils?  
(Please tick one answer)

Museums are highly valuable

Museums are fairly valuable

Museums have limited value

Museums have no value

- 4) Have any of the following deterred your school from visiting a museum? (Please tick all appropriate)

Cost (travel, entry)

Location of the museum

Irrelevance of the museum event/ workshop/ collections to the curriculum

The type of museum (e.g. science, art, natural history)

What the museum offered (e.g. outreach, specific events, exhibitions)

The unsuitability of the museum experience for your pupils

Your personal experiences of visiting museums

Other school trips planned that year

Insufficient information from museums about what they offer

Other (please specify below)

- 5) Have any of the following influenced your school to visit a museum?

Cost (i.e free or inexpensive entry)

Location of the museum

Relevance of the museum event / workshop/ collections to the curriculum

The type of museum (e.g. science, art, natural history)

What the museum offered (e.g. outreach, specific events, exhibitions)

Expertise/ enthusiasm offered by museum staff

The impact of the museum experience on your pupils

Your personal experiences of visiting museums

Lack of alternative out of school experiences/ venues in my area  
If the museum specifically contacted your school to arrange a visit.  
Other (please specify below)

- 6) Are you planning any museum visits this academic year (07-08)?  
YES                      NO                      Don't know                      (Please tick)

If YES, in which term are you planning to visit?

Autumn              Winter              Spring              Summer                      (Please tick)

- 7) Which museum do you consider to be your school's local museum?

When did your school last visit this museum?

- 8) I am interested in speaking further to teachers, pupils and their parents about their views on the value, or otherwise of museum visits. If you would be potentially willing to help in my research please indicate below.

YES                      NO                      (Please tick)

Your name:

Position held:

School name and address:

Telephone:

Email:

Thank you, your time is gratefully appreciated. Please return in the envelope provided by October 2007. Anna Woodham, PhD Researcher, Department of Geography, University of Leicester, University Road, Leicester. LE1 7RH. T:01162523849 E: alw20@le.ac.uk

## Appendix 9: Interview Schedule

Interview No.	Date	Name of Interviewee(s)	Location
1	17.10.07	6 x Year 10 pupils (School 5)	School 5
2	05.11.07	2 x Schools Liaison Staff Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery (BMAG)	BMAG
3	05.11.07	Head Teacher (School 5)	School 5
4	06.11.07	Telephone interview with class Teacher (School 5)	n/a
5	09.11.07	Co-ordinator of Humanities and Educational Visits (School 3)	School 3
6	09.11.07	Class Teacher (School 3)	School 3
7	19.11.07	2 x Year 2 pupils (School 2)	School 2
8	19.11.07	2 x Year 2 pupils (School 2)	School 2
9	19.11.07	Class Teacher (School 2)	School 2
10	28.11.07	2 x National Maritime Museum learning staff (NMI)	NMI
11	28.11.07	1 x Understanding Slavery Initiative staff member (USI)	NMI
12	29.11.07	Class Teacher (School 1)	School 1
13	29.11.07	2 x Year 5 pupils (School 1)	School 1
14	07.01.08	2 x Staff members at Soho House	Soho House
15	09.01.08	2 x Year 5 pupils (School 1)	School 1
16	09.01.08	Head Teacher (School 1)	School 1
17	05.02.08	Class Teacher (School 4)	School 4
18	05.02.08	6 x Year 6 pupils (School 4)	School 4
19	05.02.08	4 x Year 5 pupils (School 4)	School 4
20	05.02.08	2 x Learning and access staff at the Royal Cornwall museum (RCM)	RCM
21	05.02.08	1 x learning and access staff member (RCM)	RCM
22	06.02.08	Head Teacher (School 4)	School 4
23	07.02.08	Head Teacher (School 6)	School 6
24	07.02.08	2 x Year 12 pupils (School 6)	School 6
25	07.02.08	1 x Year 13 pupil (School 6)	School 6
26	15.02.08	Telephone interview with the Head of Learning and Outreach (BMAG)	n/a
27	13.02.08	Email interview with Director of Tyne and Wear Museums	n/a
28	18.02.08	Email interview with the Head of Learning and Outreach (BMAG)	n/a
29	21.02.08	Head Teacher (School 2)	School 2
30	26.02.08	8 x Year 10 pupils and 1 x Year 9 pupil	School 7
31	26.02.08	Class Teacher (School 7)	School 7
32	03.03.08	1 x BMAG staff member	BMAG
33	03.03.08	1 x Management staff member (RCM)	RCM
34	18.03.08	1 x Learning staff member (Tyne and Wear Museums)	The Discovery Museum
35	01.04.08	2 x Year 9 pupils (School 7)	School 7
36	01.04.08	3 x Year 9 pupils (School 7)	School 7
37	29.04.08	4 x Year 5 pupils (School 4)	School 4
38	29.04.08	Class Teacher (School 4)	School 4



## Appendix 10: Interview protocols

Head Teachers/Class Teachers (pre visit)

Theme	Questions/ prompts
Training/ background	How long have you been a teacher? Did museum visiting feature in your teacher training? Did you visit museums as a child?
The school	Tell me about this school What do you think are the greatest successes at the school? What do you think are the greatest challenges facing the school? Where is the school's main catchment area? What is the school's ethos?
Museum visiting	Why do you think it is important to take your pupils to museums? How do museums feature in your teaching /the life of the school? Which museums do you visit? Do you have any particular relationships with certain museums? Does the location of the museum affect your decision to visit? Does cost affect your decision to visit? Are there any other deterrents to visiting museums? (use school questionnaire if applicable to prompt discussion) Do museums can have any broader social impacts? What do you think influenced the geography of school visits which my study focuses on?
The accompanied visit	Tell me about museum 'x' Why did you organise this trip? How did you book this trip? What are the aims of the trip for you? What do you anticipate will be the impact of this visit on your pupils? What are the arrangements for the day?

Pupils (pre-visit)

Theme	Questions/ prompts
Previous visits	Have you visited museums before? When did you go? Tell me about what you did/saw Who did you go with? Previous school trip, parents, friends? What was the purpose of the visit?
The accompanied visit	What are you going to do at 'x' museum? Have you been there before?

	<p>How will we get there?  How long will it take?  What do you think the museum is going to be like?</p>
Preconceived ideas of museums	<p>What does the word 'museum' make you think of?  Do museums help with school work?  What kinds of things can you do/ see at a museum?</p>
Pupil's interests	<p>What are your favourite subjects at school?  What do you want to do when you grow up/leave school?  Tell me about your interests/hobbies, what do you like doing when you're not at school?</p>

#### Museum Staff (post-visit)

Theme	Questions/ prompts
The Museum	<p>Tell me about the museum  What is the museum's ethos?</p>
Staff member's job	<p>What is your job title and what does it involve?  How long have you been in post?  Have you noticed any changes in the past few years, in your job and also museum-wide?</p>
School visits	<p>How does the museum market its sessions for schools?  How does a school book a visit to this museum?  How much does it cost to visit the museum?  Do you have any particular relationships with certain schools?</p>
Pattern of school visits to museums	<p>Does the museum target any school groups in particular?  What do you think explains this pattern of school visits?</p>
The school visit I accompanied	<p>Has this school visited before?  Tell me about this school.  How do you think the session went?  In what ways do you think the pupils benefitted from this visit?  Are you aware of the levels of deprivation experienced by this school? What implications do you think this has for the pupils?</p>

## Children's consent form

**Anna has told me that:**

She will be asking me questions about what children think about museums, their neighbourhood, and what they like doing in their spare time

If I don't want to talk to her today I won't get into trouble

There are no right or wrong answers and if I don't want to answer some of the questions that is okay

Anytime I want to stop talking that's okay and she will turn the tape off

She will write about some of the things I've talked about in her research but will not use my name

The tape and copy of my words from the tape will only be seen by her and the lady that does the typing and that the tape and the copy of my words from the tape will be kept private

Appendix 11 continued.

If I have any worries about our talk then I can talk with her about that

I agree it is okay for Anna to talk to me today

YES      NO

I agree it is okay for Anna to use the tape today

YES      NO

NAME: .....

DATE: .....

**Appendix 12: Consent form for young people.**



**Consent Form For Young People**

**Department of Geography**

Bennett Building  
University Road  
Leicester LE1 7RH, UK  
Tel: +44 (0)116 252 3823 (*General office*)  
Fax: +44 (0)116 252 5678

**PhD topic: The geography of school visits to museums: exploring the impact of museums to social inclusion.**

Anna Woodham has come to interview me as part of the above project and I will be asked questions about my views of school, hopes for the future and what young people think about visiting museums.

- I have read and I understand the information sheet                      Yes      No
- I have been able to ask questions about the project and they were answered by Anna                      Yes      No
- I understand that I do not have to take part if I don't want to and I can leave at any time                      Yes      No
- I understand that Anna may write about some of the things I've talked about but will not use my name and my details will be kept private.                      Yes      No
- I agree to the interview being recorded                      Yes      No
- The tape and copy of my words from the tape will only be seen by Anna and the typist                      Yes      No
- If I have any worries about our talk then I can talk about these with Anna                      Yes      No

Name (PRINT) \_\_\_\_\_

Signed \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Please contact me if you have any more questions or no longer want your words to be used.

Anna Woodham  
Department of Geography, University of Leicester  
Tel: 0116 252 3849/ 07986851809  
Email: alw20@le.ac.uk

## Appendix 13: Consent form for adults.



University of  
Leicester

### Consent form for adults

### Department of Geography

Bennett Building  
University Road  
Leicester LE1 7RH, UK  
Tel: +44 (0)116 252 3823 (*General office*)  
Fax: +44 (0)116 252 5678

**PhD topic: The geography of school visits to museums: exploring the impact of museums to social inclusion.**

- I have read and I understand the information sheet Yes  No
- I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project and they were answered to my satisfaction Yes  No
- I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time Yes  No
- I agree to the interview being recorded and my words being used for research purposes Yes  No
- I agree that my actual words can be used in any subsequent publications or use, including publication on the World Wide Web (Internet). I understand that my real name will not be used or attributed to any words that I have said Yes  No
- I would like my name to be acknowledged in the research (without being linked to my words or images) Yes  No

Name (PRINT) \_\_\_\_\_

Signed \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Please contact me if you have any more questions or you wish to withdraw from the research.

Anna Woodham  
Department of Geography, University of Leicester  
Tel: 0116 252 3849/ 07986851809  
Email: alw20@le.ac.uk

## Appendix 14: Creation of the Townsend index

### Step 1: Download census variables<sup>132</sup>

The Townsend index is not available as a pre-constructed index like the IMD. The four components that make up the index (see Table 6.1) are constructed using the following nine census variables:

Key symbol	Description of variable
A	Number of cars or vans in all households
B	Number of households with no cars or vans
C	Rooms, amenities, central heating and lowest floor level for all households
D	Households with occupancy rating of -1 or less (signifying overcrowding)
E	Tenure of all houses
F	Number of houses owned outright
G	Number of houses with a mortgage
H	All economically-active persons aged 16-74
I	All economically-active unemployed persons.

Each variable was downloaded from the Census Dissemination Unit website at the Lower Super Output Area level (LSOA) for each government region in England.

**Step 2:** In order to construct the four variables of the Townsend index, the following calculations were made using the nine census variables listed above.

Townsend variable	Description of first calculation	Further steps
Overcrowding	$D / C * 100 = x$	Transform: $\text{Log } 10 (x + 1)$
Unemployment	$I / H * 100 = x$	Transform: $\text{Log } 10 (x + 1)$
Home ownership	$F + G / E * 100$	-
Car ownership	$B / A * 100$	-

<sup>132</sup> The same methodology for calculating the Townsend scores was used here, as supplied by Paul Norman (Census Dissemination Unit, [www.cdu.mindas.ac.uk](http://www.cdu.mindas.ac.uk), 07.07.08).

As in the original construction of the index in 1988, overcrowding and unemployment variables were transformed to allow a closer resemblance to the normal distribution.

**Step 3:** The national average and national standard deviation of all four variables was then calculated.

**Step 4:** Each of the four variables were then normalised using the following formula:

*(variable value – national average of variable)*

*National standard deviation of variable*

**Step 5:** The overall raw Townsend scores for each LSOA were computed by finding the sum of each of the four components.

**Step 6:** These raw scores were then ranked to give the final Townsend score. The higher the Townsend score, the less material deprivation in that LSOA: conversely the lower the Townsend score, the higher the level of deprivation in that area.

**Step 7:** The Townsend scores were then appended to the existing datasets. In this case the Townsend scores were joined to the RR1, RR2 and DCMS/DfES datasets based on the Super Output Area code, as this data was present in each of the existing datasets and in the Townsend index data.



## Appendix 15: Summary description of Mosaic Groups.

Mosaic Group	Summary description
<b>A</b>	<b>Symbols of Success</b> - contains people whose lives are 'successful' by whatever yardsticks society commonly uses to measure success. These are people who have rewarding careers rather than jobs, who live in sought after locations, who drive the more modern and expensive cars and who indulge in the most exotic leisure pursuits. Most, though not all, appear to enjoy stable household arrangements.
<b>B</b>	<b>Happy Families</b> - contains people whose focus is on career, home and family. These are mostly younger age groups who are married, or at least in a permanent relationship, and are now raising children in post war family houses, often in areas of the country with rapidly growing populations. The focus of expenditure is on equipment for the home and garden, and the immediate family unit is the principal focus of leisure activities.
<b>C</b>	<b>Suburban Comfort</b> - comprises people who have successfully established themselves and their families in comfortable homes in mature suburbs. Children are becoming more independent, work is becoming less of a challenge and interest payments on homes and other loans are becoming less burdensome. With more time and money on their hands, people can relax and focus on activities that they find intrinsically rewarding.
<b>D</b>	<b>Ties of Community</b> - is comprised of people whose lives are mostly played out within the confines of close knit communities. Living mostly in older houses in inner city neighbourhoods or in small industrial towns, most of these people own their homes, drive their own cars and hold down responsible jobs. Community norms rather than individual material ambitions shape the pattern of most residents' consumption.
<b>E</b>	<b>Urban Intelligence</b> - mostly contains young and well educated people who are open to new ideas and influences. Young and single, and few encumbered with children, these people tend to be avid explorers of new ideas and fashions, cosmopolitan in their tastes and liberal in their social attitudes. Whilst eager consumers of the media and with a sophisticated understanding of brand values, they like to be treated as individuals, and value authenticity over veneer.
<b>F</b>	<b>Welfare Borderline</b> - is comprised of many people who are struggling to achieve the material and personal rewards that are assumed to be open to all in an affluent society. Few hold down rewarding or well paying jobs and, as a result, most rely on the council for their accommodation, on public transport to get around and on state benefits to fund even the bare essentials. The lack of stability in many family formations undermines social networks and leads to high levels of anti social behaviour among local children.
<b>G</b>	<b>Municipal Dependency</b> - mostly contains families on lower incomes who live on large municipal council estates where few of the tenants have exercised their right to buy. Often isolated in the outer suburbs of large

	provincial cities, Municipal Dependency is characterised as much by low aspirations as by low incomes. Here people watch a lot of television and buy trusted mainstream brands from shops that focus on price rather than range or service.
<b>H</b>	<b>Blue Collar Enterprise</b> - comprises people who, though not necessarily very well educated, are practical and enterprising in their orientation. Many of these people live in what were once council estates but where tenants have exercised their right to buy. They own their cars, provide a reliable source of labour to local employers and are streetwise consumers. Tastes are mass market rather than individualistic and focus on providing comfort and value to family members.
<b>I</b>	<b>Twilight Subsistence</b> - consists of elderly people who are mostly reliant on state benefits and live in housing designed by local authorities and housing associations. Some live in old people's homes or sheltered accommodation, while others live in small bungalows, set in small enclaves within larger council estates. Most of these people only spend money on the basic necessities of life.
<b>J</b>	<b>Grey Perspectives</b> - consists mostly of pensioners who own their homes and who have some source of income beyond the basic state pension. Many of these people have, on retirement, moved to the seaside or the countryside to live among people similar to themselves. Today many of these people have quite active lifestyles and are considered in their purchasing decisions.
<b>K</b>	<b>Rural Isolation</b> - contains people whose pattern of living is distinctively rural. They live not just outside major population centres but also deep in the countryside, in small communities which have been little influenced by the influx of urban commuters. These are places where people with different levels of income share attachments to local communities, and where engagement with the community and with the natural environment are more important to most residents than material consumption.

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