

FAMILY TYPES AND LEISURE DECISION- MAKING

A study looking for potential visitors for
Depot Boijmans Van Beuningen

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ABSTRACT

This master thesis has two major purposes: (1) to gain a better understanding of how families make decisions regarding leisure activities with their children and (2) to find out what implications this has for Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen to reach more families in Rotterdam and interest them for a visit to Depot Boijmans Van Beuningen. The question around which this research was based, is: *What are the leisure interests of families currently not visiting Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen and under which conditions would the new depot be an interesting place for different types of non-visitors to visit?* In order to understand the complex process of family decision-making regarding leisure activities, the research focused on three aspects: social class – defined by educational and occupational class - , parenting styles and decision-making processes. General motivations and constraints were also considered.

Using SPSS, the quantitative data of the VTO omnibus was used to find patterns in leisure activities in Rotterdam. Interviews were used to create a deeper understanding of how social class, parenting and decision-making inform these patterns. Atlas.ti was then used to code and organize the data in order to find structures. This resulted in insight into general motivations and constraints for parents, but also in two main types of families – which are structured along social class, parenting style and the types of activities they participate in during their leisure time.

Family type 1 is of higher social class and engages in a wider range of leisure activities, including cultural activities. They want their children to have fun, but also pay attention to opportunities to learn in their free time. Type 2 families focus mainly on fun and entertainment for their children and do not consider cultural activities to be among those things. For the museum, type 1 families might be in closer range for visiting Depot Boijmans Van Beuningen, by making clear the museum is a child-friendly place in their advertising. Making it resemble the more interactive science museums those families are already visiting, might make the Depot an interesting place to visit. Type 2 families will be harder to pull in with fun educational activities, since they do not seek out anything that focuses on education and are mostly led by what their children enjoy. However, the attractiveness of the building's design might make these families interested in visiting it for its attraction value – like the Markthal. If the Depot manages to pull in families and show that children can have a good time, the children might want to come back.

Keywords: Leisure, social class, parenting, decision-making, museum visiting.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Contemporary cultural distinction consists of more than distinction between high art and popular culture, or the gap between the elite and the working class (Friedman, Savage, Hanquinet & Miles, 2015). Art museum visitation, however, seems to fall in recognizable social patterns considering educational and occupational status (Kirchberg, 1996). Especially when compared to other museums, such as the natural history and science museum, the art museum visitor is often highly educated. Education and participation departments are developing new ways to make their art more accessible to all kinds of different audiences that normally would not step beyond the museum doors. A recent trend in making the museum more inclusive is showing people the 'backstage' of the museum (Kruijt, 2016). Though offices might not be that interesting to see, the conservators' work is. Where is all the art that is stored in the back? How is it preserved? How are old artworks restored before they earn their place on a wall?

This trend is manifested in Dutch museums in the form of the literal display of the backsides of artworks, or having a working conservator on display – with educational workshops offered here and there as well (Kruijt, 2016). Right now, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen in Rotterdam is taking it a step further. They are building a new depot next to the museum that will not only be an architectural landmark, but also offer people a peek into the activities behind the presentation of the museum, such as art conservation, restoration and curating. The museum strives to offer people a different experience next to their museum experience, which gives new insights in how art tells a story different from the aesthetic. The focus will be on learning about the technical and historical backgrounds of artworks and offering children a place to learn about - and experiment with this.

For Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, this is a chance to make their art more attractive for other people than the ones currently visiting their museum. Now only about ten percent of their visitors come from Rotterdam, and the museum is not welcoming many families with children. So where do parents take their children? To the more historical Maritiem Museum in Rotterdam, or to the NEMO science museum in Amsterdam? Or do they participate in other leisure activities, such as going to the zoo or shopping?

Using the VTO omnibus survey of Rotterdam (OBI, 2015), I first want to see how people visiting other museums than Boijmans are using their free time and which other museums they go to. This quantitative data analysis might give more information about what sets the people visiting Boijmans apart from those visiting other museums or undertaking other leisure activities than visiting a museum. Next to this, I will conduct interviews with parents with children in primary school that are not currently visiting the museum. Both of these research methods will help me in answering my research

question: *What are the leisure interests of families currently not visiting Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen and under which conditions would the new depot be an interesting place for different types of non-visitors to visit?* Using theories on cultural taste, I hope to shed light on the motivations of the people who are and who are not visiting the museum. Looking into theories on decision-making and leisure time will help make sense of the social processes that shape these parents' decisions. Ultimately, the results can hopefully aid Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen in its decision making regarding their new plans for education and participation projects for the Depot.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 SOCIAL CLASS AND CULTURAL CONSUMPTION

In order to research the topic of museum visitors, it is necessary to look into the sociological study of cultural consumption. Who visits the museum has been a question researched over decades by cultural sociologists. Social inequality has been measured in the form of education, earnings, social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984 & 1986; Dimaggio, 1996). Classic sociological theory on class structure as seen in cultural consumption is being critically revised, most notably with the term 'cultural omnivore' as coined by Peterson and Simkus (1992). However, understanding more 'classical' theory on social distinction is helpful in understanding the causes and consequences of highbrow cultural participation. Bourdieu's (1984) view on distinction as a status marker gives a deep understanding of how different people consume and why they consume.

Bourdieu (1984, 1986) wrote how cultural consumption is used as a means for the higher social classes to express their cultural capital. This enables them to distinguish themselves from those with less capital. Bourdieu named three main forms of capital: economic, social and cultural capital. The latter has been very relevant for his work on the concepts of distinction and the habitus. Children, he said, are born into families that provide them with manners, skills, language, cultural taste, and more. These, together with social and economic capital, form the habitus of a person. This habitus is thus a system of embodied dispositions, most of which are learnt through formal education and upbringing. According to Bourdieu, this habitus determines how people act in different social spaces such as work, school, and social life. When a person enters a field, this capital turns into symbolic capital. Each field has its own doxa, or sets of rules. The members of each field evaluate persons and their symbolic capital to ascribe to them their legitimate position in the field. People develop special ways of presenting themselves in different fields, developing different dispositions that together form their habitus. This theory is very general and applicable to society as a whole, but Bourdieu also specifically looked into how this worked for the arts.

Bourdieu focused heavily on cultural capital, as it marks crucial differences between classes and plays a pivotal role in their reproduction. Class fractions teach the young their aesthetic preferences. The dominant class fractions have power over which aesthetic preferences are considered legitimate. While other forms of capital can be accumulated throughout one's lifetime, Bourdieu argues that cultural capital and aesthetic preference are mostly determined by social origin. The expression of aesthetic taste becomes clear through many cultural aspects of daily life, such as taste in food or clothing. But also, if not especially, the appreciation of arts is a means of expressing

one's cultural capital. Regularly going to the museum gives people a familiarity and a set of dispositions on how to act in a museum. They also acquire language to talk about art and learn how to look at and interpret art. All these qualities, which are more pronounced the earlier they have developed, will later set people apart from other class fractions.

A lot of cultural fields have opened up and lowered boundaries to popular taste. While museums have been lowering their boundaries by mixing with popular culture and inviting guests for interactive experiences (Kotler & Kotler, 2000), the general view of a museum is often still that of a place for contemplation (Rees, 1994). According to Rees (1994), the average art museum does not only look daunting and uninviting for everyone who is not a member of the cultivated classes, it also emphasises aesthetic appreciation. For classes that do not identify museums and aesthetic pleasure as a means for self-identification, there is no value in museum attendance. Looking at this with the concept of cultural capital in mind (Bourdieu, 1986), it seems that people who have never been ingrained with a belief in the importance of aesthetic taste and museum visiting through their social upbringing, do not see value in visiting. However, people who do have a lot of cultural capital see value in visiting museums, as it is important for their identity and the expression of their class position.

The classic distribution of high art and popular culture among higher classes and lower classes has been challenged, however, pushing for a more adequate theory explaining cultural consumption. Several criticisms have been put forth, for example the fact that Bourdieu leaves individuals very little agency in their cultural consumption and aesthetic preferences (Gartman, 1991). A number of scholars challenge the applicability of the theory to less class-based societies such as the United States of America (Lamont, 1992; Holt, 1997). New research findings on cultural consumption could not be explained entirely by Bourdieu's theory, resulting in the embracing by scholars of the concept of the cultural omnivore (Peterson & Simkus, 1992) Since its inception, the concept of the cultural omnivore has become widespread (Peterson & Kern, 1996, Warde, Wright & Gayo-Cal, 2007; Goldberg, 2011). Peterson and Simkus note that in post-industrialized countries like the United States of America, the exclusive consumption of fine arts is not directly linked to status anymore. By measuring people's occupational status and their taste in music, the researchers saw that people with higher occupational status were often more open in their musical taste compared to people of lower occupational status (Peterson & Simkus, 1992; Peterson & Kern, 1996; Chan & Goldthorpe, 2005). Their taste in music is not just broader than for people in lower status occupations; their interpretation of musical genres is different. People in higher status occupations look for notions of quality and authenticity in musical genres, thus requiring a certain level of cultural knowledge in order to recognize those aspects. This search for authenticity and quality in cultural products or participation extends beyond music (Vander Stichele & Laermans, 2006), but within the musical domain it can encourage the appreciation of many different genres alongside one another.

Other aspects of the highbrow culture consumer have been studied by Dimaggio (1996), who demonstrated that the art museum visitor, or even the educational leisure facility visitor, is often higher educated, well earning and with higher job positions. Dimaggio shows how these art museum visitors also differ in what they value. They tend to be more secular, more open, tolerant and cosmopolitan than non-visitors. This is also reflected in their political ideas: they support political and social non-conformists and have a positive and trusting view on science and technology. So next to their openness in their cultural taste, they also have more inclusive attitudes regarding travel, politics and cultural differences.

This new interpretation of taste in arts and its relation to social status focuses not only on *what* is consumed, but increasingly also on the *way* it is consumed. The difference lies in the modes of appreciation. People of higher social status look for characteristics such as authenticity and quality, setting them apart from people of lower social status that are drawn in more by direct gratification of culture. This means they can like the same genres of music, but they appreciate it for different reasons. Also notions of openness and exclusivity become more important in characterizing status. This means that people of higher social status can find different, more highly deemed values in popular culture. They also show selectiveness, however, which is seen in the types of lowbrow culture they choose to exclude. These are usually the forms of culture typically associated with lower class culture (Bryson, 1996).

These newly found structures of cultural consumption and taste do not mean that Bourdieu's (1984) theory of Distinction should be fully discarded. Many scholars see cultural omnivorousness as a new type of cultural distinction. After all, ingrained in the cultural omnivore is a lot of knowledge of high culture and low culture and how to distinguish between these. This is ultimately what sets them apart from the lower classes among society. There are also many pieces of work from Bourdieu that do not necessarily stand in the way of the cultural omnivore (Lizardo & Skiles, 2015). Lizardo and Skiles point out how some important passages from Bourdieu's original texts might have been misread, while there is in fact more nuance to it. One important aspect is the understanding that Bourdieu's theory of distinction applied only to dominant and dominated classes, as opposed to class differences in a horizontal dimension. This might have been more the case for Paris at the time of writing *Distinction* (1984), but when applying Bourdieu to modern day Western societies, his texts can still be applied. Bourdieu (1984) even implied that class distinction is most significant between classes that are closest to each other instead of classes furthest apart, while also recognizing a multidimensional social space.

A great example Lizardo and Skiles (2015) present to illustrate their argument with is the interpretation of Bourdieu's survey about 'beautiful photographs'. In this experiment, Bourdieu shows his respondents different types of photographs, ranging from popular examples of beautiful photographs – such as sunsets and beaches – to photographs of mundane objects or topics that are

not usually deemed nice or beautiful, such as a car crash. The results of this experiment supported Bourdieu's theory, showing that people of different classes displayed different tastes. Many scholars interpreted this as a case where people of higher social status showed to dislike more photographs than people of lower social status. Even though the people with higher education rejected more of the photographs that are considered beautiful by popular choice, they also generally selected more photographs in total to be beautiful – compared to people with lower education.

There are also examples of recent studies into cultural taste that still show support for (parts of) the framework presented by Bourdieu. Janna Michael (2017) did a study into cultural taste patterns of high-potentials of the transnational business class. Traditionally, members of this high social business class - possessing a lot of economic capital and cultural capital - showed interest in various examples of traditional high culture. The rejection of popular taste distinguished them from the lower classes, a perfect example of what many regard as Bourdieusian distinction. However, Michael interviewed many of these upcoming business professionals and found that they engage in popular and mass culture as well. They engaged in a lot of functional leisure activities and did not engage in cultural activities as much as the generations before them allegedly did.

However, something most of these high-potentials had in common was their understanding of basic cultural activities. They all inherited some sort of cultural repertoire from their parents, recollecting museum visits during holidays or trips to other cities. They considered this important enough to carry those habits into their adulthood, reproducing their cultural capital. Although their consumption of both popular and highbrow culture shows support for the theory of the cultural omnivore (Peterson & Simkus, 1992; Peterson & Kern, 1996), their culturally open view and values of travelling and being social might be new ways of signalling distinction – at least in this particular social group. The interests and activities of the high-potentials were mostly work-orientated and facilitating their professional and personal growth. While their music taste was often led by what is high in the charts, their visiting of museums – a traditionally highbrow form of culture – is a shared characteristic.

The theory of the cultural omnivore (Peterson & Simkus, 1992; Peterson & Kern, 1996) and studies like Michael's (2017) show that music is no longer a big marker for distinction. At least, there is no clear line between highbrow and lowbrow and the real differences are found in the *way* people consume. With regard to differences in modes of appreciation mentioned, this means both higher and lower class status people can enjoy folk music, but people with more cultural capital will be selective in their consumption of folk – only going for artists that are considered authentic. However, visiting museums seems to have remained in the same highbrow culture status that it has had in the past – being undertaken mainly by highly educated people, professionals and students (Kirchberg, 1996). To understand more about why certain people visit museums and others do not, it can be helpful to look at people's lifestyles – which in this study will focus on leisure activities. Katz-Gerro (1999) did such a

study with quantitative survey data, looking for different patterns in cultural consumption among different social classes. Katz-Gerro recognized four different consumption patterns, or cultural clusters: popular lifestyle preferences, highbrow lifestyle, nature recreation culture, and a youth music type. With regard to social stratification, the study showed that certain of these clusters are found among different groups and others were more exclusive to one group. The study suggests that the cultural space and social space at times correlate, but are also somewhat independent of each other. Highbrow cultural activity proves to be quite socially determined – by occupation and education – but not by the hierarchical characteristic of race. On the other hand, popular music consumption is not affected by class positions.

This study can be used to operationalize or illustrate Ann Swidler's (1986) concept of culture as a toolkit. According to Swidler, people have more agency with regard to culture. Whereas Bourdieu (1984) leaves little room for agency – as people use culture to reproduce class while class determines habitus -, Swidler sees culture as tools that people use and act with. The dominant culture comes with a toolkit consisting of habits, values, norms and meanings – which are handed down through socialization. With this toolkit, people can build their lifestyle according to the tools they are given. It also means that they are able to pick the proper tools to act right in different situations, meaning people choose to act differently in a business meeting than at a barbeque with friends. This gives people more agency than in Bourdieu's theory, which suggest that people have ingrained culture from the moment they are growing up, leaving little room for choosing how to act and live. However, Swidler does note that people can choose among lifestyles options, but as people become used to their habits, they are hard to change. Combining this concept of culture as a toolkit (Swidler, 1986) with the notion of the different kinds of capital (Bourdieu, 1986) creates a base for this theoretical framework. As children are raised with certain values, habits, manners, norms and more from their parents and the school system, they are given a toolkit. When growing up and starting their own life, they could find freedom in constructing their own lifestyle from this toolkit. However, once people settle into their lifestyle – especially with others, such as children – it can become increasingly hard to step out of this constructed lifestyle or habitus. It would take effort to socialize in other settings in order to gain the appropriate habits, manners and other needed forms of capital to navigate, if not internalize a different social space or lifestyle.

With this broad theoretical background on cultural consumption structured along occupations and educational classes, I hope to understand more about how this affects families' leisure activities. Therefore my first sub question will be: "How are the leisure interests of families structured along patterns of cultural consumption among occupational and educational classes?"

2.2 PARENTING

So as we know from sociological research, parents will already be (consciously or unconsciously) giving their children a toolkit filled with cultural capital and social capital, along with economic capital. Even though they are free to pick from the tools they are given, parents of children are also quite limited because of this toolkit. Up until adolescence, people are mostly offered these tools through their parents and schools – which are chosen by parents. Also, their activities outside school can be controlled by parents as well, which will probably be in line with the lifestyle chosen by the parents. In relation to social class, the study of Katz-Gerro (1999) showed that some lifestyles strongly correlate with certain hierarchical social factors - such as education and profession. This means that while people are free to diverge, many people create a similar lifestyle regarding cultural consumption as others who share the same level of education or profession. Moreover, habitus is developed within the context of social class, which encompasses lifestyle characteristics, meaning the habitus will reinforce homology between social class and cultural lifestyles. With regard to contemporary findings on members of higher social class consuming a wider variety of cultural products, it could be said that members of higher social classes possess a more extensive cultural repertoire or toolkit.

Looking into lifestyle differences between different social classes, but focusing on families with young children is Annette Lareau (2002). Her longitudinal research into families' lives spans ten years, in which she did an ethnographic study of ten to eleven year-olds growing into twenty and twenty-one year-olds. In her research, she focuses on the different parenting styles among middle class, working class and poor families. She distinguishes meaningful patterns in the way that parents raise their children, differentiating between social classes. Most notably, she developed the concept of concerted cultivation – a style of parenting found mostly among members of the middle and upper classes. Concerted cultivation concerns the careful managing of a child's development through various aspects of their lives, including their leisure time but also in practicing conversation. Concerted cultivation often adds to the learning children do inside school, ultimately improving their school results. Lareau described the opposite of concerted cultivation to be 'natural growth', a style of parenting that is less structured and leaves children a lot of freedom to learn naturally and incidentally.

Lareau (2002) found a strong distinction between parenting styles among different social classes. While parents of higher classes practice concerted cultivation – encouraged by educational institutions -, lower class families do not. They leave their children with the freedom to choose how to spend their free time. Working class children experience long stretches of leisure time, filled with childlike play and seeing family members. They promote the accomplishment of natural growth, however they are disadvantaged in their understanding of bureaucratic learning institutions. This

results in distrust and frustrations in institutional settings later in life. However, in the meantime, middle-class children are gaining an advantage in institutional learning. Concerted cultivation was mostly seen in the form of parents filling their children's time with all sorts of activities, lessons and extracurriculars. They do not prioritize daily family time, but rather the increasing of knowledge and passing on their various forms of capital.

Middle-class parents who engage in concerted cultivation do not spend as much time as a group together, because they are scattered in different physical places, often skipping family dinnertime. Working class and poor families have deep, rich ties with family members that often live close. Working class and poor parents also use a more directive parenting styles instead of reasoning with their children. Therefore, middle class children start feeling a sense of entitlement and dare to reason and discuss with adults. This is in contrast with the lower class children who feel a distinct border between adults and children, and go about their free time without much interference from adults. This also results in their attitudes toward professionals. Middle class parents are able to consult, reason and discuss with professionals and ask for help in institutions without much trouble. However, lower class and poor families do not feel like they are entitled to go into discussion with professionals, making them more passive in receiving information from professionals. On the other hand, they also feel more distrustful towards professionals, which is partly caused by the lack of time they have to invest in meeting with professionals such as doctors and teachers.

What is perceived as good parenting changes over time, formed by a body of experts such as scientists and pedagogic professionals. Their stances on parenting and education together form a cultural repertoire that changes over time. Lareau (2002) noted how middle-class parents are most swift in following up on these changing cultural repertoires, while working class and poor parents take longer to adjust. This could be explained by their distrust in bureaucratic and institutional voices. While middle-class parents in the study perceived their children's busy schedule as good parenting, they reported not having had the same type of upbringing themselves. Their motivation for the style of parenting is to provide their children with the right tools to be successful in later life. These findings very much support Swidler's notion of a cultural toolkit (1984). It illustrates how children of high class parents can grow into individuals with a broad taste in cultural products and an ability to internalize different social settings, due to their large cultural repertoire provided by their parents.

These insights are useful for this study in the sense that they give an understanding of how certain children might internalize cultural and social 'tools' needed for museum visiting. Parents who find it important to educate their children in a broad spectrum of fields give them a rich cultural toolbox that enables them to adapt to different settings, such as a museum. Manners and values that are important in a museum, such as being respectful of other people's space, not running and not touching objects, are easier internalized by these children. Additionally, their frequent and thriving interaction

with institutional settings make the museum a more recognizable place than for children who are not used to such places. Children who undergo concerted cultivation might also feel more in place to discuss what they encounter in a museum and talk about it with adults or museum employees, whereas children who are more distrustful or insecure in such situations might feel lost when not able to voice their questions. It must be considered that parents who are poor and make use of natural growth might not even ever undertake outings such as a museum visit or even a more playful environment if they cannot afford it.

Lareau (2002) distinguishes three dimensions which display the difference between concerted cultivation and accomplishing natural growth. These are the organization of daily life, the use of language and social connections. Overall, the difference between middle class and working class/poor families were more striking than racial differences, which turned out to be very small. Lareau explains these differences in upbringing by looking at parents' idea of adulthood. Middle-class parents enjoy their work and see childhood as a time for play but also a time to learn and develop talents and skills that will aid them in adult life. This also secures the child for more economic success later in life. Lower class parents are more concerned in their adult life with worries about basic life necessities, such as housing, food and clothes. Their occupations, which are often unskilled labour, might not bring much joy. For them, childhood is a time without worry and to be happy. Knowing that parents of different social classes have different parenting styles is important in understanding why they make certain choices regarding their leisure activities with their children. As this plays an important role in the decision-making, my second sub questions will be: "How are the leisure interests of different families motivated by concerted cultivation or other parenting styles?".

2.3 LEISURE AND DECISION MAKING

Looking away from the museum, we also have to understand that there is a wide range of activities for families to choose from when spending their free time. Those can then roughly be categorized into 'educational leisure activities' and 'recreational leisure activities'. Packer and Ballantyne (2002) looked at how visitors had different motivations when visiting three types of educational leisure facilities, namely the museum, an art gallery and an aquarium. Their research shows that for visitors going to the museum, educational reasons were on the top of their list, whereas visiting the aquarium was chosen mostly for socializing and having fun. Therefore, it can be said that for a family's visit to the museum to be successful, it needs to be educational, but according to Sterry and Beaumont (2006), it also needs to be a fun day out as a family. When frustration about not understanding what is going on leads to an unpleasant educational experience, the museum becomes less of an option in the future.

Sterry and Beaumont (2006) find that family visits to the museum are considered good parenting and families will transform offered programs and activities to their own agenda. While opportunities to learn are appreciated, families will put more emphasis on having shared experiences, social interaction and entertainment. When a visit has involved entertaining interactions that involved participation of the whole family, the visit will be more likely to form a positive memory. Interactive, hands-on activities contribute to a successful museum visit. Together, these findings suggest that science museum visits are more preferable among families when choosing where to spend their free time. Previous experiences and little knowledge of art museums in general are also keeping them away from art museums.

These findings complement research into family leisure in general as well (Shaw & Dawson, 2001). In order to know why families with young children would possibly be interested in spending their free time as a family in an art museum, we need to understand their general attitude regarding leisure. Shaw and Dawson (2001) examined family discourses about leisure to gain insights into their motivations, values, experiences and attitudes on leisure activities. Just like Sterry and Beaumont (2006) noted, family participation is highly valued. Next to this, they were able to categorize leisure motivations into two themes. One the one hand, by facilitating and organizing leisure activities, parents want to give their children a chance to learn about positive values and leading healthy, balanced lifestyles. However these values are seen as a benefit of family leisure, whereas the theme of family functioning is the most important. This involves bonding, communication, interaction and cohesion. These values show what families prioritize when making decisions about their leisure time. By consciously engaging in leisure activities to facilitate these short term and long term goals, this type of leisure becomes purposive leisure (Shaw & Dawson, 2001).

While the term purposive leisure seems to overlap with the term concerted cultivation (Lareau, 2002), it is not the same. While concerted cultivation is a style of parenting that does cover leisure time, it mainly looks at goals regarding raising the children. These do not only result in scheduling activities in leisure time, but are also broader, covering language, communication and morals. Purposive leisure, however, focuses mainly on family cohesion and other values related to family functioning. The activities planned should create good quality 'family time', whereas parents that focus heavily on the parenting style of concerted cultivation are often lacking in regular family time as they value more functional activities for their children. Lareau (2002) is also not overtly clear about the real leisure time of families that engage in concerted cultivation. Obviously, real leisure time is less for those families compared to families that leave their children to accomplish natural growth. Shaw and Dawson (2001) do not see a distinction in leisure purposes between families, the values brought forth in their study are general ones, concerning families in general. This research could possibly gain more insight into differences in planning leisure activities between parents that engage in concerted

cultivation and those who value accomplishing natural growth. It can be expected that parents who engage in concerted cultivation are more actively seeking for benefits in leisure that educate their children next to valuing family cohesion.

The values that parents attach to their leisure time as mentioned above, are different from those of other people deciding over their leisure time (Lee, Graefe & Burns, 2008). Lee et al. (2008) studied differences between visitors travelling with children and visitors travelling without children. According to the study, this difference is noticeable when they make choices regarding outdoor recreation on holiday. They saw that parents with children choose recreational activities that are educational as well, while couples without children prefer purely recreational activities and value physical exercise more. Other values, such as "experiencing nature," "being outdoors," "being with friends," "skill development," and "getting away from the regular routine" were shared among both visitors with children and those without. The authors mention that their results show how family leisure is a form of purposive leisure, noting that visitors with children have more purposeful motivations for their leisure activities than visitors without children. Notable is the fact that parents in this study seem to actively seek out activities with educational values, whereas other studies into family leisure suggest that educational values are less on the foreground (Shaw & Dawson, 2001; Sterry & Beaumont, 2006). It could be argued that being on a holiday trip together with children is already facilitating values of family cohesion, thus shifting focus to other important values such as education about morals and health.

The previous theory has given some understanding into why families recreate, but to understand the decision-making process of families, it is useful to understand the basic motivations and values for leisure in general. Dillard and Bates (2011) look at these intrinsic motivations and values and categorize them into four core values: (1) escape; (2) enhancing relationships; (3) personal mastery; and (4) winning. Escape concerns values such as relaxation and stepping out of the normal environment, but also perceived freedom and self-expression. Enhancing relations is mostly about communication and social values. Personal mastery concerns personal achievements and improvement, while 'winning' is more about achievements in comparison to others and competition. For most people, enhancing relationships comes in first place, while winning comes last. Dillard and Bates also note two dimensions or axes for motivation regarding recreation, namely whether the activity is aimed towards the self or others and whether the benefit attained to the activity is experience driven or results driven.

It could be said that parents are more concerned about others, since they think of teaching their child or enhancing the family bond when choosing family leisure activities (Lee, Graefe & Burns, 2008; Zabriskie & McCormick, 2001). While winning is a value that is concerned with others, it would

not apply to family leisure, since studies into family leisure (Shaw & Dawson, 2001; Sterry & Beaumont, 2006) show that the improvement of children is valued in the sense of educating them, not in terms of encouraging competition or seeking competitive activities. Thus, looking at the four core values named by Dillard and Bates (2011), family leisure would be most concerned with the core values of enhancing relations and personal mastery. The last value would, however, be directed towards the children instead of the parents themselves. In this case, since the children are not the decision-makers, the parents are doing the thinking for them. However, to conclude this section about family leisure, it must be noted that most leisure research into decision-making is done by using surveys, which means there is not a lot of qualitative data on motivations and values themselves within the decision-making process.

Furthermore, studies in family leisure can tell us how people make decisions regarding spending their free time. For example, the importance of previous experiences with museums and its influence on the decision-making process is confirmed in the study performed by Shaw and Dawson (2001). Furthermore, it is also important to understand how family dynamics influence decision-making. The family is often treated as a unit in leisure studies, however, not everyone in the family has an equal say in making decisions – especially when there are small children involved. Holdert and Antonides (1997) looked into family buying processes among different family types. Research into family decision making has acknowledged that the family is not one unit making a decision, nor is there one person in the family responsible for making decisions. Both spouses and children have influence on family buying processes and Holdert and Antonides used an extensive theoretical framework to build an overarching theory.

First, they recognised that literature talks about different types of families, which they categorized along two dimensions: power and cohesion. Power describes how a family is structured regarding who has an influence on decision and buying processes. Holdert and Antonides (1997) distinguished two family types for this dimension: the traditional and modern family. In a traditional family, there is often a patriarchal power structure in which the breadwinner of the family makes most decisions. A modern family has power distributed more equally among spouses and has a shorter power distance to children. Cohesion concerns to what extent a family is a harmonious group of family members with good communication and strong emotional bonds. Their research showed that overall, the wife has most influence on making decisions regarding buying products. When a buying process is more important, for example when the product concerns a holiday, the husband becomes more involved. Children are seen to have more influence on the buying process in the later stages of decision making, which are looking at alternatives, making the decision and purchasing. They were also able to distinguish different buying processes among the family types, namely by showing that wives had

more influence on the buying process in traditional type families (Holdert & Antonides, 1997). However, the difference is not big, making modern type families still rely mostly on the wife in making decisions regarding purchases. Their findings that children do not have much influence on the first stages of a buying process are contrasting previous research on the topic. They explain this by mentioning the different product types and their importance. With less important purchases, such as everyday groceries, children might influence the buying process more by being affected through advertising.

Holdert and Antonides (1997) look at buying products as a decision-making process that progresses in a number of steps or stages. This is a common way of looking at decision-making processes in marketing theory (Dhar, 1992; Erasmus, Boshoff & Rousseau, 2001; Sirakaya & Woodside, 2005). These stages have emerged from a longstanding interest from both marketing research and psychological research. A lot of the first consumer behaviour research thought of decision-making as a rational process (Erasmus, Boshoff & Rousseau, 2001), using economic theory and quantitative research methods (Thaler, 1980). However, that started to shift as more sociological, psychological and anthropological methods were used that resulted in the understanding of consumer decision-making as a complex process (Sheth, 1985). The basic model that has emerged throughout the years and is still used in most consumer behaviour research consists of five steps or stages: problem recognition, information search, alternative evaluation, choice and outcome evaluation (Erasmus, Boshoff & Rousseau, 2001). Depending on what type of product is being purchased or other differentiating variables, there might be additional steps as well.

Problem recognition is the stage in which the need or want for a new product or purchase is created. This can be triggered by internal stimuli, like thirst, or by external stimuli, like advertising or societal pressure (Erasmus, Boshodd & Rousseau, 2001). The information search is when buyers search for the best solution to their problem. However, since people can only process so much information (Bettman, Johnson & Payne, 1991; Malholtra, 1982) and are not completely rational in their search (Shiv & Fedorikhin, 1999), the process of analysing information is highly complex and influenced by many different variables. Sirakaya and Woodside (2015) describe the gathering of information as a psychological process rather than a rational one, which involves attitudes, motivations, beliefs and intentions. Other factors such as time, money and pull-factors are also at play. The same complex processes are at play when people are evaluating alternatives, a stage which is heavily affected by attitude.

Both information search and evaluating alternatives are very sensitive to purchase involvement (Sirakaya & Woodside, 2005). This concerns the level of importance of a purchase and the attention it requires according to the buyer. Sirakaya and Woodside apply consumer decision-making theory to people that want to travel, which is usually a high level involvement purchase. However, this

can change due to factors such as money or knowing the destination. For instance, people who have more money to spend on travelling and do it frequently, might be less involved in the purchase compared to people who have trouble saving up for a trip that they only take once a year. This same logic will probably apply to people deciding to undertake family day trips. For those who do it very regularly, there might be more room to take a chance and not do extensive research into the decision. Combining this with Holdert and Antonidus' (1997) research into decision roles within the family, the purchase involvement is also likely to influence whether or not the child has a say in the decision. If a family day out is a high involvement purchase for a family, the parents could be more likely to take control over information gathering – and have the child's influence more in the later stages of decision-making.

When all the information is gathered and evaluated, the buyers will make a choice (Erasmus, Boshoff & Rousseau, 2001). This stage can still be influenced by different variables, such as negative feedback from others and unanticipated situations or contexts (Kotler, Keller, Koshy & Jha, 2008). There is also the problem of indecisiveness over alternatives, which can lead to choosing for the option that involves the least risk (Dhar, 1992). For example, when parents have evaluated different activities for a day out and their children each let them know what they like best, the parents might ultimately choose for something they have done before – even if there were other alternatives that they found more attractive. The context of wanting to please everyone or having negative feedback from someone involved might cause a sudden change in their choice.

The last stage that occurs after the purchase is an important one for future purchase, which was also noted by Sterry and Beaumont (2006). If customers are satisfied with their choice, their future decision-making process is more likely to skip steps such as information gathering and evaluating alternatives. This is often called brand loyalty (Kotler et al, 2008). Families are likely to have favourite activities that they and their children have enjoyed in the past, which will easily be repeated without considering any alternatives. However, children growing up are relatively quick to change in what they like as they are maturing, resulting in the parents needing to re-evaluate previously successful activities and start information gathering to search for new alternatives.

While these stages or steps in consumer decision-making seem straightforward, there are many different factors and psychological processes underlying each step (Sirakaya & Woodside, 2015). This makes it difficult to create an overarching theory for all types of purchases. This is why it is useful to search for specific studies in consumer decision-making that focus on leisure activities. However, there seems to be no body of research in this field yet. A purchase that is quite similar to deciding over leisure activities as part of a day trip is the purchase of a holiday trip. Studying decision-making processes concerning leisure travel shows that the general model for consumer decision-making only serves as an initial map that needs to be enriched with other variables to become more complete

(Sirakaya & Woodside, 2015; Woodside & Lysonski, 1989). This focus on the individual and the psychological values that have an influence on the decision-making process is highlighted in Smallman and Moore's (2010) argument that studies into the decision-making of travellers should pay more attention to the *process* of the individual. The general model, according to them, focuses too much on external factors and information instead of leaving room for the travellers' values, lifestyle and contextual factors.

Using the general model to get a full scope of how parents make decisions about leisure activities will generate an understanding of where the museum visit fits in. Is it not even an option if it does not conform with personal values and lifestyle, or is it usually evaluated as an alternative? Also, is a decision about leisure activities with the family considered a high involvement purchase or not, and how does this have an effect on decision-making? If children have a lot of influence on the decision-making process, this could be valuable information for museum marketeers as well. These questions will be combined into my third sub question: "How do families make decisions regarding their leisure activities?" Next to the personal process that shapes the decision-making process, there should also be some attention given to motivations and constraints that may or may not make the museum an attractive place to visit. These I will discuss in the next section.

2.4 MOTIVATIONS AND CONSTRAINTS FOR MUSEUM VISITING

The museum is offering a product, which means there are many different constraints and motivations for possible consumers to be thinking about. People can have many reasons for not visiting museums, like not having enough time next to working full-time (Kraaykamp, Van Gils & Ultee, 2008). Hood (1992) suggests museums first and foremost need to be places that offer good service and facilities. Different types of visitors have different needs, such as the elderly, disabled people or families with children. Frequent visitors of museums also seem to have different motivations for leisure: to learn, be inspired and challenge themselves. However, the occasional museum visitor is motivated by other values: feeling comfortable, social interaction and active participation. These are the same values that are important for family leisure (Shaw & Dawson, 2001; Sterry & Beaumont, 2006). For some, the museum is challenging while still feeling comfortable. However, for occasional visitors, a museum visit can be straining physically and mentally. The lack of places to sit down and the overload of information are named as lack of service (Hood, 1992).

Reasons for people not to visit can also range from image, attitude, interests and constraints (Prentice, Davies & Beeho, 1997). Traditionally, the museum is seen as a place to elevate taste, inspire, learn and enjoy aesthetic pleasure. For some this can be valuable, but others think of it as 'not for them' or of little practical or instrumental value. Specifically, respondents showed that "museums are

visited frequently to gain general knowledge, out of curiosity and as part of a general day out, escaping routine by relaxing with family and friends; all supported by a longer term view that this activity will aid the preservation of the museum for future generations” (Prentice, Davies & Beeho, 1997, p. 53). Notable, the most frequently named reason for not visiting museums compared to other cultural institutions is the lack of time. This shows that people assume that a museum visit takes more time than visiting the theatre or industrial heritage attractions. Other quantitative studies (Jansen-Verbeke & Van Rekom, 1996; Tian, Crompton & Witt, 1996) show the same motivations and constraints as push and pull factors for the museum visit.

Understanding which practical constraints are present is vital for the museum, as it competes with many other leisure activities people can choose from (Geissler, Rucks & Edison, 2006). These practical constraints might include opening hours, parking and location. Next to practical constraints, people choose to visit the museum based on word-of-mouth communication and the appearance of service facilities. This also explains the importance of educational projects, which offer the service of guiding people along. Lastly, Geissler, Rucks and Edison (2006) mention how people’s perception of the museum as a brand is important. Understanding these initial facets of enabling a museum visit is important as these can aid a museum to improve their facilities and communication.

Knowing what the usual motivations and constraints for museum visiting are, this research can bring more understanding into how the positive sides and motivations for a museum visit can outweigh possible constraints or doubts. Frequently reasons for not visiting such as time remain vague in a quantitative analysis, as a museum visit does not have to take more time than other leisure activities. Also, a qualitative analysis can place the motivations and constraints into the context of families and pry more to see what services could practically improve a visit.

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

Since my research question asks for both descriptive and interpretative data, I have chosen to combine quantitative and qualitative methods. This combination of methods was feasible since the quantitative data consisted of an existing data set. For my qualitative data, I have conducted interviews with parents of primary school children with different types of backgrounds.

3.1 QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

Working from the theoretical framework and the results from the quantitative data analysis, I built my interview guide. The guide consisted of different themes, allowing for different orders in the interviews as well. Since the parents I wanted to interview would each have different leisure patterns and motivations, the interview guide was really only a guide, leaving room for me to pry further if necessary or ask different questions. My initial plan to interview sets of parents proved too difficult in practice, since a lot of my respondents were single parents or had full-time working husbands. As per request of Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen's desire to gain a larger audience within the Rotterdam population, my participants were from within the Rotterdam municipality only. My participants were parents of one child or more, of which at least one child was attending primary school. I chose families with at least one child in primary school, since families with no younger children do not recreate as often when the children are able to independently go outside (Landon & Locander, 1979).

In order to recruit the interviewees, I started by going to primary schools in different districts in Rotterdam. With permission from the schools, I handed out flyers and talked to parents about my research. The very few contacts I got through this, did not reply to my attempts to set a date. Through posts on Facebook and asking people I know in Rotterdam, I was set up with the first interviews. After this, I posted my request for interviewees in a Facebook selling-group for Rotterdam, where I also promised the interviewees a reward of fifteen euros for participating. This led to a larger response, while many of the interviewees did not accept the reward in the end.

In total, there were ten interviewees (see Appendix E for an overview), which were selected on basis of their necessary criteria: living inside the Rotterdam municipality and having at least one young child that is going to primary school. The preferred method for interviewing was either face-to-face or by phone, so this also weighed in the selection process. I also looked for diversity between the interviewees, notably looking for their level of education and occupation and marital status. The interviewees were informed about the interview to the extent that they knew the interview would be

about their leisure activities with their children. They knew they would be asked about all sorts of activities, but days out in specific – and that the interview would go into their values, motivations and constraints. What I did not tell them in advance was the involvement of Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen or the plans for Depot Boijmans Van Beuningen, so as to not influence their answers during the interview. The interviewees were able to pick the place for the interview or could opt for a phone call or Skype conversation. I explained a face-to-face conversation in a quiet environment was preferred, as this would give me the highest quality recordings and allow for clear communication. I also asked permission to record the interview and explained I would not use their names. I conducted three phone interviews and the rest were all conducted in the homes of the interviewees. Half of the interviewees were single parents and the other half were raising their child together with the father. All of the interviewees were women. At first, mostly women responded to my requests, and later I learned that in all cases the mothers were the leading decision-maker when it came to leisure activities. Since this also confirmed the study by Holdert and Antonides (1997), I decided not to actively search for fathers to interview. This had the additional benefit that the gender of the interviewees could be disregarded as an explanation of differences among my interviewees. Each mother clearly noted how she was the one bringing forth ideas for leisure activities, as well as evaluating the different alternatives. In the discussing of these decisions, they named involvement of their children more than their spouses, so I did not see added value in pursuing to arrange interviews with both parents present.

The main concepts I wanted to cover in the interviews were: status, leisure time activities, decision making, motivations, constraints, values and conditions for a possible depot visit. The interviews all started with more general questions, asking about the interviewees' occupation, education and the different members of the family. After this, I asked what schools the children went to, what sorts of extracurricular activities they engaged in and how they spent their free time at home. During this, I also asked about their motivations for those different choices or how much the parents were involved in this. These questions I mainly asked with relation to Annette Lareau's (2002) theory on the difference between concerted cultivation and the accomplishment of natural growth in parenting, which could be interpreted based on the level of control the parents have over their children's free time and what motivates them to do so. After this, I went into the different activities the families undertook during the weekends and what types of activities they did in Rotterdam. As a lot of the parents noted that most of their leisure activities as a family did not take place in Rotterdam, I also asked them why they usually went outside of Rotterdam and what sort of activities they did do in Rotterdam. After getting a scope of the different sorts of activities they undertook, I started asking about the decision-making process: where do they start searching for information, who is involved and what is important? These questions also revealed the interviewees' motivations and constraints.

Epecially asking them about their best, worst and ideal days out concretely put into words what they thought is important. After prying a bit, finding out why they liked or disliked certain experiences much, I asked them about their overarching values. This I did by asking questions such as: what is the most important about your favourite activity? Or: what do you hope your children will get from this?

At this stage, the differences between families resulted in different focuses in the interview. For the mothers who revealed to be culturally active, e.g., visiting theatres, musicals and museums with their children, I pried into their motivations for such activities. For those never undertaking any cultural activities, I started asking about their experiences with museum visits, for example through school excursions. This would allow me to eventually ask how they felt about museums in general and involving their children in cultural activities. Lastly, before I started informing them about the research's involvement with Depot Boijmans Van Beuningen, I pried for museum-specific motivations and constraints.

Having explained the interviewees about the Depot, I explained I wanted them to have a look at the existing impression of the Depot and tell me what they think. I showed them the impressions from the official Depot Boijmans Van Beuningen website that can be found in their 'online tour'. Letting the interviewees scroll through the pictures, they could give their initial response. After this, I asked them what they associated the building and interior with and if the impressions reminded them of a museum experience. I also asked them if they thought of the space as a child-friendly one. Then, I gave some examples of possible children's activities for the Depot, as discussed in earlier meetings at Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen with Catrien Schreuder and Rianne Schoonderbeek. I have asked them how they think about this generally, if they would consider visiting. Also, I asked them to fantasize a bit, thinking about what they would like to see there, what would definitely make them visit. This information could be useful to understand exactly what non-visitors are missing in a museum in general, next to being practically useful for Boijmans.

The interviews were recorded on my phone, transcribed literally, including pauses, sighs and laughs. During the transcription, I started keeping notes and memos, as this already allows for early stages of analysis (Bryman, 2015). The transcripts were then imported into Atlas.ti for coding and analysis. Since the theoretical framework and the transcribing already prompted themes and concepts, the open coding rounds already included quite specified codes. By recoding again, I checked if there were no missing codes. After this, I started putting codes together in groups. In order to make sense of all the data, I used written notes as well – as they allow for a lot of freedom in organizing codes and concepts. By writing down family profiles, including indicators of social class, leisure activities and main

motivations, I got an overview of the large amount of data. Using Atlas.ti for building a network, I was able to visually revise the traditional decision-making model.

After having organized the data more, and having the families' narratives laid out, I started looking back at my theoretical framework, attempting to link my findings to the theories addressed in chapter 2. During the whole analysing process, I also took notes of relations and patterns I thought were remarkable, or findings that directly linked to the research question. Together with these, I wrote down my findings along the different sub questions and themes that were put forth in my theoretical framework.

3.2 QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

To support my qualitative research, I used the quantitative data collected for the VTO omnibus survey of Rotterdam (OBI, 2015). Statistical analyses provided insight into the patterns of leisure participation among the people of Rotterdam, which gave direction for the interviews. They provided information about existing patterns and confirmed patterns of cultural consumption mentioned in the theoretical framework. The data gave a description of who is visiting museum in Rotterdam and who is not, which could bring attention to certain characteristics to which I should pay attention during the interviews. The variables of the dataset that I used in my analyses can be found in the overview in Appendix F. In total, 2795 respondents participated in this research, representing people in Rotterdam between 13 and 75. The dataset included the variable of family type, including couples and singles with children at home, singles and couples without children at home. Important to note is that this survey did not look at the age of the children, while my research focused on families with children that attend primary school.

For this data collection, a survey was used asking inhabitants of Rotterdam how they spend their leisure time (both indoor and outdoor). This research was conducted to inform policy makers about cultural participation, sports, and other leisure activities. The survey also asks for information regarding the participants' education, earnings, family composition and ethnicity. Using SPSS, mean comparisons, frequency tables and regression analyses were carried out to learn more about the relations between these background variables and cultural activities. Through an analysis of these data, we can get a clearer description of what kind of people visit Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen and what other people in Rotterdam prefer to do.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

First and foremost, the data from both the interviews and the VTO omnibus survey of Rotterdam made clear that families with children do not think of the art museum as a very suitable place for their children. A regression analysis for predicting museum visiting in Rotterdam shows that, compared to other family types, families with children are most likely to visit museums. However, this changes when using this analysis to predict visiting museums that are related to art and/or culture. The museums used for these analyses were Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Natuurhistorisch, Maritiem Museum, Nederlands Fotomuseum, Kunsthal, Chabot Museum and Wereldmuseum (see Appendix A). Natuurhistorisch and Maritiem Museum are the only ones that are most likely to be visited by families with children. The only exception to this rule is Villa Zebra, an art museum that is specifically designed for (young) children. Also, the interviews made clear that parents thought of art museums as ‘adult’ museums, while taking their children to science and history museums or engaging in other cultural activities such as going to the theatre or movies. Table 1 shows the coefficients from the regression analysis for predicating likelihood of visiting Boijmans, see Appendix A for an overview of the likelihood of visiting among different family types for the aforementioned museums. It needs to be noted that the VTO omnibus does not categorize family types by the age of children, it simply puts together all couples that have children living at home. These children can be of any age, but are likely to be made up mostly of pre-school, primary school and high school children.

Table 1
Likelihood of visiting Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, compared to Couple with children

Family type	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Single	.084	.171	.243	1	.622	1.088
Couple without children	.029	.144	.040	1	.841	1.029
Single parent	-.104	.275	.142	1	.706	.901
Other	-.138	.351	.155	1	.694	.871

These effects are controlled for income, education, gender, age, ethnicity and work situation. The differences between likelihood of visiting for the different families are not significant.

Parents are very focused on finding activities labelled as child activities and pay attention to what age the activities are deemed appropriate for – especially when considering a new activity or place that the parents have no prior experience with. As Lisanne formulates this thought: “All those children’s museums have all these things to do. Naturalis has a scavenger hunt... Because if I take him to a real museum, he is not going to like it of course... But those children’s museums, if they have a sort of scavenger hunt, then eh, I think he could really like that.” Several mothers even describe Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen as a typical art museum, a ‘real’ adult museum. In this chapter, I will lay out what exactly makes something a child-appropriate activity or museum according to the respondents. However, the reasons for excluding art museums are somewhat different between families, which is linked to different leisure patterns and motivations. These motivations and goals for leisure also follow from the fact that these parents are practicing different styles of parenting, which reflects how they choose between leisure activities. In this chapter, I will further present the results from both the quantitative and qualitative analyses, structuring them along the three different sub-questions, categorized in the themes of social class, parenting and decision-making. Lastly, I will go into the conditions that could make museum visiting, or visiting the Depot, more interesting for the parents interviewed.

4.1 SOCIAL CLASS

Even though the results are clear in showing that art museums have a harder time attracting families with children than other museums, there are still families visiting them. So what do we know about them? Comparing means of the VTO omnibus survey shows that people visiting Museum Boijmans (N=550) Van Beuningen generally have higher education than people not visiting (see table 2). They also make more money than non-visitors, which is a non-significant difference. An additional logistic regression analysis (see Appendix B) shows that it is education that significantly impacts visiting museum Boijmans van Beuningen, not money. Another relevant significant effect for visiting is the difference in ethnicity. People of Surinam, Antillean and Cape-Verdean ethnicity, those of Turkish ethnicity and other non-Western ethnicities are significantly less likely to visit, compared to people with a Dutch nationality. Family composition has no significant impact on visiting, while working situation does (see the regression analysis in Appendix B). People with no paid income are more likely to visit the museum than people with a paid income, which can be explained by the fact that these are often people who rely on the (high) income of a spouse and thus have more time on their hands for such activities.

When comparing means for other museums, the visitor and non-visitor profiles are more or less the same: visitors are more likely to be higher educated, earn more, are women, are older and are of autochthonous or western ethnicity. However, the differences between the education and income of visitors and non-visitors are notably smaller for Maritiem Museum, Natuurhistorisch and Wereldmuseum (see Appendix C for full overview for these two variables). Nederlands Fotomuseum and Nieuwe Instituut have the biggest differences between their visitors and non-visitors, mostly because the people who say they visit, have higher education than all other museum visitors in general.

Table 2
Comparing means for visiting Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen

Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen	Age in groups	Gender	Education level	Net income level	ethni_autochthonous	ethni_suriantil_capeverid	ethni_turkish	ethni_moroccan	ethni_other_nonwestern	ethni_other_western
No (N=2176)	2,60	57% women	5,88	2,97	53%	15%	4%	2%	16%	10%
Yes (N=550)	2,72	55% men	7,61	3,52	65%	7%	1%	1%	10%	15%
Total	2,63	56%	6,23	3,08	,5565	13%	4%	2%	15%	11%

Numbers in bold are significant.

The respondents of the VTO omnibus survey were also asked what are their three most important activities they engage in when in the Rotterdam city centre. Comparing means for all these different types of activities people can engage in within Rotterdam city centre, families with children show they mostly engage in shopping, having dinner and going to the cinema (there is no table included due to the complexity of the data). This was reflected in the interviews as well. Most mothers said these would be the most common activities in the city centre, though they were not their preferred activities in general. When asking the mothers about their most common or preferred activities, visiting places like the zoo or playgrounds came up very often. Their children are always happy to go to playgrounds and they are easily accessible and cheap as well.

Next to these places that are visited by all families, there were also different types of activities, places and motivations for visiting that came up multiple times. In order to see any sort of structure or relation to class, it is helpful to create clusters of those activities and motivations. This resulted in four different categories: nature, science, pure entertainment and arts & culture (see table 3 for the overview). Activities falling under the category of nature are usually low-cost or cheap outings to the

woods or the sea. Parents often describe they enjoy just being outside or even explicitly say they value the outdoors and want their children to have respect for nature as well. Depending on the motivations behind the visit, this category can also include the zoo and petting zoo. The science category includes mostly museums that are designed for teaching children about subjects like the human body, dinosaurs and scientific experiments. Examples of these that were mentioned in the interviews are Corpus, de Ontdekhoeck and the Natuurhistorisch Museum. Pure entertainment activities are those that are not meant to have any explicit educational value, such as entertainment parks and (indoor) playgrounds. Examples of these are Efteling and Ballorig. Lastly, the arts & culture category includes all types of places that are focused on art or cultural stories and history. Examples of these, next to Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, are Archeon, Kunsthal and visiting the theatre.

These categories, or rather profiles, make most sense when paired with motivations instead of just referring to destinations. Ella mentioned several places they visit that could fall into the arts & culture profile and the science profile, but when taking in the motivations and circumstances surrounding those visits, their family seems more tied to the nature and pure entertainment profiles. When asking why they chose to visit Maritiem Museum and a small historical museum each year, the respondent explains she lets the children decide: “Well the children really like it. And for us it’s, well like I said, that they get those stamps”. For herself, the goal is to visit as many places as is required in order to collect stamps¹ that allow the family to visit the zoo cheaply. She expresses a strong aversion to museums, but as long as the children enjoy it, she does not mind going. Asking her if she cares if her children get any other sort of merit from the activities aside from enjoyment, the mother replies that fun is the sole goal and learning is not of importance in their leisure activities. So while she visits places that are designed to teach children about history and science, her motivations for those visits are purely for the enjoyment of her children – and for getting a deal. This is why I would put this family in the nature and pure entertainment profiles with a focus on having fun rather than learning.

Another example of a family that fits into different profiles is Eva, who voices explicitly that she values cultural education for later life. This is reflected in the activities she undertakes with her family. Next to going to outdoor and indoor playgrounds, the zoo and the Efteling, she also takes her daughter to Villa Zebra and they used to visit theatre plays and musicals. Her daughter’s disinterest for visits to Villa Zebra is described as a pity, because the mother wishes to enrich her daughter with notions of creativity – something she says she missed when growing up herself. She says that if she

¹ These stamps can be collected in the ‘Jeugd Vakantiepaspoort’, a passport distributed among all Rotterdam primary school children. This passport encourages families to explore different activities that Rotterdam has to offer during the summer holidays. It includes discounts and deals, such as collecting stamps by visiting different locations in order to collect free tickets to the zoo – as mentioned by Ella – and getting small rewards like free ice-cream.

were exposed to more cultural activities in her younger life, she might have made different decisions later on, being more involved with creativity. For her daughter, she wishes to make this cultural world ‘a part of her own’, including knowing how to dress up for the theatre and to appreciate what is going on there, which is a sentiment shared by Bente and Fay. This clear valuation of cultural education has evolved later on in life, since it clearly is not something the mother got from her own upbringing.

The profiles of nature and pure entertainment are also prevalent for all families, except for some that did not explicitly mention these types of activities or strongly showed preference for other profiles. Even mothers who mostly talk about the educational or cultural trips they make, mention trips to indoor playgrounds and walks through the woods. The profiles of science and arts & culture are less common and especially the latter strongly follows education or profession. The mothers that described an interest in culture, arts or history have all enjoyed higher education or are working in a skilled profession (see Appendix E). By this I mean a profession which requires a specific set of skills and knowledge, which can only be acquired through education or development within the work field. For example, Úna completed the police academy and has been with the police for over 15 years – acquiring a position that is requiring skill and knowledge, though not having an institutionally ‘high’ education. The mothers that are in low- or unskilled jobs or have little education, express different attitudes towards cultural activities. Examples of these jobs among my interviewees are housecleaning (Sanne), working in a snack bar (Ella) and working as a shop assistant (Adrienne). They each talk about art and museums as ‘not their thing’, simply not viewing it as something that could be part of their lives. Overall, those with higher education or skilled professions seem to be spending their family time outside of the house in a wider range of different places.

Table 3
Leisure profiles

Family	Nature	Science	Pure entertainment	Arts & Culture
1: Sherida	X	/	X	
2: Ella	X		X	
3: Lisanne	X	/	/	
4: Úna	X	X	X	X
5: Adrienne	X		X	
6: Eva	X	X	X	X
7: Bente	X	X		X
8: Fay	X	X	X	/
9: Sanne			X	
10: Ilja	X	X	X	X

The X’s indicate the family’s activities, while the half X’s (/) indicate that a wish to visit was mentioned, though there was no mention of actual visits during the interview.

The mothers (Úna, Eva, Bente, Fay and Ilja) whose families fit into the arts and culture profile are all higher educated or have a skilled profession. The different profiles also show some sort of openness or inclusivity of those higher educated or professional parents, since they have the widest range of different activities. However, notions of quality and authenticity can also be interpreted for interviewees as values or characteristics that the parents are looking for in leisure activities. Words linked to authenticity or quality that I found when describing leisure activities were only mentioned by those with higher educational or occupational class. Úna explained how she was considering visiting a historical site on holiday, but decided not to, because it was not authentic enough. Another mention of a valued characteristic is a 'nature' playground, or a more organic playground. Eva quickly elaborates by explaining what makes the Speeldernis special: "...There are little streams flowing and ... it is really an organic playground, everything is made of trees". Mentioning these features might imply that those parents have a different outlook or set of values by which they approach these leisure activities.

Looking at their own backgrounds and upbringing is interesting, since the profiles largely reflect their own youth. However, most of the mothers that have enjoyed higher education or are in a skilled profession have not had cultural education as a part of their leisure time. Úna, who works as a police detective, recalls going for simple outings such as a nearby playground or simply playing with friends outside. Eva wishes she would have had this cultural education as a child. They purposefully take their children to such places as they have come to value learning about cultural notions, history and art. An exception to this is Ilja, who is the only mother who visited cultural institutions regularly as a part of her own cultural education. She recalls being in an art museum every Sunday because her mother deemed it an essential part of her upbringing to know about the great artists, which she did not enjoy: "But also the hard core old masters, I thought it was horrible. The only thing I remember is that I was like, can I go, can I go? And looking how many halls were left". This single mother takes her daughter to a variety of cultural activities, such as museums, events, theatre and festivals. She does not explicitly talk about choosing for this type of leisure or the importance of cultural education – she simply chooses these activities out of her own interest. He does hope to foster creative thinking, critical thinking and curiosity for her child. So how this interest or valuation for cultural values, history and arts has developed for those mothers that have not had this ingrained in their own upbringing, remains a question.

Next to different views on cultural activities, the mothers also expressed different views about how to approach leisure time in the first place. The way they approach leisure might influence their thoughts on cultural activities. Firstly, the main important goal of going out as a family is to spend time together, and going on a real 'day out' facilitates that as no member of the family can be distracted by everyday things like checking emails, playing with neighbours or doing laundry. After that, the leading

goal for the day out is to have fun – this is the same for all families. Fun as a family, putting the children’s fun in the first place. However, beyond this commonality we see relevant differences. There are a few mothers that express this narrative as their main or only motivation for a day out. As Ella put it: “That we are having fun and nothing else. That the children are enjoying themselves and that we are enjoying ourselves and I don’t care about the rest. It really is all about the children.” However, most mothers also value learning for their children, which can take many forms. Adrienne wants her daughter to “develop by doing things”, possibly implying learning cognitive skills and learning about nature by going on trips to the woods or the zoo. Fay wants to teach her children about the importance of nature, animals and waste because of her job as a paraveterinary worker. Another phrase used by Sherida, Úna, Fay and Ilja is to have their children experience new things or simply learn about culture and history as part of a child’s education. So wanting children to keep learning and developing outside of school is not something restricted to highly educated parents or professionals.

There is, however, a difference between mothers that express wanting their children to take away ‘something’ from their leisure activities and mothers that have specific goals in mind and act upon those. The mothers that express they would like their children to take away something but actually choose activities that are more focused on ‘fun’, do not have learning as a priority. Úna, Eva, Bente, Fay and Ilja take their children to places that might be slightly less enjoyable while being beneficial in educational ways, implying they probably have learning as a higher priority. But it also implies that they view leisure time to be a time for learning and developing that does not always have to be pure ‘fun’. A few of these mothers also said they enjoy learning and being challenged in their free time themselves. When Bente was asked how she experienced going to museums herself, she replied: “I have always enjoyed that, but that might also be because I am interested in always learning about new things”, expressing that she likes to keep educating herself in her free time.

Another notable finding concerns the view of museum visits as not a vital part of everyday life for young children, but still an essential part of their general upbringing. Several mothers with higher education or profession that do not visit ‘real’ museums with their children, are more inclined to do so when on holiday or visiting a different city. Even while expressing not particularly liking art museums, such visits are just part of it all, according to them. While they do press for culture, history and/or art to be included in the upbringing of their children, the art museum is sometimes a step too far. Children’s theatre or musicals are often named by mothers with an interest in cultural activities as successful activities their children enjoy, but even the most art-oriented mothers think of the leisurely art museum visit as something for later. Bente, who visits many natural history and science museums, replies when asked if they also visit art museums: “With her not that much yet. And that is purely because she is still so young and ehm... I think it is really scary that she touches everything and that

sort of stuff. In those museums she really cannot do that as much as in museums that are focused on that”, meaning the child-focused museums they often visit. Eva also mentions Boijmans as an example of an art museum that she would not consider bringing her daughter: “For example eh, Boijmans. There I wouldn’t really take my daughter. No, the real classic eh, artwork, to say so. I don’t think that would really make her happy.”

So coming back to the question: “How are the leisure interests of families structured along patterns of cultural consumption among occupational and educational classes?”, it is clear that there is a pattern of consumption lining up with class. The mothers with higher education or in a skilled profession are more likely to have broader leisure profiles and to take part in arts and cultural activities with their children. They also are paying more attention to notions of quality and authenticity in all different types of activities, such as going to an ‘organic and natural’ playground. They also place more emphasis on activities that both educate and are enjoyable, whereas mothers from lower educational and occupational class backgrounds are more likely to emphasize pure fun. Regarding museum visiting in leisure time, this means the mothers with higher education and skilled professions are more likely to visit museum than the others. But the arts museum takes a special place, as this is usually not considered as a child-friendly place. This is due to practical reasons such as ‘museum rules’ they feel they have to adhere to, but also the idea that art museums do not have interesting programming for children.

4.2 PARENTING

This balance between learning and having fun takes form in the style of parenting the mothers adopt. While most mothers share the wish that their children develop themselves in some shape or form during the day out activities they undertake, there is a difference in how much they really facilitate this. For example, Lisanne wishes to undertake more trips to museums or other institutions that might have educational value – but only within the interests of her son. Fay wants to teach her children about nature, but also cultural values – but only goes to activities within the nature and science profile because her children are interested in those. This is in contrast with Eva, who values cultural education and takes her daughter to Villa Zebra even though this was not her daughter’s favourite place. The same goes for Úna and Ilja, who each put certain values slightly over the wishes of their children.

Ilja describes how she sometimes takes her daughter with her to events such as Art Rotterdam, which is not specifically designed for children. However, she usually sees her daughter enjoying it in the end. Úna occasionally visits other towns and their historical events, which she knows bores her

children, but which she takes them to nonetheless. This difference in focus on the child is important, since it would have an impact on what type of activities the parents can choose from. Ella, Adrienne and Sanne – three mothers with unskilled jobs – all said they mainly let their children decide what to do, and the days out are focused around the children and their enjoyment. As Sanne describes this dynamic between her and her daughter: “I think it is very important that she likes it, that she... is happy with it. That is my... my life actually. My daughter is my life.” This mother is raising her daughter on her own, though this does not explain this devotion to pleasing since half of my interviewees were single mothers, including Ilja.

Even though educational and occupational class does not seem to influence the general wish of parents that their children keep learning and developing outside of school, the choosing of their leisure activities does show a difference. Where Sanne does say she wishes her daughter learns ‘something’ from their leisure activities, she never picks activities with an educational focus. They usually visit playgrounds, the shopping mall or MacDonald’s, chosen by the daughter herself. The same goes for Ella and Adrienne. It must be said, though, that it is difficult to draw a straight line here. Interviewee Sherida, for instance, finished only high school and while working in a women’s shelter, she manages a large family of five children. She highly values her children having fun, but also exposing them to new experiences and learning from them. Though she does keep her children’s interests in mind, she sometimes takes them to events or activities they might not like: “It is not something they like, but you know, I also think sometimes you have to look at other things. And not... everything is about football”. In her case, her situation plays a big part in how she chooses activities. Because of the size of her family, it is difficult to find something everybody likes. There are some activities she knows everyone will like, but with the drive to go out for new experiences, Sherida likes to try new things. Money plays a role in this too, which I will elaborate on in the next section.

Another interesting observation is the mention of dialogue by Ilja. She said she enjoyed participating in activities together with her daughter, since it could prompt conversation about it later: “You really are on a day out together and then it is nice to do it together, I like that because it fills the dialogue. That’s the thing with cultural activities anyway. How do you look at that, how does it make you feel?”. This mother made it clear that she does not look for educational material in her leisure activities, partly because of her own experience as a child with strict art museum education. She wants to focus on joy and experiences for her daughter, but this quote shows she enjoys seeing her daughter affected by art in other ways than just having a good time. She wants to hear her daughter being able to critically talk about art and express her feelings and experiences in words, which is an educational exercise in itself. This type of dialogue is one of the characteristics of concerted cultivation as explained by Lareau (2002). Another indicator for this style of parenting is the controlling of children’s

development in their extracurricular activities, something Eva did for her daughter. She explains: “I thought... you need to toughen up. And then I thought, well, if I enrol her in some martial arts class, she’ll learn that naturally... So she did that for a year and a half and then, then she really toughened up so I gave her the choice: do you want to continue doing this or do you want to switch?” This clearly portrays that the mother is missing a certain quality or trait in her daughter which she feels her daughter will need later in life, thus choosing to exert control over her daughter by managing her free time.

Bringing these observations back to the question: “How are the leisure interests of different families motivated by concerted cultivation or other parenting styles?”, it is clear that the parents practicing a parenting style closer to concerted cultivation are taking more control over the activities their children indulge in during leisure time. It needs to be clear that none of the mothers interviewed fit the description of concerted cultivation as defined by Lareau (2002), but there is a divide in parenting style visible when paying attention to the amount of control the mothers exert over their children’s leisure time. Those mothers with higher education or skilled profession might value certain skills or knowledge and take (conscious) action to facilitate development for their children. This means bringing them to places like historical towns or other activities the children might not like, motivated by the idea that it benefits their children. Some mothers with lower education or unskilled professions do voice that they wish their children learn something during leisure, but in their actual leisure activities, the choices are mostly led by what the children enjoy.

4.3 DECISION-MAKING

Now we know the mothers with a higher educational and occupational class are more likely to choose activities that may benefit their children in ways other than simply being ‘fun’, and they are also more open to the idea of visiting cultural activities with their children. But are these differences between classes also appearing in their decision-making processes? The decision-making process is typically categorized by five main steps: recognition of the problem, information gathering, considering alternatives, making the choice and evaluating the results.

First of all, I wanted to know how important making this decision is for families and with how much care they handle the decision-making. This purchase involvement is mainly influenced by how frequently a family undertakes a day out and the amount of money they spend on it or how much money they have to spend. A statistical analysis of the VTO omnibus survey data shed some light on this. A frequency analysis of how many times people undertake recreational activities is relevant for understanding the importance of purchase for a day out in Rotterdam. The analysis shows the number

together. This can best be achieved by physically getting outside of the house to get away from everyday distractions, but usually this also entails getting away from the entire 'normal' context of being in Rotterdam. Especially when the family wants a full day out and is prepared to invest in it, they tend to look beyond the context of their own city. The number of days out in general does differ between the interviewees. Especially when considering activities that cost money, it becomes a luxury product for some while others do it more regularly.

The effects of the level of purchase involvement on the decision-making process are seen in the risk-taking behaviour of parents. Parents with very little to spend feel pressured to make the day out successful, resorting to activities that will guarantee an enjoyable day for the family. This sentiment was shared, especially by those who have to watch their money: "But of course when you have limited financial resources, you quickly choose for something you know they will really like instead of... choosing for the cultural" (Fay). Next to money, time is also of the issue here. As illustrated by Sanne: "If I get the choice, this costs twelve euros and... I have a day off. Do you go to a museum or to Plaswijckpark? I know my daughter will enjoy herself more at Plaswijckpark... But if I have three weeks off and I am staying here, then I might do it. Then it might be nice to do something different." Parents seek for a sense of security in their purchase when it becomes more important, which will also be felt in their decision-making process.

The respondents' wish to have their money well spent does not only mean that the activity has to be fun, they also want it to last long. As Úna puts it: "well in relation to the price, look if something is forty euros and it's done after an hour, well I think that is a waste of money". Most parents want a day out they invest in to be a 'real' day out, which involves going somewhere but also to be out for a while. A day out activity should keep everyone busy for a good portion of a day. Price is listed as a constraint, since it should not be too expensive, but a lot of parents say the price they are willing to pay depends on how much they get out of it. This eventually proves very important for their view on museum visits. Parents are willing to pay a higher price for a theme park, not only because they know their children will love it, but also because they know it will keep everyone occupied and happy for the entire day. Ella even describes how the time-price balance is so important, they even withstood the bad weather for it: "Well of course you have paid your tickets, you know. You can't come back another day, so you have to last the day with the clothes you are wearing. Well... I was happy when it was five o'clock and we went home". This evaluation of how much they can stretch their money over time extends to most of the activities and almost all mothers list this as a reason for not wanting to take their children into a museum.

Most of the parents know their children would not last a long time in a museum, making the price of entry tickets not worth the costs. A solution that seems to overthrow this barrier is a sort of subscription, such as the Museumkaart or Rotterdampas. The Museumkaart grants access to all

museums for a year and the Rotterdampas is quite similar in this, as it gives free access to many museums and cultural institutions. Bente describes how she feels about this advantage: "...that's with the Museumkaart as well, that it gets easier. Because if you... go to a museum and you don't like it, it doesn't really matter.... That you can just completely get out of your comfort zone and have a look and... if it doesn't work, well you can be out in half an hour." This mother – who says she is not really into art museums – also describes a special night of the museums for children. She took her daughter, who very much likes to visit science or natural history museums, and they were pleasantly surprised by the participating art museums. She did not mind stepping into those museums, since it would not cost them any extra money, so short visits were fine. Thus, when considering purchase involvement, these types of subscriptions also take away a lot of the 'risk' of visiting a museum that their children might not like.

Still, time with the whole family is precious, so when planning a day out, the process involves different steps. As mentioned, a need for planning a 'real' day out comes from the wish to have quality family time, which is emphasized by each mother interviewed. When asking if there were any days out remembered as less pleasant, less successful or something they would not repeat, most mothers had trouble finding anything. Sometimes practical issues like overcrowding, bad facilities or bad weather influenced a memory. But overall, most mothers answered that there are not really any bad days out, as long as the whole family is together and happy. One example of a bad memory was brought forth by Fay, who recollected their visit to Apenheul. She would not consider going there again, since there was not enough to see and do while they had to walk long lengths to get around. The visit was plainly too boring.

Next to simply being together and having a good time, there are some other mentions of motivations for a day out. An important one mentioned by everyone is having fun, with the children's pleasure being more important than the parent's pleasure. Also mentioned are relaxing, having a sense of freedom, learning, getting away from digital distractions, having new experiences, socially bonding and playing. Constraints that the parents are aware of during the decision-making process are mostly practical: weather, travel distance, price and parking (space and price). An important point of consideration mentioned by the interviewees is the age appropriateness of the activities as listed on websites. Not only are the parents very specifically searching for activities for children, they also look at the age range mentioned. Especially when it is concerning younger children, parents want to know if their child can enjoy the activity. Certain activities require less of a clear indication, such as playgrounds, the zoo and theme parks. However, cultural activities have to be specifically child-related. The interviewees speak of going to children's theatre plays, children's museums, children's concerts. Other museums such as science or natural history museums are also always checked for their age appropriateness.

Next to these factors that are all important for the decision-making process, the act of decision-making and the people involved are also important. All mothers explained they were the initiator of a day out and the ultimate person making the decision. However, the role of the children was usually big throughout the process. In the information gathering phase, most mothers are alone in searching for interesting activities. However, children can bring in ideas they got from commercials on television or activities they heard about from classmates. For most types of activities, the mothers do some searching online to see if there are no big constraints. This is where certain activities could be excluded, for example if they are not age-appropriate or too far away. How the decision-making process proceeds is slightly different between families, but mostly the children are very much steering the final choice, while the parents will decide over the final purchase. In practice, many of the interviewees describe they make a selection of different options that they have already reviewed and let the children decide. Or the other way around: they ask their children what they want and choose the most viable way from there – thinking of time-price balance and other practical considerations. Overall, mothers are mostly suggesting ideas and after that, the children and parents negotiate. Parents think of the practical constraints while wanting to accommodate as much of the wishes of their children as possible.

Most mothers describe this process as a conversation or a negotiation. Sometimes activities brought forward by the children are being reviewed by the parents and sometimes the ideas that mothers come up with are then discussed with children. Especially when the family is smaller, this sort of one-on-one conversation is very easy. Both single mothers Bente and Ilja, who have one child, describe having a look online together, discussing possible options for the day. Bente illustrates: “And she says ‘I want to go there, I want to go there’, so we make a list... And then we plan, like when can we go there?... Actually we always discuss a bit like ‘well, I have seen this, would you like that?’ And then I also show her YouTube videos, like, this is what I mean”. Ilja also speaks of discussing what they each want and making compromises: “We are mostly on the same page, but sometimes I just really don’t feel like it.” She goes on to explain that usually they do go for her daughter’s picks if her daughter really does not like her ideas, “unless it is something I really want to visit” (Ilja).

Another factor that influences the information gathering phase and the evaluation of alternatives is discounts. Especially mothers who really look at the price or do not have much to spend are very sensitive to deals. Fay describes how she often goes on days out together with a friend of hers who is also a single mother. Her friend searches for leisure activity deals, so their search is already limited by those places that are on Groupon or Social Deal. Another observation regarding deals is that Sanne describes knowing about the Rotterdampas, which would grant her free access to many places – some of which she already regularly visits. However, the price of purchase is relatively high for her to pay at once: “Every time I think I am going to request it, sixty euros. But then I think, paying sixty

euros at once, no I'll pay it in parts. I might be paying more in the end, but...". This price is the same for the purchase of a Museumkaart, showing that the merit of investing in it only seems attractive to those who feel like they can miss that amount of money at once.

The motivations and constraints and other considerations parents mentioned are all general and applicable to any sort of leisure activity. However, there are also some motivations and constraints to be noted specifically for museums. In general, parents feel that if they go to the museum, they can expect their children to learn or experience something new. Children having fun is still the main motivation when visiting a museum, but if the parents care about educational aspects in leisure, they expect a museum to be a place providing that. One mother notes that play is also important, but that is not what she is buying a museum ticket for. For most activities, there are certain expectations of what you are paying for. For example, one mother described how her child mostly enjoyed the playground at the zoo they visited, which sort of defeated the purpose of going there. Overall, mothers who want their children to learn or have children that are very interested in learning (about certain topics) are motivated to go to a museum.

Motivations for going to cultural activities in leisure time are usually tied to the importance attached to cultural education in the upbringing. This includes being exposed to different things (out of the ordinary), learning about history or simply learning about the cultural world – which includes what it is like to go to a theatre and how to dress, behave and appreciate it. These sorts of motivations are not enough to motivate parents to take their children to a 'real' art museum. There are some clear constraints the mothers listed several times, with the most important one being 'museum rules'. This covers all the different ways people expect to have to behave in the museum, which are constraining according to parents.

The idea of an art museum quickly draws out images of a quiet, fragile place not meant for children. Mothers voice their freight of walking through a museum with their children, scared they will knock over something or do anything inappropriate. Úna even recalls a memory of going along with a school trip of her daughter to an art museum, where the alarm was set off because of a child in the group. She also described that in a museum, the employees are fast to tell the children about all the things they cannot do, instead of focusing on the positive notes. Not only is this less enjoyable for the parents, it is also straining for them. The idea of having to keep watch of their children and their every move, is not very appealing. This also seems to contradict the wish to 'feel free' that some mothers described as a motivation for leisure. Being in an environment that has a lot of (unwritten) rules can be tiring and restrictive. This feeling is mostly ascribed to 'real' museums or adult museums, which the mothers often describe as an art museum.

This feeling of having to constrain the children's behaviour also ties in with another listed constraint, namely that the art museum is something for when the children are older. Adrienne

explains this logic: “I just think that the museum is suitable for older children... I just think they have to be calm to be in a museum”. Many other mothers have this feeling that a real art museum is only for when they are older. Even those that take their children to the cinema, (children’s) theatre and science museums feel like the art museum is not suitable for younger children. The expected behaviour in a museum certainly plays a role here, but also the ability to understand what is going on. The importance of understanding what is going on is voiced by Eva, who explains she is very interested in learning more about art, but does not think her daughter has the interest or patience to get involved in this way. Asking the mothers if they have any experience or knowledge about child-specific activities in art museums usually brings up scavenger hunts, which not all mothers are enthusiastic about. It does not solve the problem they have with the age appropriateness of art museums, since scavenger hunts can sometimes be too complicated for young children resulting in them getting lost or disinterested. For the even younger ones, having to read and think is not something they have the patience for – since their attention is fleeting.

Sanne also describes a barrier related to wanting to understand what is going on. She has no experience with art or museums, and feels like an art museum is not very approachable: “I would like to feel free to ask questions without thinking in the back of my mind ‘oh, they might laugh at me’”. She feels as though she needs some sort of base level knowledge in order to experience the museum, but does not feel comfortable asking questions. She still feels like going to the museum would be a nice thing to do with her child, but since she has never educated herself about museums in general, she feels as though a trip to the museum requires more time. The only way she would be interested in taking that step, were if she had more time – for example when she stays in Rotterdam for the holidays. This is related to purchase involvement as well, since she clearly shows that only if she has more time to invest, she is willing to take a greater risk regarding her purchase.

Since past experiences and their evaluations are very important to the decision-making process, I specifically asked how the mothers thought about their experiences with art museums. Quite some of the mothers had experience with visiting art museums or even Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen as a child or with children. Overall, their recollections of these experiences were positive, though they do note that school excursions are mostly more fun than being in the classroom anyway. Ella and Sanne say their children thought the museum was boring and Fay expresses some mixed feelings: “It’s just that you are there with the whole class and they are with a friend and they giggle and then it is already way more fun than school. My son never wants to go... In the end he actually did enjoy it a lot”. In her opinion, those museum excursions are always pleasant in the end, though it is not the actual art that interests them: “You notice that it just doesn’t really captivate them for very long”. Some say their children thought it was boring, others claim their children did have a good time in the end – but almost no mothers felt compelled to pay a visit in their free time as a family.

Answering the question: “How do families make decisions regarding their leisure activities?” proves difficult, as it consists of many steps and variables explained in this chapter. With the information from the interviews about constraints, motivations and the decision-making process, I revised the traditional decision-making model (see Appendix D) in order to make it more manageable. The original five steps are included: problem recognition, information gathering, considering alternatives, making the choice and evaluating the choice. It is difficult to say exactly how the different leisure profiles have an influence on the decision-making and where the parents keep this in mind or are able to diverge from it. However, it seems most logical that this decision or influence takes part in the beginning, thus the search for ideas and information. Parents who think ‘art is not for them’ will probably mentally exclude results that come up mentioning cultural activities, especially when those parents have little time and money to spend. In this case, they will go for the most secure options for leisure within their own trusted leisure profile and with the most guarantee for pleasure. Since mothers with higher education or skilled professions evidently do make different decisions, I would like to present two different types of families that can be drawn from this study.

4.5 FAMILY TYPES

On the one hand, there are mothers with higher educational and occupational status: Úna, Eva, Bente, Fay and Ilja. As was clear in section 4.1, these families take part in a wider range of leisure activities and are more likely to involve cultural activities. They are also inclusive in the sense of involving both fun and education in their leisure time, and including certain values like authenticity and quality. They value learning in leisure time for themselves and their children and therefore see value in putting their children through things that might not always be their first pick. This was explained in section 4.2, where it is clear that these mothers are taking more control over the development of their children in certain areas, such as cultural awareness or cognitive skills. In terms of decision-making, the mothers fitting this profile are more likely to have more money to spend due to their educational and occupational class. This influences their decision-making process, especially in their risk-taking behaviour. Parents with more to spend are more likely to take a chance and visit something different or invest in a subscription, such as the Museumkaart or Rotterdampas.

On the other hand, there are mothers with lower education and less- or low-skilled occupations: Sherida, Ella, Lisanne, Adrienne and Sanne. They wish for their children to spend their leisure time having fun and give their children the best they can offer. They do not deny their children the chance to learn something, but they typically do not actively seek out educational activities. They are also practically restricted, which greatly influences their decision-making process. These women might be working long hours, engaging in possibly intense physical labour. This leaves them with a lack

of time to invest, making overtly ‘fun’ activities a safe option. Not only time, but also money can be restricting. It diminished the amount of risk mothers are willing to take, as a day out may become a serious investment. While Rotterdam takes the initiative of offering the Rotterdampas for those with less to spend, the initial price of sixty euros is still large for some – as Sanne demonstrates.

A main difference that is important for the practical case of Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen is how the different types of think of learning. While mothers of both types of families express that they care about learning and the development of their children, even so in leisure time, the difference lies in the emphasis they give it. For type 2 families, the mothers are pleased to see their children have learned something, even if it is just a new experience. But this is more incidental than that it is sought out on purpose, as their chosen activities often have no strong educational goal. For type 1 families, this learning in leisure time comes more naturally, as many of the mothers like learning. This argument is partly based on what mothers said in the interview, such as Bente’s account earlier in section 4.1. On top of that, the fact that these mothers have enjoyed higher education or are have a skilled profession somehow makes them value the idea of learning. Whether it is because learning has gotten them to the place they are, or if they have always liked learning and that is why they have a higher social class, learning takes up a larger part of their lives. Eva acknowledges how she values (cultural) learning: “I didn’t really get it that much in my own education. And I think if I had seen it more, that I might have made some different choices in life. That I would do more with that creativity.” This is also why she actively searches for cultural activities that her daughter can learn from, perhaps because she herself has encountered moments in her study or career where she missed being more creatively/culturally educated.

These types that are structured along educational and occupational class connect to literature, which I will further expand on in the conclusion. For now, we can look at how these two types of families think of conditions that could make the museum more attractive.

4.6 CONDITIONS MAKING THE MUSEUM MORE ATTRACTIVE

There are several constraints mentioned by the mothers that could be counteracted in order to make the museum more accessible. Firstly, the time-price balance was already shown to be taken away for some by using subscription cards such as the Museumkaart or Rotterdampas. However, not everyone is able to - or wants to - purchase these. In order to make these purchases worth their price, the mothers want to be assured that there are enough interesting activities for their children. Some mothers have shared some very positive experiences with museum visits with children. For example, parents feel like science and natural history museums such as Naturalis and Corpus have a lot of hands-on, interactive activities for children compared to an art museum. As Bente explains: “Yes it really is

the interactive.. like a Professor Plons in Rotterdam or Villa Zebra or Nemo in Amsterdam. Those are really the hands-on museums for children... In Rotterdam, de Ontdekhoek is a heaven for children. And in The Hague she really likes Museon because they have tablets and such things. So really what, what stimulates children to learn.” Overall, all of the mothers’ positive recollections of museum visits involved use of the word ‘interactive’ or describing activities where the children can do, feel and play. According to the mothers, going to an art museum requires attention – either to look at paintings or to do some sort of scavenger hunt. If their children do not have this, because they are simply too young for such an attention span, the museum visit will be over within fifteen minutes.

Not only involvement of the body is important, the activities should also be challenging and at the right level for the children’s intelligence, inspiring their curiosity and eagerness to learn. As one mother explains, having something children know about and having the opportunity to learn how this works by doing, can trigger the children’s interest. However, learning should also be interchanged with relaxation and play. When asking the interviewees about their ideal day out, they always mentioned some sort of combination of elements. Having stimulation on the one hand and relaxation on the other. Engaging in free play, for example, combined with a children’s play. Having this variety is also nice, since for families it can be hard to please everyone at once. With differences in interest and age, a variety of activities is more likely to ensure there is something for everyone.

This combination or variety of activities is also mentioned when people are asked what they think could facilitate a nice family experience for them at the new Depot. They all mention having some sort of engaging, hands-on activity that can be interchanged for relaxation, wandering about and playing. Having restaurant facilities is an important feature, as well as a place where the children can move freely or play. One mention of a mother that involves a positive memory of a museum, is that of a museum that included a special room for children. This room, functioning as a sort of mini-museum, was not limited by the strict behavioural rules commonly associated with an art museum. Here children could play, touch and be loud, allowing for the parents to relax as well.

Another notable mention is that when mothers were asked to describe their ideal day out, they always involved outdoor elements. In fact, being outdoors is a favourite when going out as a family. Also, connecting to the interests of children was mentioned numerous times. Bente describes a positive museum visit with tablets: “And in The Hague, for example, she really likes Museon, because they have tablets and such things. So really just a bit what, what excites children to learn.” The availability of game elements and tablets is something to be careful with though, as Úna also sees their days out as times to get the children away from their screens. Though she does understand that the use of tablets makes a museum visit attractive for children, she says: “I think if you consciously decide

to go to a museum, as a parent, you will not be very pleased with seeing a lot of screens and activities involving screens". Still, the fact that this generation of children is constantly intrigued by their digital appliances, means this will always be a topic of interest – something you can trigger their interest with, according to Sherida.

Overall, for both types of families, these conditions are the same. The only difference is how much a leisurely art museum visit fits into the families' usual leisure profile. For type 1 families, visiting a museum seems a more viable option, as they are used to visiting science museums and children's theatre and are well aware that goals like having fun and learning can both be reached at such places. For them, the biggest concerns are the child-friendliness of the museum. For type 2 families, their leisure activities usually consist of going places that assure them their children will have fun, places that do not have an overtly educational focus. They want their children to do whatever they want, so bridging this gap will be more difficult. All parents seemed very keen on hands-on activities for the children, but type 2 families might be more sceptical. Ella mentioned a 'playdeck' would make a visit with her children more attractive, while Eva clearly explains that if she pays a ticket to any type of museum, she would like her daughter to have taken away more from it than pure play.

REACTIONS TO THE DEPOT BOIJMANS VAN BEUNINGEN

Reactions of the mothers upon hearing about the Depot Boijmans van Beuningen and/or seeing the plans for the building and interior are very positive. The design of the building was usually described as attractive and interesting, reminding the interviewees of another fairly new architectural addition to Rotterdam: the Markthal. Like the Markthal, they see it as an attraction in itself – someplace they want to visit and take pictures: "I think the exterior is very attractive, I think it's really another typical Rotterdam thing... it's something new... just like the Markthal, we went there to see it when it was done as well.", as described by Úna. Other associations that arose upon seeing the images were shopping malls or other large public spaces. However, there was one mother who noted she did not feel like the Depot was approachable. With her Moroccan descent, she felt excluded in the Depot's impressions, noting she is only seeing white people. Now she feels like the Depot is marketed towards rich, highly educated people. This is the same mother who described she would feel uncomfortable asking questions to museum staff, since she has no experience with art museums. She says having coloured people or women wearing headscarves would make her feel more welcome.

When asking if the mothers had the impression this could be a nice place to take their children, the opinions were divided. Most of the mothers were impressed by the variety of different rooms and objects and were under the impression that their children would be interested in walking around and touching them. That is, if they assumed that touching was allowed. Several mother noted that in one

picture, there is a woman looking through a type of telescope. This indication of being able to touch the objects gave many mothers the feeling that this was not a regular art museum, and the objects on display (and within reach) were available to be discovered through children's hands.

However, mothers of type 1 families are more sceptical. The image of a woman giving a tour through the collection clearly reminds the interviewees of a 'real' museum, with valuables inside. Fay sees a clear association: "I see the picture of the lady that is standing before those paintings. Yes, there I immediately have the association with a museum. And she really looks like she is giving a guided tour". However, together with the other images, she does feel like it is a museum that invites people to touch and discover. Eva and Bente also associate that specific picture with a museum, but do not regard the Depot as a venue that looks like a museum overall. This is remarkable, because they are voicing scepticism towards the idea of bringing their children there. Asking if it would be a place to take her daughter, Bente replies: "With her I wouldn't dare", explaining that the fragile look of the items displayed worries her. So even though the Depot looks like an attractive place to visit, this constraint remains for some. For Eva, the image of the binoculars in one of the pictures does seem like something that might be exciting for children, but reverts from that saying: "But I don't really see anything that makes me think 'well, that is fun for children'". So overall, the impression the Depot gives is mixed and this also makes the mothers unsure of whether it is a place inviting children to discover and touch, or whether it does fit into a more traditional museum approach where the objects are solely for looking at.

Other mothers, who are enthusiastic about the attractiveness of the building, mention that if there are no hands-on, interactive activities for children, they do not see the point in bringing them along. In the interviews, the mothers were both presented with some of the initial plans for children's activities in the Depot, as well as being asked what they would like to see. The reactions to the behind-the-scenes experimental activities teaching children about conservation and the plans for more game-like programs on screens were received with a lot of positive feedback. The mothers are pleased to hear that there might be activities that involve the children using their hands and triggering their eagerness to learn and discover. Some of the mothers are concerned their children are too young for such educational activities (those with four- or five-year-olds), but note that anything on a tablet will be attractive.

The suggestions offered by mothers themselves focus on activities that mostly let children learn by doing, using their hands. Some also note that the scientific part, or the how-it's-made part of the activities could be very good for triggering the interest of children. Other mothers suggest a more playful approach, talking about a sort of playground or play area. Especially for the younger children -

a place where both parents can relax and do not have to worry about their children running, touching and playing is highly appreciated. Ilja, looking at the Depot from her professional marketing background, notes she would appreciate if the Depot would create events on social media, staying on top of mind. Her very spontaneous planning in the weekend means she often takes Facebook and looks up which events she saved throughout the week. She says this type of social media strategy would keep parents informed every week about the different activities available.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

With this research, I hoped to gain a better understanding of what constitutes as leisure time for families with young children and how they make decisions regarding leisure activities. With this information, I hope to help Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen understand their possible future audience for the Depot Boijmans Van Beuningen. In order to provide this information, the research question read: *What are the leisure interests of families currently not-visiting Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen and under which conditions would the new Depot be an interesting place for different types of non-visitors to visit?*

The results showed that mothers' leisure interests, parenting styles and decision-making are structured along their educational and occupational class. This resulted in two types of families. Family type 1 is more likely to undertake leisure activities in all four different leisure profiles: Nature, Science, Pure entertainment and Arts & Culture. Their choosing between activities was also led by other motives than those dominant among type 2 families. They were looking for fun and education, while also paying attention to authenticity and quality. These types of characteristics are in agreement with the theory of the cultural omnivore (Peterson & Simkus, 1992; Peterson & Kern, 1996, Warde, Wright & Gayo-Cal, 2007; Goldberg, 2011), posing that people with higher education or occupation are not particularly exclusive in the breadth of their taste, but more so in how they choose – including both the qualities they look for in leisure, as well as how they make decisions. Regarding the qualities of leisure, they pay more attention to the type of playground they visit and they expect their children to gain more from a museum visit than a chance to play.

In terms of decision-making, they are more inclined to take the upper hand when making decision about family outings. This is different from lower class families, which are more steered by what their children like and financial and practical limitations. Knowing that family type 1 also makes decisions differently is important for understanding how these families are more likely to end up in a cultural venue in their leisure time. Much of this has to do with differences in parenting styles as the results confirmed Lareau's (2002) differentiation between concerted cultivation and the accomplishment of natural growth. Family type 1 is characterized by mothers with higher educational and occupational class who exert more control over their children's free time to 'cultivate' certain skills and knowledge for their children. This could mean that they see certain educational values in their leisure activities that are useful in preparing their children for their lives ahead, according to Lareau. This was confirmed by, for example, Eva. Opting for a more natural growth and development for their children are mothers in family type 2. They value education, but in more of an incidental manner.

Another important part of Lareau's theory that could be used to interpret my findings is her explanation for the different parenting styles among social classes (Lareau, 2002). She poses that because parents with lower socio-economic background find that their adult lives consist of working hard in jobs that might be uninteresting or require no skill, they remember their youth as a time of carefreeness and joy. According to Lareau, this is different for parents in highly skilled jobs, who find enjoyment in the work that they do and value the education that got them there. They value personal development in their free time and wish to prepare their children to be able to have such satisfying adult lives as well. In my research, this might explain the wish of mothers with type 2 families to focus solely on their children's fun during leisure time.

This also reflects in the conditions needed to make a trip to an art museum more attractive for families with young children. For families of type 1, an art museum has to bare more resemblance to the hands-on, interactive science museum, or explicitly program for children in order to earn its title 'children's museum'. This puts it in line with their other activities, including going to children's theatre and interactive museums. For families of type 2, going to any cultural venue is diverging from their usual habits. They are motivated by their children's wishes to have fun and thus search for child-specific environments that focus on entertainment and fun. Programming in a museum for children that focuses mostly on its educational aspects will not be very attractive to them, as they want to be guaranteed that their children will enjoy it. Grasping back to the decision-making process, this means that thinking about visiting a museum with children occurs when looking for information and evaluating alternatives for family type 1. For family type 2, thinking about visiting museums might not occur in any step during the decision-making process, or possibly during information search – where it is discarded because it is has an educational focus.

One very strong condition that was posed by all mothers in the interviews was the importance of the age-appropriateness of children's activities. This is not as important for all types of leisure activities, since playgrounds and zoos are more common for parents. However, a more 'risky' activity such as a museum visit brings forth relatively more purchase involvement for mothers of both families type 1 and 2. They want to be secured that the purchase they make will be successful, so check more rigorously for things they recognize as activities their children will enjoy. Since the attractiveness of the Depot Boijmans Van Beuningen makes the mothers consider it as a sight to visit in itself – like the Markthal - , this could be used in the Depot's advantage. More about the possible recommendations and implications of this research for the Depot will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION

This research brings more understanding about different types of leisure activities for different types of parents, and how they make decisions regarding their leisure. This is also useful for Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen in understanding more about their current non-visitors and how they may approach possible future visitors for the upcoming Depot Boijmans Van Beuningen. Firstly, it is clear that of the two types of families, family type 1 are most like possible visitors for the Depot. These families already value engaging in cultural activities in their leisure time and do not steer away from activities that also promote educational values for children. Family type 2, however, will be more difficult to reach for any art museum, since cultural activities are not found within their leisure profiles in the first place. Because their different parenting styles and ideas regarding cultural activities, I propose different approaches will be more effective for each type.

Family type 1 is already interested in cultural leisure activities, just not the museum because of its image as a non-child-friendly zone. Even though Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen already offers playful activities for young children, like other art museums, this idea of a rigid, quiet museum remains. These families are interested in fun educational activities, as long as they involve the children on an interactive level. Changing this idea will be a task for marketing, as the right imagery might make parents think of the art museum as a place of discovery such as the science museum. Convincing these families will mostly happen in the information gathering phase of decision-making, which is why attractive activities on the website are important, as is mentioning specific age categories for which the activities are meant. Especially for the very young children, parents are aware that their attention is very fleeting, so they want to be assured that the activity is especially designed for this age group. Scavenger hunts did not sit well with all parents and prove not to be very interesting for young children that want to play.

A suggestion would be to have at least one space in the Depot where children can run, touch and play while being introduced to art. Workshops or games would offer interactive ways to involve children of all ages. However, the interviewees did all mention that they enjoyed being involved with their children during their days out. Also, since the main motivation for days out is to be together and to bond, activities that invite the whole family to participate might be most successful. Science and natural history museums succeed at this, since they disperse elements for children throughout the museum. Think of Corpus, where the entire museum is like a discovery playground, or Nemo, which involves experimentation and hands-on discovery throughout every exhibition. The exhibition and playful activities are not separated, they are combined. Approaches in art museums that focus on tours for children or separate art studios do not make the museum more child-friendly throughout, these

activities are just extras. The science and natural history museums that the parents liked, were museums with a strong focus on children throughout the entire museum.

Looking at art museums that do this, the Children's Museum of Manhattan (CMOM) offers an interesting perspective (<http://cmom.org>). They turn art and exploration around: the museum is like an enormous studio for children, in which art and artists are available to inspire and guide the children in their creative process. Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen is not a children's museum, but including things like work stations, material samples for touching and technique experimentation throughout the normal exhibitions will make the whole museum more interesting for children, while the parents can still enjoy the normal exhibition. For Depot Boijmans Van Beuningen, this approach is also easily applicable since it revolves around techniques, materials and processes of conservation. This type of approach would be interesting for all ages, and could work well in marketing advertising, since it reminds parents of other interactive museums they have visited. The Japanese Hamada Children's Museum of Art has a similar studio-like museum as the CMOM, and their website very clearly invites children to touch and explore everything (<http://eng.hamada-kodomo-art.com>). This needs to be explicitly mentioned, since parents typically will not think of an art museum as offering this degree of freedom to their children.

For type 2 families, the museum is not likely to come up in the information search phase at all, as they have different motivations for their leisure that focus heavily on fun and entertainment. Cultural activities are usually shied away from, as these mothers deem it 'not for them' and they probably have never seen any value in engaging in culture in their adult lives, in the way higher educated mothers do. They look more for fun and do not associate this with a museum. Advertising fun educational activities to them might not work, as it confirms that the museum is mostly for learning purposes. In order to get these families inside, the Depot might need to initially be a different type of activity altogether. The interviews proved that the Depot's appearance is strongly associated with other attraction sites, such as large warehouses and the Markthal. Mothers expressed how they would like to visit the building just like they visited the Markthal when it opened and take pictures. Making use of this moment, the Depot could introduce the families to fun, playful activities. This might take away the idea that this is an 'adult' space and make the children want to come back for more, like the successful Professor Plons at Maritiem Museum (<https://www.maritiemmuseum.nl/professor-plons-1>).

This example of Professor Plons does speak to families of type 2, since it connects to practical themes they are familiar with. An art museum like Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen is much more abstract and they do not feel like it does anything for them. Especially parents working in the

Rotterdam harbour or similar fields of occupation feel like Maritiem Museum is for them, and their children might actually learn something useful. Therefore, the Depot Boijmans Van Beuningen might emphasize the practical nature of conservation techniques, since this more directly offers value compared to art. In order to get these parents in, we could also think of a money back guarantee for parents, in case they and their children did not enjoy the activities. Or perhaps working together with other popular leisure facilitators, where visiting the Depot and/or the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen gives families discounts to other places.

While efforts like the Museumkaart and Rotterdampas are marketed for those people who have less to spend, the purchase value remains a barrier. The mothers in type 2 families, but also other mothers, explain they search discount websites like Groupon and Social Deal a lot. Here there is no purchase value, so some mothers even use these websites as inspiration for possible activities. Advertising here and offering attractive deals with drinks or food included might lower the purchase involvement for families that have to watch their money. It also makes the trip to the Depot a more full-day activity, as they know they will stay around for food and drinks.

This image of an art museum as a place for adults, silence and calm is a problem most art museums face, while many science and natural history museum attract families more easily. It would be interesting to further research what exactly sets these two types of museums apart: child-friendly museums and adult museums. Perhaps future research could look into art museums that have successfully created the image of being a place where children can play while learning in a hands-on, interactive manner. This research could also try to distinguish if it is really the activities and interaction of museums that make it interesting for families with young children, or if it comes down to the themes and subjects that are presented in science and natural history museums that make it more interesting. Some parents feel like their children are more interested in learning about dinosaurs and technical inventions, but on the other hand, those are the subjects they are probably most exposed to by the parents in terms of toys, games and television shows inside the home. So more research into these different types of museums and their success in being interesting for children's leisure activities could help art museums understand to what extent they can improve their facilities and activities to attract families.

Another aspect in this study that raised questions was how mothers in type 1 families developed an interest in cultural activities in the first place. These mothers either enjoyed higher education or worked in a skilled-profession. However, not all of these mothers were exposed to cultural activities or cultural education in their own youth. So how and why do they come to value cultural education and participation in their adult lives? And how is this different for people with lower

education or that are in non-skilled professions? Theories on cultural consumption do not go into these explanations. A study that does start looking into these processes, is the study by Michael (2017), that looked into young professionals and how cultural participation works its way into their lives. Also the theories on differences in parenting by Lareau (2002) touch upon an interesting idea, namely that parents in skilled professions come to value learning and discovering new things, which could somewhat explain why higher educated and skilled professionals consume more types of culture. Future research could possibly look into the development of interest in culture within individuals that come from a family low in cultural capital.

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APPENDIX A

Likelihood of visiting museums in Rotterdam

	Families with children	Other
Museums in general	+	-
Museum Boijmans van Beuningen	-	+
Villa Zebra	+	-
Natuurhistorisch	+	-
Maritiem Museum	+	-
Nederlands Fotomuseum	-	+
Kunsthall	-	+
Chabot Museum	-	+
Wereldmuseum	-	+

Families with children consists of variables: couples with children and singles with children. Other consists of variables: singles, couples without children and other. The '+' and '-' symbols represent which family type is more likely to visit this museum than the other family type, however these effects are not significant.

APPENDIX B

Regression analysis Boijmans

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
geslacht	-,003	,111	,001	1	,980	,997
Wat is de hoogste opleiding die u heeft afgemaakt?	,239	,024	98,866	1	,000	1,270
In welke klasse valt het gezamenlijke netto inkomen van uw hele huishouden?	,073	,055	1,782	1	,182	1,076
ethni_suri_antil_capeverd	-,574	,213	7,283	1	,007	,563
ethni_turkish	-1,187	,441	7,237	1	,007	,305
ethni_moroccan	-,367	,498	,544	1	,461	,693
ethni_other_nonwestern	-,495	,190	6,752	1	,009	,610
ethni_other_western	,155	,163	,902	1	,342	1,168
family_single	,084	,171	,243	1	,622	1,088
family_couple_no_kids	,029	,144	,040	1	,841	1,029
family_single_parent	-,104	,275	,142	1	,706	,901
family_other	-,138	,351	,155	1	,694	,871
worksit_no_income	,502	,211	5,646	1	,017	1,652
worksit_pensioner	,254	,228	1,239	1	,266	1,289
worksit_disabled	-,198	,349	,322	1	,571	,820
worksit_welfare_allowance	,057	,270	,044	1	,834	1,058
worksit_student_allowance	-,152	,304	,250	1	,617	,859
Leeftijd in klassen	,140	,087	2,625	1	,105	1,151
Constant	-3,604	,397	82,264	1	,000	,027

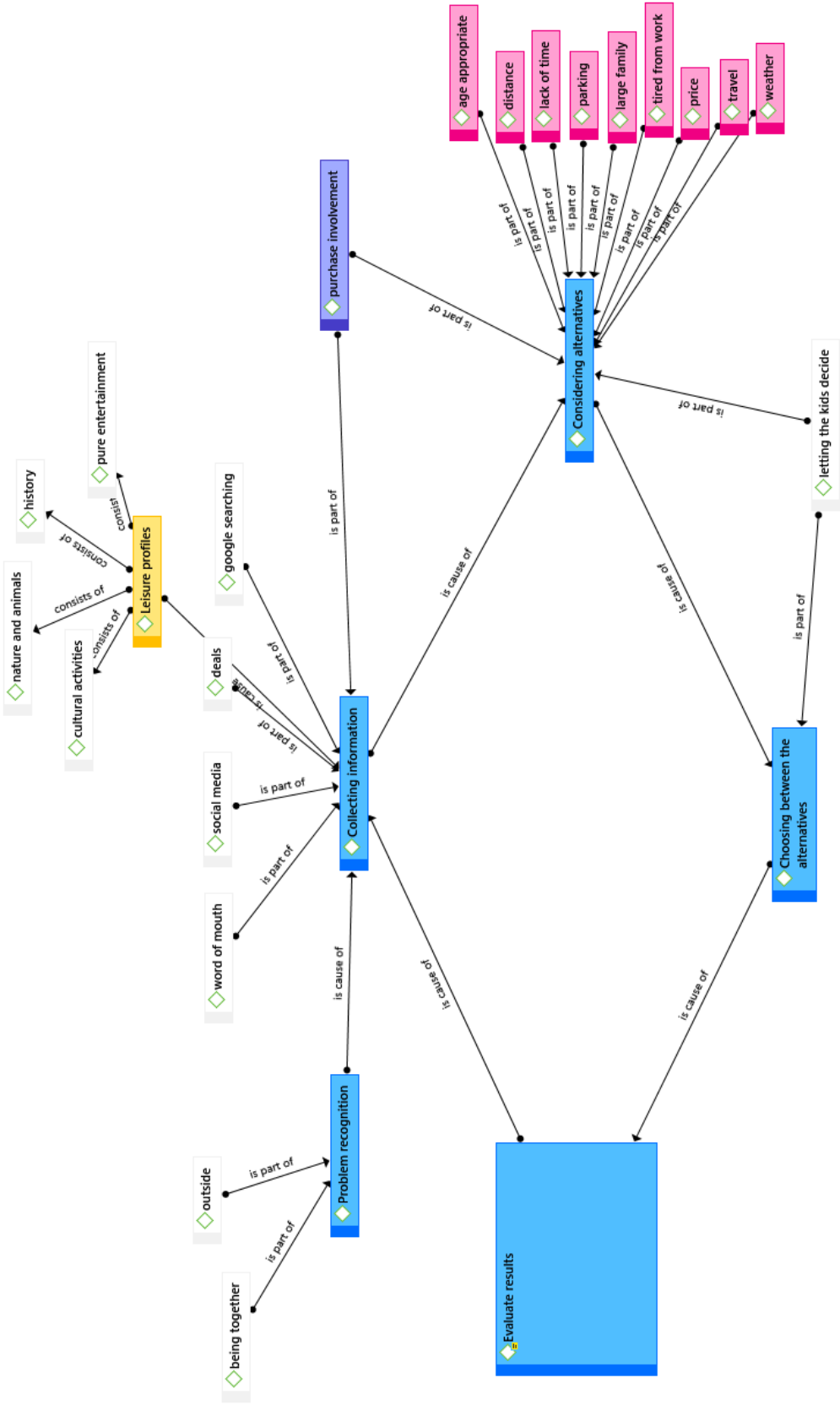
APPENDIX C

Overview comparing means for different museums

Museum	Visitating	Education	Income
Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen	No	5.88	2.97
	Yes	7.61	3.52
Kunsthal	No	5.89	2.98
	Yes	7.55	3.45
Nieuwe Instituut	No	6.13	3.06
	Yes	8.37	3.54
Nederlands Fotomuseum	No	6.04	3.02
	Yes	8.03	3.60
Maritiem Museum	No	6.18	3.06
	Yes	6.54	3.22
Natuurhistorisch Museum	No	6.15	3.06
	Yes	7.34	3.38
Wereldmuseum	No	6.13	3.07
	Yes	7.35	3.24

The means are controlled for gender, ethnicity and age. Numbers in bold are significant.

APPENDIX D



APPENDIX E

Summary of the interviewees (names are fictional)

1: Sherida

Single, of Cape Verdean ethnicity, has 5 children aged 10, 12, 13, 20 and 23. She works as a night watch at a women's shelter, after completing her vmbo at high school. We focused on her two youngest children in the interview, which both play football in their free time. All of her children went to a 'white' primary school, which she consciously chose. Her youngest plays football at a high level, which consumes a lot of her time during the week. She mostly wants her children to really enjoy themselves, but also introduce them to new experiences. They mainly go on adventurous outings with physical exercise and entertainment and they like to visit other towns.

2: Ella

Married, Dutch nationality, has a combined family of five children. Their ages are 5, 7, 8, 12 and 12. She completed an MBO level study in social pedagogic work, but works in a snack bar. She leaves her children a lot of freedom in their choices regarding free time: both in leisure activities as extracurricular activities. She only wants her children to really have fun and be entertained and it clear that she does not look for educational values in their activities. They mostly go to playgrounds, the zoo and real 'children's' activities. They make a round to some different institutions, including Maritiem Museum, each year. This is only for the purpose of collecting stamps in the summer project 'Vakantiepaspoort', where they can save enough stamps to get tickets for the zoo. She lets her children pick the destinations, which are the same each year.

3: Lisanne

Raises her child with her Cuban boyfriend, is of Dutch nationality herself. They have one son aged 3. She works in a coffeeshop that sells sandwiches at Erasmus University. She highly values being outdoor and takes her son outdoor as much as possible. A lot of their activities do not cost any money, such as bicycling, going to the woods or the sea. She is interested in exploring some child-centred museums or exhibitions within the theme of dinosaurs, as her son is interested in that.

4: Úna

Married, Dutch nationality, has two children aged 8 and 12. She works as a police detective. She takes her children to the usual entertainment activities and the cinema, but also frequently takes her family to historical towns. Her son does not like the outings much, but she is very interested in those herself. They have also visited several science or natural history museums, such as Corpus – which she remembers very positively. These cultural and educational visits are not things she remembers from doing in her own youth.

5: Adrienne

Married, Dutch nationality, has one daughter aged 5. She went to cooking school and currently works in a fishing store. Her daughter is highly sensitive, which she takes into account when planning leisure activities. This means they mostly go into nature and places that are not overcrowded. They enjoy going into the woods, playground and petting zoos. He thinks it is important that her daughter develops by doing, such as being in nature and learning to respect animals.

6: Eva

Married, Dutch nationality, is pregnant and has one daughter aged 8. Has several diplomas in higher education, focusing on social work and management. Works as a social worker for troubled youth from her home office. She lets her daughter choose her extracurricular activities, though has once chosen to enlist her in martial arts for a year to 'toughen up' – which she thought was important for her. They mostly go to playgrounds outside, like an organic 'nature playground' in the centre of Rotterdam, and go into town during the week. She also sometimes goes to Villa Zebra and used to take her daughter to children's theatre. She thinks it is important to introduce her daughter to cultural activities, something she missed in her own youth.

7: Bente

Widow, Dutch nationality, has one daughter aged four. She finished social pedagogic work at HBO level and wants to enrol for a post-HBO study. She currently works in the field of disabled care. Her daughter has a developmental advantage, meaning she is mentally at an older age. She lets her daughter explore all of her different interests, which is why she also bought a Museumkaart. They frequently visit science and natural history museums because her daughter is very eager to learn.

They also go out for active sports and playgrounds. She also thinks it is valuable to bring her along to cultural activities, such as the theatre, since she thinks all children should at least be introduced to it.

8: Fay

Single, Dutch nationality, has two children aged 8 and 10. She works as a paraveterinary, for which she followed a home study. She has a passion for her work and is interested in animals and nature in her leisure time as well. She takes her children into nature and animal-focused places, such as the zoo, petting zoo and Apenheul. They also visit museums that teach about the environment and nature, which she thinks is important for her children to learn about. Her mother introduced her to theatre and opera, which she is eager to introduce her children to when they are older.

9: Sanne

Single parent, but engaged, Moroccan nationality, has one daughter aged 8. She studied retail and currently works as a house cleaner. She focuses their leisure around her daughter and wants to offer her daughter everything she wants within their financial budget. This often involves shopping, getting ice-cream, going to MacDonald's, and visiting playgrounds. She thinks it is nice if her daughter can learn something in her free time, but does not actively seek out educational activities.

10: Ilja

Single, Dutch nationality, has one daughter aged 7. She studied at university and currently works as a marketing and communication manager. She lets her daughter choose different extracurricular activities, and stimulates her experimental side. In their leisure time, they are very active and outside a lot. Every Sunday, they do some type of activity such as a cultural activity or visiting a museum. Where they go is usually chosen together, while the mother values art and culture. She experienced a very rigid cultural education in her own youth, so does not want to enforce this type of learning on her daughter. Instead, she enjoys watching her daughter interested and learning in hands-on, interactive ways that train her experimental and creative side.

APPENDIX F

The variables used from the VTO omnibus survey of Rotterdam (OBI, 2015):

Q46: What are your three most important leisure activities in Rotterdam?

- Answers: shopping, having a drink, going out for dinner/lunch, going out (at night/clubbing), visiting theatre/concert, going to the cinema, visiting a park, visiting a museum, tourist attractions, attending an event or festival, attending a sports event, looking at architecture and buildings, going for a walk.

Q47: How many times a year do you engage in leisure activities in Rotterdam?

Q60: Which of these museums, exposition spaces or galleries have you visited in the past twelve months?

- Answers: Architectuur Instituut Rotterdam, Het Nieuwe Instituut, V2_, VIVID, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Nederlands Fotomuseum, Chabot Museum, Kunsthal, Mama, Centrum Beeldende Kunst, Witte de With, Maritiem Museum, Museum Rotterdam, Natuurhistorisch Museum, Wereldmuseum, LP2, Villa Zebra, RoMeO.

Gender

Q75: What is the highest education you have completed?

- Answers: no education, lower education (primary school), lower secondary vocational education, MAVO/VBO/VMBO, MBO, MULO/MMS, HAVO, HBS/VWO, HBO, academic education.

Age: classed in 5 classes

- 1 = 13-24 years
- 2 = 25-44 years
- 3 = 45-64 years
- 4 = 65-75 years
- 5 = 76-85 years

Q81: In what group does your combined net income fit?

- 1 = less than 1.100 euros a month
- 2 = between 1.100 and 1.500 euros a month
- 3 = between 1.500 and 2.000 euros a month
- 4 = between 2000 and 3.350 euros a month
- 5 = over 3.350 euros a month

Ethnicity, grouped: Autochthonous, Surinam/Antillean/Cape Verdean, Turkish, Moroccan, other non-western, other western.

Family type: Single, couple without children at home, couple with children at home, single parent, other.

Work situation: no income, paid work, pensioner, disabled, on welfare allowance, on student allowance.

APPENDIX G

Interview guide (Dutch)

- Wat is je naam?
- Wat voor werk doe je?
 - o Wat voor opleiding heb je gedaan?
- Hoeveel kinderen heb je?
 - o Wat is hun leeftijd?
- Op wat voor school zit(ten) je kind(eren)?
 - o Waarom die school?
- Zit je kind bij cursussen, verenigingen of lidmaatschappen?
- Wat doet je kind het liefst in zijn/haar vrije tijd (als hij/zij verder niks te doen heeft)?
- Hoe ziet het weekend er voor jullie uit?
- Hoe vaak gaan jullie het centrum van Rotterdam in (samen)?
 - o Wat doen jullie daar?
- Ga je ook wel eens buiten de stad voor een dagje uit samen?
 - o Wat doe je dan/waar ga je heen?
 - o Waarom ga je daarvoor buiten Rotterdam?
- Hoe vaak per jaar schat je ongeveer een recreatief dagje samen te ondernemen in Rotterdam?
- Wat vind je belangrijk aan een dagje uit?
- Hoe bepaal je wat je wilt doen?
 - o Waar vind je informatie?
 - o Op aanbeveling/ervaring/reclame?
- Welke factoren spelen een grote rol bij zo'n dagje uit?
 - o Geld, tijd, parkeren, drukte, openingstijden, vervoer
- Wie bepaalt wat jullie gaan doen op een dagje uit?
 - o Wat is jouw rol daarin/familie/je kind(eren)?
- Kun je een voorbeeld noemen van een fijn dagje uit dat je hebt gehad samen?
- Hoe ziet je ideale dagje uit eruit?
- Kun je een voorbeeld noemen van een dagje uit dat je niet (of minder) was bevallen?
 - o Waarom beviel dat niet (zo)?
- Met welke dingen houdt je rekening als je ergens heen wilt gaan met je kind(eren)?
- Hoe vaak per jaar gaan jullie ongeveer naar een culturele activiteit of evenement?

- Kun je wat voorbeelden noemen?
- Gaan jullie wel eens naar musea? Wat voor musea?
 - Kunstmusea/natuurhistorisch/etc.
 - Waarom dat soort musea?
- Welke musea in Rotterdam ga je wel eens heen, welke buiten Rotterdam?
- Zijn er musea die je zelf wel graag bezoekt, maar liever niet met je kind(eren)?
 - Waarom?
- Waarom ga je met je kind(eren) naar een museum/waarom niet?
- Wat is je leukste museumbezoek dat je samen met je kind(eren) hebt ervaren?
 - Waarom?
- Heb je ook negatieve museumervaringen?
- Zijn er bepaalde musea die je liever niet bezoekt met je kind(eren)?
 - Waarom niet?
- Laat de respondent vergelijken wat voor hun het belangrijkste is aan verschillende soorten recreatieve ondernemingen, o.a. het museumbezoek. Zijn de motieven verschillend?
- Wat hoop je dat je kind(eren) overhoudt aan een uitje? (vergelijk museum met andere activiteiten)
- Wat zou je graag meer zien bij kunstmusea, om je bezoek met je kind aantrekkelijker te maken?
- Ging je zelf vroeger vaak naar musea?
- Wat deden jouw ouders vroeger met je in je vrije tijd en in het weekend?
- Wat voor beroepen hadden je ouders?
- Bezoek je ook wel eens ander soort culturele instellingen dan musea met je kind?
- Ben je bekend met museum Boijmans Van Beuningen? Zo ja, ben je bekend met het Depot Boijmans van Beuningen?
- Zo ja: wat vind je hiervan, persoonlijk? En voor kinderen?
- Zo niet: op de website/met flyers laten zien wat het inhoudt?
- Zie je dingen in de presentatie die je aantrekkelijk vindt?
- Wat maakt het voor jou anders dan een museum? Of juist niet?
- Wat denk je dat ze hier kunnen doen?
- Denk je dat je kind(eren) dit leuk zou vinden?
- Denk je dat je dit (met of zonder kind) zou bezoeken?
 - Waarom wel/niet?