

Including a new audience

A study into the perception of art of culturally inexperienced young adults.

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ABSTRACT

The target audience of museums traditionally consist of people from the higher social classes. Contended by the influential reproduction theory of Bourdieu (1984), the higher social classes transmitted cultural knowledge, -taste and –manners onto their children while the lower classes were assumed to experience difficulties in understanding high arts. Over time, the distinction between high and low culture and associating audience has been replaced by the idea that the higher educated are more open to a combination of highbrow and popular forms of art (Peterson & Simkus, 1992). However, theory on taste segmentation mainly focusses on the cultural active highbrows and omnivores, while data on the lowbrows or univores is still limited. This is striking because cultural participation by all layers of society is a commitment that many European countries emphasize in their policy concerns (Stevenson, Balling & Kann-Rasmussen, 2017). Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen is one of the museums that aims at attracting an audience from “*a wide cross section of the public*”. In order to attract this *new audience* it is important to understand and interpret their perception and appreciation of different forms of art. Therefore, this study scrutinizes the question: *How do non-visitors perceive, appreciate and experience museums and how do their perception and appreciation change as a result of attending a museum?* By means of observation of museum visits, before- and after measurements and in depth interviews the role of art and reactions to museum exhibitions are studied. The young adult (18 – 21 year old) respondents are selected among MBO fashion students – a field at the interface of arts and culture and have multiple ethnic backgrounds. Results of this study are discussed in groups, which are compiled based on cultural socialization levels and current cultural activity. Predominantly, it was shown that respondents demonstrate an ego-world relation that is anchored in their ego. As a result, recognisability within an artwork or exhibition and an association that they are able to make with themselves, help to overcome feelings of disinterest and indifference. Allowing themselves to relate to a work of art in their own manner rather than conforming to art historical conventions, enables the respondents to establish an individual relationship with an artwork. Consequently, a preference for action and stimulation of the senses is found. But, the respondents did also prefer to find out about the *meaning* of an artwork. To overcome limited artistic vocabulary and knowledge, the respondents need suitable guidance through the exhibition. It became clear that they seek for escape, relaxation and to discover new things in a museum. Discouraging factor appears to be the absence of cultural active peers or family, but the absence of cultural socialization does not inevitably lead to a reluctant attitude towards museums. All were able to selectively appropriate elements of both museums and associate them to their own lives, resulting in interest and enjoyment and intentions for revisiting.

KEYWORDS: *Museum, audience, non-visitor, perception, experience*

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Preface

I would like to thank Jeannette Verdonk, Catrien Schreuder and Rianne Schoonderbeek from Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen for the opportunity and the trust that I needed for completing this study.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Art can offer an aesthetic experience through the meaning ascribed to it by its audience. Therefore, the way in which art is appreciated and signified, is for a large part depending on characteristics of its audience. A broad range of art forms and genres illustrate the diversity of preferences. Predominantly, these different forms and genres are embedded in a social context and its audience can be identified through a variety of social characteristics. In sociology, education, age, ethnicity and profession are social properties mentioned as influencing cultural preferences. Accordingly, symbolic boundaries occur among social groups with different social backgrounds and cultural preferences. Traditionally, the museum audience is considered to be part of higher social strata. Especially, the reproduction theory of Pierre Bourdieu (1977) was influential in cultural sociology. Bourdieu held that, in primary socialization, higher educated parents transmit more cultural knowledge, -taste and -manners onto their children than lower educated parents do. People from higher social classes would possess more cultural capital and would, therefore, be able to understand the high arts better. According to Bourdieu (1984), this aesthetic disposition was used to conspicuously distinguish themselves from their culturally inexperienced counterparts. That this symbolic boundary is also a social boundary becomes apparent in visitor studies. DiMaggio (1996) points out that art museum visitors are more likely to be situated in the higher classes of society in terms of education, income and occupation, to have a Western-ethnic background and to be female.

In current times, the relevance of Bourdieu's distinction theory (1984) has arguably declined. A number of studies have shown that socioeconomic background is not as predictive for cultural capital as once assumed (DiMaggio & Mohr, 1985; Ganzeboom, 1982; Peterson, 1992; Prieur & Savage, 2013). Sociologists such as Vander Stichele and Laermans (2007) and Lahire (2008) call into question whether cultural socialization and aesthetic dispositions are inevitably reflected in cultural behaviour. Subsequently, that socioeconomic status is not as predictive for cultural participation, is also seen by Peterson (1992) and Bryson (1996) who found that educational attainment does not only influence high art participation but also activity in popular culture. Over time, the distinction between high and low culture has been replaced by the idea that the higher educated are more open to a combination of highbrow and popular forms of art (Peterson & Simkus, 1992). This so-called omnivorous taste is contrasted to the more univorous taste of people from lower social classes. However, theory concerning taste segmentation mainly focusses on the cultural active highbrows and omnivores while

limited attention is given to the lowbrows or univores. In that sense, existing literature is not adequately informing about the non-highbrows.

1.1. Problem definition and method

That the audience of art is becoming increasingly intertwined also raises questions. As literature on cultural preference mainly focusses on those involved in the arts already, data about how the higher social classes evaluate art is omnipresent. The traditional target audience of museums is considered to possess cultural knowledge that enables them to judge artworks based on style, colour or composition. Also the role and meaning of culture in their lives has been examined thoroughly. However, people that are either lower educated or less culturally socialised were not seen as a target audience for museums and therefore left unstudied. More recent studies, such as Schulze (1992) and Van Eijck and Lievens (2008), distinguish between cultural taste groups and relevant discourses, informing us about the role and meaning of arts throughout different milieus ranging from high to low. However, in depth qualitative studies into the perception and appreciation of arts for people in lower social classes are rather limited. This is striking because cultural participation by all layers of society is a commitment that many European countries emphasize in their policy concerns (Stevenson, Balling & Kann-Rasmussen, 2017). Dutch cultural policy states that the central government aims to increase arts participation (Rijksoverheid, 2018). More specifically, the mission statement of Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen as provided by their website, is the aim to attract “*a wide cross-section of the public of all ages, at all levels of education, locally, nationally and internationally*”.¹

In order to understand and interpret the perception and appreciation of this *new* museum audience, this study aims to reveal in-depth information about the relationship between people with less cultural capital and art and their behaviour and motivations concerning this. The central question of this thesis is: ***How do non-visitors perceive, appreciate and experience museums and how do their perception and appreciation change as a result of attending a museum?***

This research tries to gain new insights in how different museum visits are received by a young and new audience. The combination of used research methods allows for a thorough study into the motivations for likes and dislikes. Through quantitative measurements it is possible to draw a picture of the respondents’ general perception of museums and their cultural preferences. Actual museum experiences allow for the observation of their behaviour,

¹ <https://www.boijmans.nl/en/organisation-mission>

which is used to interpret statements from the interview. A questionnaire after the museum visit helps to compare general statements from before and after the visit and consequently enables to formulate statements about the change in perception. However, the in-depth interviews conducted after each museum visit are the focal point of this study. The qualitative research method allows for a deeper understanding of motivations for likes and dislikes of the respondents. The combination of methods allows for analysing the way in which the respondents talk about their preferences but also the different attitudes and behaviours occurring during the experiences.

1.2. Relevance

Much research has been conducted concerning the meaning that people with high amounts of capital ascribe to arts and culture. The role that high- and popular forms of art play in their lives has been studied from different perspectives and in different times. The meaning ascribed to arts and the reception of art by different types of audiences is changing overtime and theory on the reception of art by people possessing less cultural capital is underdeveloped. Qualitative, in-depth study provides the opportunity to understand motivations of this new audience and will therefore help opening up the cultural sector for this new audience.

Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen is opening the Depot of Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen which will be a passage into the complete collection of the museum. Therefore, the museum is pioneering in the open-access trend (Berger, 2015) and will be one of the first museums to actually make their entire collection publically accessible. These developments also aim at targeting a new audience. The Depot will become a hands-on museum in which a younger audience is stimulated to be actively involved in the collection. This study contributes to understanding this new audience and to include them into the new museum experience.

Taylor (2009) indicates that research into cultural consumption patterns is increasingly shifting towards marketing research. Cultural institutions often have their own marketing department mapping cultural activities of the audience in order to approach them in the most effective way. Results of this study could contribute to making the right decision in approaching the envisaged (new) target audience.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

Throughout the years, the experience of a museum visit has changed. As Markeviciute (2017) emphasizes, the main objectives of a museum have changed from the conservation, preservation and displaying of art towards a more multisided approach characterised by leisure and education that appear to be interwoven (Falk & Dierking, 2016). Correspondingly, the motivations for visiting as well as the composition of the audience of art museums have changed as visitors no longer seek merely intellectual and aesthetic experiences but also visit for social reasons, to find relaxation or to gain new experiences. As a result of this intertwining of objectives, the audience of art museums is increasingly varied as well, as the museum caters for the attainment of several different objectives. Consequently, the contemporary museum audience is starting to deviate from the traditional audience. This deviation, however, does not (yet) imply a diverse audience as the majority of visitors are still white, higher educated and part of the middle-class (Selwood 2006; Tlili 2008).

According to Falk and Dierking (2016), motivations for visiting also influence the type of experience that visitors have. According to them, the individual experience of an art museum is shaped around the personal, the sociocultural and the physical contexts (p. 121). The personal context consists of the individual's knowledge and previous experiences. In the sociocultural context, the cultural background of the individual is relevant in combination with the group with which they are visiting. Additionally, the social position of the museum is relevant in this context. In the physical context, the focus is on the relationship between the individual and the architecture, objects and atmosphere of the museums.

In this literature review, the establishment of contemporary socio-cultural boundaries will be scrutinized as well as the establishment of a relationship between object and subject. Moreover, elaboration on literature on the experience of attending a museum and encountering artworks will be supplied. The discussion of these theories will contribute to understanding the context and background of people that traditionally do not visit art museums, and their (pre)conceptions, their experience and their personal, sociocultural and physical context that contribute to that experience. Ultimately, this leads to scrutinizing the question whether experiencing a museum could persuade non-visitors to develop different convictions.

2.1 Distinction in cultural preference

The omnipresence of socioeconomic status in research into cultural participation is ensued from the influential reproduction theory of Bourdieu (1984). In line with other sociologists,

Bourdieu's theory on social and cultural reproduction held that "specific behaviour is not instinctive but learned" (Macionis & Plummer, 2012, p. 209). Especially primary socialization, such as the influence of parents and siblings, is a relevant precondition for cultural and other preference (Bourdieu, 1984). The terms economic-, social-, cultural- and symbolic capital are proposed by Bourdieu (1984) to determine sets of dispositions. People who have more cultural capital are supposed to possess the symbolic and cultural knowledge that enables them to comprehend and value highbrow aesthetics (Bourdieu, 1984). Bourdieu argues that cultural capital, in short the familiarity with - and appreciation of arts and culture, is imparted in childhood. As a consequence, he finds that higher educated parents transmit more cultural capital to their children than less educated parents do. As a result, cultural capital is more prevalent among the higher social classes. People with more cultural capital tend to display a taste for highbrow art and employ it to distinguish themselves from others with less cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 219). In that sense, Bourdieu is rejecting the idea of having complete agency and proposes social structure as an important influence on taste. The totality of taught preferences or dispositions is called the habitus (p. 170). As part of the habitus, the aesthetic disposition determines the ability to appraise artistic and cultural products based on shape, colour, composition, style and meaning and is shaped by primary socialization.

In his 1996 study, DiMaggio, explores the social and political differences between people that do and do not visit art museums. In line with the theory of Bourdieu, DiMaggio points out that many other studies have proven that art museum visitors are much more likely to be highly educated, have high incomes, to be working in high-skilled occupations, to have a Western-ethnic background and to be female. The most important predictor for art museum attendance, however, is educational attainment (Bourdieu, Darbel & Schnapper, 1997; Ganzeboom, 1982; Schuster & Davidson, 1991; Schliewen, 1977; DiMaggio, 1978). However, unlike most research on cultural preference that is based on the connection between taste and socioeconomic status, DiMaggio (1996) studies the larger systems of meaning in which individual arts participation is embedded. In an attempt to transcend the traditional indicators of distinction, he studies whether the values and attitudes regarding cultural, political and social issues of art museum visitors are typical and different from their demographically similar counterparts. The outcomes of DiMaggio's 1996 study reveal that art museum visitors are found to have "an open, tolerant, trusting orientation, an expansive cosmopolitanism reflected in more positive attitudes towards political and social non-conformists, multiple artistic forms and racial and international 'others'." (p. 175). In other

words, visitors, in contrast to non-visitors, project a worldly, open and tolerant attitude to other cultures and a tolerant and interested stance towards highbrow culture. This open attitude corresponds with the receptive attitude of omnivores that Peterson (1992) is speaking about as well as the culture of openness as identified in the study by Roose, Van Eijck and Lievens (2012). An in-depth analysis of these concepts will be given in a later stage of this theoretical framework. Firstly, we will look into the consequences of the possession of less cultural capital.

2.2 The possession of less cultural capital

In contrast to higher educated people considered to be culturally dispositioned in childhood, people with less cultural capital are considered to not have acquired (much) experience, knowledge and skills about art in their youth or education. In this thesis, the transfer of cultural dispositions in primary socialization will be called cultural socialization.

In line with the distinction theory of Bourdieu (1984), Van Tongeren (2015) contends that people with less cultural capital would encounter difficulties in the comprehension and appreciation of high arts. According to Bourdieu, the aesthetic meaning of highbrow forms of art could only be grasped when one is in a ‘carefree state’. This specific state is associated with the elites, because they are allegedly free from financial concerns. Consequently, people occupying lower occupations are distracted by practical and materialistic concerns more easily, such as the price they have paid for the entrance of a museum or the pure aesthetic function of an artwork. As a result, people with less cultural capital look at art differently as they tend to have a more functional and instrumental stance towards it (Bourdieu, 1984).

Accordingly, the difference between those with more and less cultural capital draws a line between both cultural consumption patterns and social strata. Subsequently, as people with more cultural capital tend to have an intrinsic motivation for visiting forms of art considered as highbrow, they are the traditional and primary target audience of art museums. These assumptions are confirmed by visitor research in the United Kingdom as studies of the Ministry for Culture and Heritage (2003) and the Council for Museums, Archives and Libraries (2004) found that “the higher an individual’s social class, household income, and education, the more likely they are to visit museums and art galleries” (MORI, 2004, as cited in Davidson & Sibley, 2011, p. 178). Furthermore, Kirchberg (1996) found that art museum visitors are likely to be highly educated – mostly being either employed in high-skilled occupations or students.

However, as having a highbrow taste can be used to conspicuously distinguish oneself from the masses (Bourdieu, 1984), the possession of less cultural capital seems to have a distinctive function as well. Bouaicha & Tabarki (2011) describe that, concerning a museum visit, the latter group frequently states “that is not for us”, “we are unable to understand it” and therefore “it’s boring” and that this ultimately leads to self-exclusion from highbrow forms of art. The study by DiMaggio (1996) seems to confirm this as he indicates a substantial discrepancy between visitors and non-visitors in terms of social, cultural and political values and attitudes.

This division is potentially problematic as disadvantages of a social group (the lower educated non-participants in this case), might also lead to “systematic group differences in aspirations, skills and achievements” (Crocker & Major, 1989, p. 622). Based on the recognition that motivation to achieve a goal is driven by both the meaning of the goal and the likelihood of achieving the goal, aspirations to achieve certain skills might dissolve when, as a member of certain social group, one is not expected to do so (Atkinson & Feather, 1966; Eccles, 1987). Thus, when the lower educated are expected not to participate in the arts, they might actually dismiss the goal and lose interest in participating in the arts.

In response, numerous governments aim to increase cultural participation (Stevenson et al., 2017). The study of Stevenson et al. reveals that the political discourse for policy implications on cultural access and participation is mainly derived from the idea that ‘barriers’ withhold people from participation. Demographic, environmental, socioeconomic and psychological barriers are seen as the main obstacles for participation. As contended by Stevenson et al. (2017), in that way non-participation could be a result of two situations. Either they belong to the people “that have the desire to participate and engage but are limited in some manner in their capacity to fulfil that desire” or their “lack of interest is due to a lack of understanding caused by the extent to which ‘barriers’ have limited their ability to participate in the past” (p. 95). Either way, non-participation is attributed to “a failure to understand the benefits they would accrue through participation” and “a failure to understand the ‘value of culture’” (Stevenson et al., 2017, p. 95). Strikingly, the study indicates that incomprehension of high culture is seen as failure from the lower classes instead of a lack of time and interest. As a result, the divergence between participants and non-participants is sustained by social imaging and political problematisation in this debate.

Considering this, it might be the case that the divergence between participants and non-participants in itself could be an unconsciously triggered motivation for not visiting as

people feel like they belong to a social group that is not targeted as “museum-visitors”. This is likely to lead to a process of self-selection.

The question remains, however, what response will arise when they do visit an art museum. One might wonder whether the motives for non-visiting will be sustained after visiting. And also, would the museum actually not spark any interest in the non-visitor despite museums’ attempts to be more appealing to wider audiences? This present study will scrutinize whether non-visiting art museums is a matter of an experience based reluctance or predominantly based on unfamiliarity and prejudice.

2.3 Decline of distinction

The aforementioned barriers to participate and the failure of understanding among non-participants, seem to be derived from the distinction theory of Bourdieu - in which the high arts have an elevated, elitist status and the lower-middle classes mimic cultural preferences and lifestyles of the elites in their strive for legitimization. This *cultural goodwill* is referred to by Bourdieu (1984) as a strategy among people with less cultural capital to “disguise their ignorance and indifference and to pay homage to the cultural legitimacy [...] by selecting from their cultural baggage the items which seem to them closest to the legitimate definition”.

However, at this point, it is also highly relevant to mention that some studies have proven the ties between one’s socioeconomic background, cultural capital and the significance of high arts in their lives to be weaker than assumed based on Bourdieu. For instance, Van Eijck and Knulst (2005) show that primary socialization in highbrow culture does not necessarily lead to activity in high arts after childhood. The role and status of the high arts has changed over time. Bourdieu’s distinction theory specifically focusses on the French context in the 1960s and 1970s, while DiMaggio and Mohr (1985) and Ganzeboom (1982) found that, in later times, the relationship between one’s socioeconomic background and cultural capital is weaker than Bourdieu suggests. Subsequently, Prieur and Savage (2013) argue that *Distinction* should be interpreted differently in current, postmodern times. According to them, “*Distinction* ought rather to be read as a broad orientation on how modern societies may be analysed in order to discern the mechanisms of social differentiation at work” (p. 249) rather than a predictive instrument for cultural tastes’.

Besides the weaker relationship between one’s socioeconomic and educational background and the preference and familiarity with high arts, some argue that the meaning ascribed to high arts has changed over time as well. Peterson (1992) and Bryson (1996), for example, found that educational attainment does not only have a significant effect on high arts

participation but also on popular culture participation. Additionally, Lamont (1992) finds that the high arts do not play a significant part in adult friendships in the USA, based on how much they talk about it. Taken together, in some social circles, a taste for highbrow art is indeed used for social distinction (Bourdieu, 1984, Goffman, 1951), but the significance of high arts in contemporary adults' lives (in North America and Europe at least) is much less than we would expect based on Bourdieu.

In accordance with the above-mentioned studies, Prieur and Savage (2013) argue that measuring highbrow taste and hence cultural capital through a quantitative set of tastes or attributes has become obsolete and irrelevant. "It is now commonplace to assert that traditional highbrow culture has faded, and/or that it is not as marked in other nations as it was in France at the time when *Distinction* was written" (p. 252).

Ostensibly, the boundary between the audience of high and popular forms of art is becoming more permeable. As a consequence, the consumption of a varied set of forms of art is observed more frequently. This concept will be discussed in the next paragraph. At this stage however, we can suggest that cultural interest is tied to socioeconomic background in a less straightforward manner than initially presumed by theorists such as Bourdieu.

2.4 Combining forms of art

From the previous paragraphs, it becomes clear that the initial divergence between people that do and do not participate in the arts is becoming more permeable as the ties between socioeconomic background, cultural capital and the social significance of high art participation are less strong than was assumed. Consequently and in correspondence with the studies by Peterson (1992) and Roose et al. (2012), high and popular forms of art are consumed in combination with each other, resulting in an open and receptive attitude towards the arts. This paragraph will elaborate on this tendency.

According to Peterson and Simkus (1992) the number of people enjoying both high and popular culture is much larger than the number of people with a strong and exclusive preference for highbrow culture. In their study, they show that people from the higher social classes (who are considered to possess more cultural capital) display a broad taste in cultural products (in both popular and highbrow arts) instead of having the specific preference for highbrow art that was expected from them.

These cultural omnivores, as Peterson and Simkus call them, tend to prefer a broad cultural repertoire in which highbrow (such as fine arts, classical music and opera) and lowbrow forms of art (such as pop music, musicals and folk music) are combined. On the

other hand, the cultural univores, who have a more restricted cultural taste repertoire, are considered to possess less cultural capital (Peterson & Simkus, 1992). Consequently, the groups that Peterson and Simkus call omnivores and univores are integrated in society differently. Thus, despite the blurring boundary between the audience of high and popular forms of art, the terms omnivore and univore still indicate a difference in social position. As DiMaggio (1996) points out, in postmodernity the role of arts has changed at the individual level as it is seen today as a “privileged indicator of a more general capacity and inclination to familiarize oneself with whatever cultural currency is valuable in the context in which one functions” (p. 163).

As the cultural omnivore enjoys popular forms of art as well, one may expect that preferences of higher and lower status groups are now closer to one another. But, as Peterson and Kern (1996) conclude, omnivores and univores still differ significantly in their socio-economic background - with omnivores being found more often in the higher status groups – and in their tastes. Additionally, an omnivorous taste does not indicate an indiscriminate taste for everything. Although it does signify an open, tolerant attitude, the distinction between univores and omnivores is not only characterized by the *amount* of art forms consumed, but also by the *combination* of art forms consumed (Van Eijck & Lievens, 2008). Thus, despite the wider appreciation in cultural repertoire of the omnivores, they do apply a hierarchy in the art forms consumed and add social significance to omnivorism. Van Eijck and Lievens (2008) conclude that the type of omnivorism is dependent on the forms of art combined, resulting in different cultural interests between different omnivores. Furthermore, Warde, Wright and Gayo-Cal (2007), conclude that the omnivore does not appear to be as “singularly distinctive” as presumed by Peterson (1992; Peterson & Simkus [1992]) and the substantial amount of articles that followed exploring the omnivore phenomenon. Warde et al. (2007) indicate that “there is no associated integrated aesthetic or social orientation towards [the] cultural practice” of *the omnivore*. Yet, education and the tolerance towards different cultural disciplines seem to be common features. But, as becomes clear, *the omnivore* as a distinctive form does not appear to exist. Instead, many different types of omnivores co-exist (p. 160 – 161).

So far, the literature has shown that the function of museums has changed according to the altered objectives of the audience. Also, the cultural taste of the audience displays an interest in a wider range of cultural products. But despite these developments, it is demonstrated that the concept of cultural capital is still relevant. Educational attainment and a tolerance towards a broad range of cultural activities seem to indicate an omnivorous taste as

distinct from a more univorous taste. However, taste segmentation in highbrow and lowbrow forms of art and an omnivorous or univorous taste does not adequately inform us about the non-highbrows. Instead, Schulze (1992) distinguishes between cultural taste groups (milieu groups) and relevant discourses (schemes). He stresses that combinations of schemes and milieu groups occur, which clarifies that these can deviate from each other, i.e. an isomorphic relationship between taste and scheme is debatable. For example, when the love for classical music is combined with a love for pop or folk music, it could refer to different cultural taste groups (e.g. integration or self-fulfilment) than when only classical music is enjoyed (highbrow). Thus, research into taste patterns indicates that, other than the highbrow-lowbrow dichotomy, a threefold division into highbrow-pop-folk might be more informative in terms of lifestyles and attitudes of non-highbrows. To illustrate, Van Eijck and Lievens (2008) created a figure displaying the possible combinations of cultural taste groups (milieu groups) and the relevant discourses (schemes) that belong to each of the groups, as indicated by Schulze (1992).

Milieu:	High	Harmony	Entertainment	Integration	Self-fulfilment
<i>Scheme:</i>	Highbrow	Folk	Pop	Highbrow + folk	Pop + highbrow
<i>Enjoyment:</i>	Contemplation	Cosiness	Action	Cosiness + contemplation	Action + contemplation
<i>Distinction:</i>	Anti-barbaric	Anti-eccentric	Anti-conventional	Anti-barbaric + anti-eccentric	Anti-convention + anti-barbaric
<i>Life philosophy:</i>	Perfection	Harmony	Narcissism	Harmony + perfection	Narcissism + perfection
<i>Ego-world-relation:</i>	Anchored in world	Anchored in world	Anchored in ego	Anchored in world	Anchored in ego
<i>Primary perspective:</i>	Hierarchy	Danger	Immediate needs / desires	Social expectations	Inner centre
<i>Existential problem def.:</i>	Strive for standing	Strive for security	Strive for stimulation	Strive for conformity	Strive for self-fulfilment
<i>Fundamental interpretation:</i>	Complexity and order	Simplicity and order	Simplicity and spontaneity	Medium complexity + order	Complexity + spontaneity
<i>Experience paradigm:</i>	Nobel Prize granting	Wedding celebration	Miami Beach	Pleasant neighbourhood	Artists
<i>Age:</i>	Over 40	Over 40	Below 40	Over 40	Below 40
<i>Education:</i>	Higher	Lower	Lower	Intermediate	Intermediate or higher

FIGURE 1: RELEVANT MILIEU GROUPS BASED ON SCHULZE (1992) IN KEYWORDS

This table appears in van Eijck & Lievens (2008, p. 221) and is based on the study by Schulze (1992), chapter six.

The first three milieu groups each adhere to a single scheme (the high-, harmony- and entertainment milieu). The two latter groups either combine the highbrow and folk scheme (the integration milieu) or the highbrow and pop scheme (the self-fulfilment milieu).

People in the entertainment milieu are characterised by their lower educational attainment and aged below 40, such as our sample. In this milieu, people seek for fun by action and immediate satisfaction of needs and desires resulting in a striving for stimulation. In correspondence with a narcissist life philosophy, the relation with the world is anchored in the ego. For involvement and interest in a certain subject, people in the entertainment milieu seek for the opportunity to associate the subject with themselves. They selectively appropriate elements in the world and adapt them to their own personal needs rather than conforming to generally accepted norms and values. A prominent means of entertainment is immediate stimulation of the senses achieved through, e.g. “loud music, exciting movies, sensational sports, or riding a roller coaster” (Van Eijck & Lievens, 2008, p. 223).

The integration milieu is characterized by the combination of two discourses, the highbrow and the folk. According to Van Eijck and Lievens (2008), the concept of cultural goodwill by Bourdieu could be used to refer to this milieu. This concept “refers to middlebrow culture as diluted version of highbrow culture” (p. 223). Despite the fact that our sample is under 40, aspects of cultural goodwill are expected to occur among them. People in this milieu show a preference for art that is quite serious. However, it should not be too complex or eccentric. They appreciate clever and recognizable arts that confirms their harmonious and cosy lifestyles - it should be “uplifting yet reassuring” (p. 223).

A combination of the highbrow and the pop discourse is represented in the self-fulfilment milieu. In this milieu, a tolerance towards a broad perspective of cultural activities seems to be apparent as it includes elements of both schemes, although this does not lead to a compromise of both. Members of this milieu value “spontaneity *and* complexity, narcissism *and* perfection, action *and* contemplation” at the same time (p. 223). Like the members of the entertainment milieu, they relate to the world from the starting point of their ego. Developing a unique self is seen as the ultimate goal of self-fulfilment and, accordingly, their environment is shaped by their self-constructed reality. They do not enter into the world with preconceptions such as the distinction in higher milieus, social expectations in the integration milieu or a jeopardized harmony in the harmony milieu. Rather, “reality is constructed around the self” and their intention to change the world accordingly makes them “active participants in social movements and avant-garde art and display a great concern for personal style in clothing and interior design” (p. 223).

Importantly, and in correspondence with the discussed decline of distinction, the combinations of high and folk or pop schemes in the integration - and self-fulfilment milieus respectively, indicate the insufficiency of the duality between highbrow and lowbrow aficionados. Based on this, the omnivore-univore duality seems to be insufficient for a thorough comprehension of contemporary cultural taste patterns as well- illustrating the complexity of delineating postmodern social strata.

These latter studies by Peterson (1992) and Schulze (1992) indicate a culture of openness in different milieu groups. Correspondingly, Roose et al. (2012) studied this openness in lifestyle in contradiction to distinction in lifestyle. In correspondence with Lahire (2008), the study concludes that cultural behaviour is not a direct reflection of tastes or preferences. Instead, the manifestation of one's cultural behaviour is heavily dependent on personality traits and that person's position in social space. Therefore, the age (or more importantly the life stage) and educational attainment are still relevant in the establishment of cultural lifestyles.

That age is an important indicator in the process of cultural socialization becomes apparent in research by Vander Stichele and Laermans (2007) as well. They conclude that involving adolescents in cultural activities and arts participation seems to have a positive effect in the cultural socialization process over and above the effect of the parents' educational level. This emphasizes the relevance of cultural involvement of adolescents. Additionally, as that same study reveals, a negative influence seems to have a stronger effect than a positive influence. In explanation, the absence of cultural participation has a stronger effect on inactivity at a higher age, than participation has on cultural activity at a higher age. According to Vander Stichele and Laermans (2007), it is hard to establish a direct relationship between cultural participation of the parents, the children at a younger age and ultimately at a higher age. Hence, cultural socialization is a complex process that consists of intertwined processes playing a role at different moments in life.

2.5 The aesthetic experience

The distinction between highbrow and lowbrow forms of art as discussed in previous paragraphs also affects the relationship between the viewer and the cultural product. Bourdieu (1984) argues that highbrow aesthetics are better understood and valued by people who have more cultural capital because they are supposed to possess symbolic and cultural knowledge (p. 175). This leads to the question, however, of how people with less cultural capital experience the arts and other cultural products. In order to understand the perception and

appreciation of art of people that are not experienced in arts and culture, we will now elaborate on the relationship between the human subject and the artistic object and the experience resulting from this.

According to Dewey (1934), many forms of art were traditionally embedded in society and in that capacity the relationship between the individual and the object was characterised by individual utility and direct meaning making. At one point, however, artistic products attain a canonized status and are put in a museum for instance. When this happens, the product is cut off from its original conditions and operations. This process of isolation, Dewey argues, created a layer of social convention and prestige that dwells around artistic objects. This layer detracts from the individual experience of the object and as a result widens the distance between the individual and the object (Dewey, 1934). As a result, this prestige has put “art upon a remote pedestal” (p.5). For people that are not considered to be symbolically and culturally literate, the distance that dwells around an artistic object, filled with conventions and prestige, hampers the ability to understand it. For instance, when one is not knowledgeable about the cultural-historical period from which the object originates or other (time related) conventions, and at the same time feels like this knowledge is needed in order to understand the work of art, this could lead to reactions of disinterest and disapproval.

In order to better understand the disapproving or disinteresting attitude, we turn to Csikszentmihalyi (1992) who described the concept of flow, which is seen as “the model of optimal experience and optimal development” (p. 89). The concept of flow represents an intrinsic process resulting from the individual experience in combination with the environment that person is located in. It is seen as a state of concentration and focus in which action and awareness are merged and self-consciousness is decreased. The flow state occurs right at the individual balance of challenges (or opportunities) and skills (or capabilities). In other, simpler, words, when any task (whether this being for work or leisure) is too difficult, you will lose your focus due to anxiety but when the task is too easy, you will also lose your focus as a result of boredom. Based on Dewey’s theory, we can argue that the distance created around artistic objects, filled with conventions and prestige, makes people feel like “they should have known”. The inaccessibility of (high) arts leads to an imbalance of individual challenges and (perceived) skills preventing the achievement of a state of flow. This in turn leads to disinterest and disapproval.

Moreover, the notion of cultural entitlement seems to be relevant as well. Entitlement is “a sense of being a relevant and legitimate citizen who matters in society” (Ten Kate, de Koster & van der Waal, 2017, p. 64). As studies of Lamont, Beljean and Clair (2014) and

Laurison (2015) have shown, due to their lower educational attainment, people with less cultural capital do not feel in the right position to participate and immerse themselves in arts and culture because they feel like they are not culturally entitled. Also, they feel disenfranchised and excluded (Myles, 2008). As we have seen earlier, disadvantage of a social group could lead to the loss of interest in cultural participation. However, these aforementioned studies demonstrate that a low sense of cultural entitlement also negatively influences the interest in cultural participation.

To sum up, the aesthetic experience of the lower educated is not only shaped by a direct relationship between the object and the subject but also by a distance containing prestige and convention that dwells around art in museums (Dewey, 1934), which leads to a feeling of not understanding. Additionally, because of their lower educated status, these individuals do not feel entitled to participate in the arts. In turn, these feelings of not understanding and not belonging prevent the possibility of getting in a state of flow.

Returning to aesthetics, however, Richard Shusterman (1997) scrutinized the concept of aesthetics from a philosophical approach. According to him, the aesthetic experience is crucial in encountering an artwork. He defines an experience as “a transactional nexus of interacting energies connecting the embodied self and its environing world” (p. 220). Additionally, Shusterman has defined four features of an aesthetic experience. In order to become aesthetic, the experience needs to be enjoyable and rewarding, (the evaluative dimension), vivid, subjective, absorbing, and immediate (the phenomenological dimension), meaningful (the semantic dimension) and distinctive (demarcational-definitional dimension) (Shusterman, 1997, p. 30).

Additionally, in order to delineate the aesthetic relationship, Schellekens (2006) distinguishes between aesthetic perception and aesthetic judgment in which the experience with an object leads to a certain (aesthetic) perception. In turn, this perceptual process is leading in making an aesthetic judgment. Only when this experience and judgment are shared with others, can it be justified. Therefore, Schellekens argues, the aesthetic judgment is a rational reflection of what is perceived and is no more than an explanation. Moreover, by discussing and sharing the perceptual process of artworks in a museum, the aesthetic relationship could be guided or routed by the museum and its guides.

Unlike the universalist claims of Shusterman and the intersubjective stance of Schellekens, Park (1993) considers the aesthetic experience to be more individual. In contrast to theorists such as Kant (1987) who argues that a pure aesthetic sense is necessary in order to make universal aesthetic judgments and therefore only very few are adept to do so, Park

argues that an aesthetic situation is shaped based on how an individual relates to it and therefore an aesthetic experience could occur from many different situations, in part depending on the focus and attitude of the subject. Most importantly, referring to an aesthetic situation seems to refer to a situation that is consciously or unconsciously considered to have an immanent plan or direction. Accordingly, the kind of aesthetic situation depends on “the mode of relationship between an individual and an object” (Park, 1993, p. 23). From that viewpoint, whether we call a situation aesthetic depends on the individual experience with the situation. In order to explain when a situation becomes aesthetic, Park formulated three stages. The first stage is a positive reaction to “the quality of experience of the object”, the second stage is the individual’s intention to activate “the potential quality of experience of the object as fully as possible” and the third stage is the attention to the quality of the experience and being critical about it (p. 23). Park emphasizes, however, that central to this thesis is the specific consciousness that is involved with the situation throughout all three of these phases. Therefore, he concludes, the aesthetic is determined through individual aesthetic consciousness. Additionally, Park argues that an aesthetic relationship occurs through a specific consciousness that depends on the way in which one is involving or participating. Park explains this relationship as “one’s passage to the external world through experience in the sense of actively realizing both oneself and the object correspondingly at the same time” (p. 24). Consequently, an object could be enjoyed in different ways depending on the aesthetic relationship with the viewer.

In that sense, aesthetics is not found in the quality or essence of an object but rather depends on affective and cognitive individual engagement with the object. Therefore, aesthetics are not bound to high arts but could also be found in everyday situations and in popular or folk culture (Park, 1993, p. 37). For people that are not symbolically or culturally literate, this less strict definition of aesthetics alleviates the traditional distinction between highbrow and lowbrow art as, according to Park, highbrow and popular are rather seen as two different mental stances towards an object than an essence of an object. As a result, individual interpretation of aesthetics and judgment of art is inevitable since such judgments always relate to people’s personal biographies that co-determine how they perceive and evaluate art.

The feeling of ‘aesthetic freedom’ and the possibility to relate to different kinds of art, might restore the balance between skills and challenges as they relate to objects in their own manner instead of the established prestige and conventions of the high arts. As a result of allowing people to relate to the arts in their own terms, the possibility of a state of flow is recovered and feelings of disinterest and disapproval are restored. Additionally, aesthetic

freedom and an open association of art with a (for them) familiar worldview might enlarge the feeling of entitlement and subsequently their interest to participate in arts and culture.

However, this does not mean that the pedestal on which art has been put is dispelled. In order to establish an environment in which people feel the latitude to value any form of art in their own way, supervising the dissolution of social convention and prestige that dwells around an object is important. Otherwise, the assumption of one correct highbrow interpretation will still be present.

2.6 Attending a museum

In the 21st century, the concepts of “active audience” and the context in which individual meaning is made are highly relevant. Among others, Garioan (2001) draws a picture of how the audience and the museum interact with each other. According to Garioan, a museum is a “performative site where its socially and historically constructed pedagogy engages in a critical dialogue with the viewer’s memories and cultural histories” (p. 234). Corresponding with Park’s definition of the aesthetic, Garioan argues that the public memory of a museum could not be seen as segregated from the private memory of a person’s brain.

Farkhatdinov (2014) states that the audience is not only decoding art’s messages but rather plays a major role in the communication and interaction in regards to particular works of art. Farkhatdinov (2014) argues for a new, different approach towards perception by stating instead that the audience is a “form of communication” (p. 52), established through the “participation and interaction” (p. 53) with art. Farkhatdinov uses the example of art installations because this form of art is considered to have the ability to create a community around it. The viewers will experience and perceive the installation by being an integral part of it.

Both Garioan (2001) and Farkhatdinov (2014) argue for an active engagement with the audience. The audience are no longer seen as mere spectators but are invited to enter the dialogue. By using performative speech in the museum, in contradiction to constative speech, the audience communicate about what they see in the museum and that dialogue becomes part of the museum experience (Garioan, 2001, p. 238). By seeing the audience as active and immersing them into the museum experience by integrating them into the discourse, people with less cultural capital might be able to feel more involved and more entitled to actively participate in the museum visit.

All in all, this theoretical framework has illustrated the importance to present the arts in an accessible way in which visitors are comforted by the space surrounding them. For

museums, as well as for other cultural institutions, it is important to encourage possibilities for interaction and immersion. This will help the audience to pay attention and to focus, maybe even to lose the sense of time and to achieve a state of flow. Having an aesthetic experience could be facilitated by providing room for individual appreciation and interpretation, while at the same time provide guidance for the ones who prefer that.

Chapter 3: Methodology

After completing the theoretical framework, this chapter focusses on the research methods. First, data collection will be discussed, addressing the units of analysis, the research methods and the operationalisation of concepts. Additionally, the method of data analysis is discussed to see how the data is used to answer the research question.

The research question of this study is: *How do non-visitors perceive, appreciate and experience museums and how do their perception and appreciation change as a result of attending a museum?*

Based on the research question and the addressed theory, the following sub questions come forward:

Which cultural preferences do the respondents have?

How do the respondents communicate about art?

Which attitude is displayed towards a museum visit?

Which behaviour is exposed in a museum?

In what way is personal meaning ascribed to arts and culture?

How is art in a museum interpreted?

How are the respondents activated in a museum?

To what extent does their social environment consist of people who would be willing to join in museum visits?

How did the museum visit change the respondents' attitude towards museums?

3.1 Data collection

In order to answer all research questions, data is collected among young adults between 18 and 21 years old. The criteria for the respondents and a sample context is formed in advance. As the sample is conducted “purposively but not necessarily with regard to the generation of theory”, the respondents are selected by the use of generic purposive sampling (Bryman, 2016, p. 422). Because this study scrutinises the perception, appreciation and experience of people that would normally not visit a museum, the educational level of the respondents was important. As lower education is theoretically more often associated with non-visitors, the respondents are sought among students of the Albeda College for MBO education². In the

² Intermediate vocational training.

Dutch system, these students constitute the lower end of professional education while at the same time they are fairly educated. For that reason, they are expected to be culturally inexperienced but would possibly be part of the future museum audience. That is also the reason why the respondents are selected among fashion students – a field at the interface of arts and culture. Possibly, unexplored interest will occur here. By investigating a more or less homogeneous group who might be close to the target group but do not yet visit museums, it is possible to investigate signs of appreciation instead of antipathy – which would be more informative. While the group is homogeneous in terms of their level of education and the field of education, which hints to creativity and artistry, it does represent a variety of ethnic backgrounds, including Dutch, Surinamese, Turkish, Moroccan and Nigerian.

Tutors and lecturers of the Albeda fashion institute are approached to connect with the students. In two classes, I presented this research and offered the opportunity to join two museum visits. It could be argued that this automatically selects only those who are already culturally active and enthusiast. However, quantitative measurements preceding the museum visits indicated that all respondents were very limited in their cultural activities, their parents were lower educated too and little cultural socialization had occurred. Besides, as part of their fashion courses, the students are required to visit several museums. Therefore, also those who are not intrinsically motivated are selected. The research was introduced to 21 students, from which 10 students participated. This resulted in 14 interviews, with a total interviewing time of 438 minutes. The table below shows the distribution of participants per museum visit.

		Age	Sex	Boijmans Van Beuningen	Length of the interview	Volkenkunde	Length of the interview
1.	Brecht	20	V	X	00:21:15		
2.	Yanisa	18	V	X	00:37:17		
3.	Faiza	19	V			X	00:34:20
4.	Leanna	18	V			X	00:27:18
5.	Alara	19	V	X	00:25:41	X	00:55:46
6.	Desiree	19	V	X	00:28:00		
7.	Chalisa	21	V	X	00:26:06	X	00:31:20
8.	Feline	21	V	X	00:29:01		
9.	Meyra	20	V	X	00:17:42	X	00:33:29
10.	Pascalie	19	V	X	00:35:40	X	00:35:52

Because aforementioned criteria were important in finding the right units of analysis and consequently to answer the research question, generic purposive sampling (Hood, 2007, p.152) is used.

Initially, a method of triangulation was initiated in which respondents were selected by a generic purposive sample on the fashion course of the MBO Albeda. Consequently, the respondents' general perception of arts, culture and museums were outlined by a test administered before the museum experience. The respondents were then taken to Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen (abbreviated to MBVB in this study) and to Museum Volkenkunde (abbreviated to MV in this study). In both museums a tour was arranged. In MBVB the tour addressed the highlights of the museum showing and discussing the most famous pieces of the museum. In MV the tour addressed the jewellery exhibition. These subjects were expected to be understandable by the respondents and due to the connection with fashion, expected to spark some interest. In both cases, the tour guide informed the group and the respondents had the opportunity to have their own input and interaction with the tour guide. Questions were asked and discussion occurred. Afterwards, the respondents had time to walk around the museum individually. As a researcher, I was present at each museum visit and I observed the behaviour and attitude of the respondents. During the visits however, I had to function as organiser as well as some respondents needed guidance because they were too late or felt unwell. This led to interruptions of the participant observation and unsystematic results. Therefore, it was decided not to derive strict results from them. Rather, the observations are used to confirm or consider assumptions resulting from the measurements and the interviews.

After the museum visits, the respondents had to fill in the forms of the after-measurement, in which the specific museum visit was assessed as well as their overall perception and ideas about museums. The comparison between the before- and after measurements informs us about the change of perception and appreciation due to the museum experience. In the interview, the results of these measurements are discussed and respondents are asked to explain their scores. Therefore, the qualitative character of understanding and interpreting the respondents' answers is most important in this study.

3.1.1 Method

The previous paragraph indicated that the open nature of qualitative research and the possibility of interpreting the respondents' answers in depth, are important motivations for choosing this research method. This paragraph elaborates on the steps taken this research.

Firstly, in order to see whether actual museum experiences contribute to a change in perception and appreciation of non-visitors, before- and after measurements are conducted. The questionnaires consists of 20 statements addressing the respondents' points of view on museums, arts and culture in general, cultural interests, cultural activity (in youth) and (their

parents') educational level. Answers are given on a 7-point Likert scale. The data collected with these questionnaires is not used to make valid and reliable statements, because the number of respondents is too limited. Rather, the outcomes are used as input for the interviews and for the confirmation of assumptions based on attitudes, behaviour or statements. The questions are derived from existing studies into non-visitors, including Van Eijck, Van Bree and Derickx study in the *Jaarboek Actieve Cultuurparticipatie* (2011). For the present study, only relevant concepts are detracted from existing studies and cultural interests that are assumed to suit the target group are added. The complete before- and after measurements are included in appendices 2 and 3.

Secondly, for understanding the way in which non-museum-visitors express their appreciation and perception of a museum experience, interviews are most obvious. The flexibility of an interview allows for the interpretation of the interviewee's perspective, it emphasizes great interest in the interviewee's point of view and it gives insight in what is important and relevant for the interviewees (Bryman, 2016, p. 470). Following Bryman, the interview allows to respond to the interviewees in the direction that they take the interviews. The method that corresponds mostly with this flexible way of responding to the interviewees is the semi-structured interview in which the topics are set. The absence of exact questions and answers, however, allowed me to respond to the interviewees and to discuss their answers. The interview guide is the starting point of the semi-structured interview and consists of about 30 open questions. The topics addressed in the interview are derived from the theories discussed in the previous chapter and the sub-questions of this study. Broadly speaking, important topics are the cultural preferences, perception, experience, appreciation, and motivation for (not) visiting, (de) activation in a museum, reaction to an object, environmental factors, facilities and social circle.

3.1.2. Research period and location

The research was executed between March and May 2018. In this three month period, first the Albeda College was contacted, the study was introduced to the sample and the before-measurements were conducted. The museum visit to MBVB took place on the 25th of April. The interviews discussing the experience were conducted the next day, because the experiences needed to be recent and fresh in mind. The museum visit to MV took place on the 16th of May. Again, the interviews followed directly the day after. The location of research varied from the classroom, where before-measurements were conducted, the two museums, where the experience and the after-measurements took place and a discussion room at the

Albeda College, where the interviews took place. The after-measurements were conducted directly after the experience to ensure reliable answers. The familiarity of the discussion room in their school created a comfortable and quiet place to conduct the interviews.

In order to increase reliability, the interviews are recorded and transcribed verbatim. To ensure validity of this study, mixed research methods are used. Although the conducted quantitative measurements and the observation could not be considered as independent research methods, they do endorse the validity of this study.

3.1.3. Operationalisation

The concepts of the research- and sub-questions are demarcated in order to examine them. The interview aimed to discern what meaning the cultural inexperienced respondents give to elements of culture. Primarily, elements of the museum visits are studied. Although, the role of culture in their personal lives is also discussed.

The term *perception* refers to the image that respondents have about museums and arts and culture in general. A question is for instance: What are the first things that come into mind when you think about a museum? The image is decisive in the expectation of a museum visit. Therefore, not only described images are important but also the observed attitude towards visiting. Described expectations could be contrasting with behaviour or attitude. The use of mixed research methods enables to find (in)consistencies between them.

Appreciation and *personal meaning* represent the value that respondents ascribe to cultural outings. What elements are important and why? For example, the following questions are formulated: What was most memorable about the museum visit? What did the museum visit bring you? What are functions of cultural participation? The concepts of appreciation and personal meaning explore what role (elements of) culture plays in the respondents' lives.

The *experience* refers to both the participation in the museum visit as well as previous cultural practices. In the interview, respondents are asked about their participation, what they think about it and how it made them feel. At the same time, the before-measurement and the interview explores what cultural activities they have done already, what they think about them and how it made them feel. A question that measures this concept is for instance: If a friend would ask how your time in the museum has been, how would you describe it?

The *cultural preferences* are understood as elements of culture that are meaningful. Since the respondents have limited cultural experience in high forms of art, it could be possible that they engage in (new) popular forms of culture such as vlogging, street dance or spoken word. The interview addressed what cultural activities are occupied already by

enquiring about their preferred leisure activities. On the other hand, the observation and after-measurement gives insight in the elements of the visited exhibitions that were meaningful. It does so by paying attention to behaviour and interaction of respondents, for example statements of appreciation, attention that is given to an artwork, conversations about the artworks encountered. In the interview, the image raised from the observation is confirmed by asking the following questions: What was most memorable of the museum? What did you learn from the museum visit? Why was this important to you? Or, why did you feel like you did not learn a lot from it? What did you miss?

The concept *communication* is made measureable by the use of Ollivier's (2008) discourses. Communication and discourses refer to the way in which the respondents talk about preferences or aversions. In the respondents' explanations for likes and dislikes, different justifications are found. For instance, relevance is put the desire to learn, on drawing useful lessons or on doing an activity as a social outing. These accounts inform us about the meaning of cultural elements and what the respondents appreciate and what not. A table including all discourses identified by Ollivier (2008) is found in appendix 10.

The *attitude* refers to the willingness to participate in culture and the museum visits. Are the respondents prepared for the museum visit? Are they looking forward to it? Previous experiences lead to expectations which could influence the attitude towards visiting. Also, personal or environmental aspect could influence the attitude. Additionally, the attitude could contrast with what people say. Therefore, discourses and attitude are compared to confirm results of the analysis. The attitudes are observed and discussed in the interview.

Behaviour is defined as participation during the museum visit. Behaviour was mostly measured by observation and afterwards discussed in the interview. Did the respondents show effort to involve in the tour or were they distracted or disinterested?

The *interpretation of art* is seen as a personal judgment about the meaning of an artistic object. Hereby, the relationship between the subject and the object as defined by Park's theory on aesthetic experiences (1993) is important. The interpretation of artworks is discussed in the interview. Questions are for instance: What artwork was most memorable and why? How did it make you feel? What did the artwork mean? Did you grasp the artist's intention? Do you think it is necessary to be informed about the artist's intentions and why (not)?

According to studies by Garoian (2001) and Farkhatdinov (2014) the role of the audience in a museum is changing from being passive observers to active participants. The central tendency of the experience economy shows that in turn, the audience expects to be

activated throughout an experience instead of being mere spectators. The term *activation* therefore refers to how elements of the museum visits stimulated participation among the respondents. Which aspects encouraged them to engage in the tour or with an object and which aspects made them feel tired or bored? Attitudes of activation are observed and discussed in the interview.

The *social environment* represents the group of people surrounding the respondent and the mutual relationships with them. It represents the respondents' family and peers. In the interview, this is made discussable by questions such as: Who would you ask to company you during a museum visit?

The *change of attitude* is made measurable by the use of before- and after-measurements in which respondents' value statements about the museum visits and their general perception of museums are compared. This shows whether the museum visits affected their general idea on museums.

3.2 Data analysis

The data that is collected through interviewing is all recorded. Because *how* something is said, is equally important as *what* has been said, the interviews were all transcribed verbatim (Bryman, 2016, p 482). The data collected through the before- and after-measurements is converted into Excel, which creates an easy accessible overview of the answers. Based on the pre-visit measurement, an idea about the respondents' cultural socialization, their current cultural activity and their overall attitude towards participating in arts and culture could be formulated. Consequently, these data were used to group the respondents into four groups: the actives, the triggered actives, the cultural socialized non-actives and the non-actives. In the establishment of the groups, two main criteria were used: cultural socialization and current cultural activity. To what extent the respondents gained cultural experience in childhood and to what extent they are culturally active now, led to the composition of the groups. In order to make statements based on background and characteristics of the respondents, instead of individual statements, the groups are used to discuss results from the analysis. The Excel sheets of the before- and after measurements and the notes of the participant observations, are included in appendices 5 up to 9.

The transcribed interviews are coded in analysis software Atlas.ti following the phases of coding by Charmaz (2006). In the first stage of coding, a very open view on the data was adopted in order to pay close attention to what the interviewee finds relevant. This is important to avoid stereotyping and concluding too fast. In this initial stage of coding, all

important parts were given a descriptive code. The research- and sub questions were held in mind to decide whether statements were important or not. In order to maintain an open view on the data, no theoretical indications were sought in this stage. Rather, the codes were used to generate ideas to encapsulate the data (Bryman, 2016, p. 569).

After this initial coding, focused coding was applied in which the most common codes were linked to each other revealing which elements were most important (Bryman, 2016, p. 569). This was seen as a selective process in which the enormous amount of initial codes was reduced to more focussed incident to incident codes (Charmaz, 2006, p. 53-57). Consequently, the most important quotes were divided per sub-question resulting in a summary of quotes per sub-question and per group. In that way the most prominent subjects (cultural preferences, communication, attitudes, behaviour, personal meaning, interpretation, activation, social environment and change) were categorised per group based on an inductive way of analysing. The categorisation per group made it possible to find similarities and differences among them (Charmaz, 2006, p. 54). In this stage, the data was also compared to the theory. In what way does it confirm or reject the assumptions that are made based on existing literature? By doing so, I tried to first see the world through their eyes because “understanding the logic of their experience brings you fresh insights” instead of imposing the theory on the data immediately (Charmaz, 2006, p. 54). In that way, I avoided assuming that respondents for example do not understand anything of the artworks. Rather, attention was given to how they interpret the artworks in their own manner. Eventually, the results of the comparison between the data and the theory per sub-question and per group, was used to report on the analysis.

Chapter 4: Results

The following chapter will present and discuss the results of the pre- and post-visit measurements, the observation of the museum experience and the semi-structured interviews.

4.1 Introduction of respondents

Actives

From the respondents, Brecht (20) and Yanisa (18) had the most cultural experience in their childhood. Their overall attitude towards cultural participation is positive, i.e., they seem to have an enthusiasm for and interest in visiting museums and a variety of different cultural disciplines.

As revealed by the pre-visit questionnaire, Brecht (20) has an interest in museums and other cultural fields such as design, architecture, film, photography, dance, cabaret, and several popular forms of music. In general, she considers a museum visit as an enjoyable, informative, relaxing activity. With her parents, who are senior secondary vocational educated and higher professional educated, she occasionally visited dance- or ballet performances, the cinema and art museums. Currently, she displays a frequent activity by visiting art museums more than 5 times a year. Subsequently, she often visits the cinema, popular music events and the theatre and occasionally attends dance- or ballet performances and festivals and natural history museums. As many of her peers, she likes to watch series on Netflix. Additionally and like her classmates, she is creatively active in sewing and designing clothes. Along with this, an interest in clothing design becomes clear from her favourite artists, listed as Christian Dior, Donatella Versace, Calvin Klein, Rihanna, Mary-Kate and Ashley Olsen and Tommy Hilfiger.

To use her own words, Yanisa (18) grew up with a fairly creative mother who taught her several creative activities such as how to work with stained glass, drawing and sewing. In this creative social environment of her childhood, she also visited art museums regularly, although alternated with more popular activities such as amusement parks and musicals. Yanisa's father is lower educated, her mother has a senior secondary vocational education. Despite the lower educational status of Yanisa's parents, she is considered to be among the most culturally socialized compared to her classmates. In her current cultural activity, she is one of the few who visited art museums three or four times last year, including some in her leisure time. She displays a strong interest in the more popular artistic and cultural disciplines such as musical, cabaret, pop music, photography, film, architecture and design. Much less

enthusiasm is notable considering painting, sculpture, poetry and literature. Her overall attitude towards a museum visit is considered as positive and enthusiast.

Triggered actives

Both Faiza (19) and Leanna (18) did not acquire cultural experience in their childhood. Their parents have lower or secondary vocational education and, in terms of Bourdieu (1984), did not possess much cultural capital. As a consequence, Faiza and Leanna have not been socialized in an environment where the arts played a significant role and are not considered not to possess much (legitimate) cultural capital as well. Strikingly, both of these young ladies display a cultural interest and activity that cannot be compared to their classmates. We can say that they seem to be more active than their culturally socialized counterparts.

Faiza emigrated from Nigeria to the Netherlands when she was 16 years old. After settling in Rotterdam, The Verhalenhuis Belvédère and the Wereldmuseum exhibited about their family history and Nigerian culture. Due to this attention and experience with both of the cultural institutions, Faiza said her cultural interest was triggered:

“And from that time on, I thought of the museum as something interesting. Everybody from my age says ‘it’s too boring’ and I used to think that too. I used to think the museum is only for bored, old people. As an alternative for killing time, they go to the museum. But this time it was different. It was a real eye-opener for me.”

The only cultural activity Faiza experienced in her childhood, was an occasional theatre play. Her parents are lower educated and there was not much attention for any form of art. Her current activity, however, displays a very different image. She often visits popular events such as concerts or music festivals and the cinema. Looking at her interests, a preference for popular forms of arts and culture, such as fashion, photography and film, is displayed. Nevertheless, she does not shy away from highbrow forms of art as well by visiting dance- and ballet performances, classical music, opera and art museums regularly. Her overall attitude towards museums is positive and the intention to visit is present.

Leanna, on the other hand, explained that her enthusiasm was triggered by an inspirational drawing teacher in high school:

“He could tell about it so imaginatively that it was very stimulating to exanimate the artworks and to see why this... and why all the painting look like they do and what the symbolism is. I have always liked that very much.”

Considering Leanna’s inactive cultural primary socialization, this interest is something you might not expect and that is something she is aware of as well:

“My parents just don’t like it, at all. And I do, so that is a bit weird...”

Despite her current cultural activity, Leanna did not acquire much cultural experience in her youth. The absence of cultural endeavours initiated by her parents, who both attained secondary vocational education, is displayed when she said she has never or very rarely visited cultural outings such as theatre, art- and national history museums. Among her long list of favourite artist, highbrow as well as popular artists are listed. This expresses a familiarity and interest in a combination of art forms. For example, an admiration for Vincent van Gogh, Peter Lindbergh and Emma Stone exist next to each other and in combination with an appreciation for some influential YouTube vloggers such as John and Hank Green. Thus, her cultural interest and enthusiasm display a wide variety and positive attitude towards cultural activities. Likewise, in her actual visiting pattern, the cinema and art museums are among the most frequently visited cultural locations. However, the remaining cultural outings such as musical events or theatre do not seem to spark any frequent activity. In conclusion, her list of appealing cultural fields shows an interesting combination as she said to be strongly attracted towards fashion and comedy as well as painting, sculpture, literature and poetry.

Culturally socialized non-actives

The following group, consisting of Alara (19) and Desiree (19), displays a certain cultural socialization and a positive attitude towards visiting cultural activities. Contrastingly, their current cultural participation does not show any regular activity.

In her youth, Alara (19) has been moderately culturally active. She said she has been visiting the cinema as well as the library very often. Besides, she has been visiting music concerts and festivals (popular as well as classical music), museums (art museums as well as natural history museums) and theatre plays occasionally. Nonetheless, her interest in and familiarity with cultural activities is notable as she has been very positive about the two museums visits that were part of her studies. Likewise, she said she has a medium to strong interest in all the proposed cultural fields including painting, sculpture, theatre and classical music (which are considered to be forms of high art) but also spoken word, comedy, hip-hop music and design (which are considered to be more popular forms of art). Her overall attitude towards visiting a museum seems to be positive as she supposes it to be a relaxing and nice activity and she said to be interested in the information provided about the artworks. However, her current cultural participation does not show a lot of activity as it solely consists of one or two cinema visits throughout the last 12 months.

Also Desiree (19) is one of the respondents who revealed some more cultural activity at a younger age. The cinema, popular music concerts, museums and the library are among the activities she regularly or often visited with her mother, who has a higher professional education. It is striking that again, a strong cultural interest is presented. She said she is strongly interested in cultural fields such as painting, sculpture, fashion, photography, film and several popular music forms. However, she does not display frequent cultural activity as she has visited a museum once or twice during last year as part of her studies. Despite not being passionate about such a visit, she suggested she would like to visit a museum with a group of friends rather than with school or her family. Furthermore, Desiree's favourite artists are listed as popular music artists such as the Weekend and Frank Ocean and she has been visiting popular music festivals and concerts last year.

Both of these narratives display a primary socialization in which they became familiarised with the arts that, according to Bourdieu's cultural reproduction model (1984), would enable Alara and Desiree to comprehend and appreciate highbrow aesthetics. However, there is no trace of active cultural participation, let alone distinction (as it was intended by Bourdieu). This inconsistency might be an indication that Bourdieu's model should be interpreted differently in postmodern times than in 1973 as intended by Prieur and Savage (2013). The idea that the model ought to be read as a predictive instrument for cultural tastes has been rightly contested (Prieur and Savage, 2013). Additionally, as these girls do not attribute any part of their identity to their taste in high arts, it might indicate that the meaning ascribed to the high arts has changed overtime (Peterson, 1992; Lamont, 1992; Bryson, 1996).

Non-actives

The largest group, consisting of Chalisa (21), Feline (21), Meyra (20) and Pascalle (19), are the respondents who have had a culturally inactive primary socialization, currently display little cultural activity and express little interest or enthusiasm for participation.

Chalisa (21) says she was not culturally active when she was younger. Her parents very seldom took her to a dance- or ballet performance, the cinema, a musical, a museum or the library and Chalisa said she is inexperienced when it comes to music performances and literary- or film events. She said she has not been culturally active for the last 12 months either, with exception of an occasional cinema visit and the two museums she has visited as part of her studies. However, she has not been entirely culturally inactive as she has been active in hiphop dancing in her leisure time. Nonetheless, the activities she practices are limited to popular culture. Correspondingly, Alexander Wang and Beyoncé (both considered

to produce popular culture) are listed as her favourite artists. In the questionnaire, she expresses a strong interest in musical, cabaret, painting, sculpture, fashion, dance, theatre, comedy, photography, film, design and several popular forms of music. Nevertheless, this could not be confirmed during the museum visit and the semi-structured interview.

In her youth, Feline (21) did not acquire a lot of cultural experience, although she sometimes went to the cinema. With her parents, who are both lower educated, she rather visited an amusement park or the zoo. In line with Chalisa, despite her limited experience, she shows a strong interest in several cultural fields. Especially an interest in popular forms of arts and culture such as fashion, popular music, film, photography, architecture, and design is detectable from the pre-visit questionnaire. Her favourite artists are listed as fashion designers such as Gucci and Louis Vuitton and popular artists Iris Scott and Beyoncé. During the museum visits she was particularly interested in some of the historic paintings, she seems almost surprised by them. However, her current cultural activities solely consists of one or two cinema visits and a popular music event during the last 12 months. Additionally and opposing the agreement, she did not show up for the second museum visit. Thus, despite her expressed interest, Feline's behaviour seem to display something else. When she was asked whether she would visit a museum by herself, she answered:

“I think I would go for the assignment of my final collection³. It's not like I would go to a museum for myself. I would not do that.”

This quote reveals that she would only go to a museum as part of her studies but a reluctant attitude towards visiting is revealed when it comes to her leisure time. In conclusion, Feline's expressed interests and behaviour seems to be in contradiction with each other. Over the course of this research, we will monitor any possible threshold that might restrain her from participating.

Additionally, Meyra (20) displayed not much cultural activity in her youth. Except for some more popular activities such as the cinema, an amusement park or the zoo, she did not visit any cultural activities. Her parents are lower educated and do not express particular cultural interests. In correspondence with her parents, Meyra does not show a lot of cultural interests as well. In her current activities, the cinema is her most popular cultural outing. As part of her studies, she went to a museum once or twice. Except for this experience, she has never visited a museum in her leisure time. In comparison with her classmates, she has a more

³As part of their final assignments for their studies, the respondents have to visit a couple of museums. These visits will be used to gain inspiration for their final collection which they have to design to finish their studies.

reluctant attitude towards visiting a museum as she, for instance, totally disagrees with the idea that visiting a museum with friends or family could be enjoyable. Her interests seem to lay more in the popular arts, such as fashion, comedy, photography, film, architecture and design, while the fine arts, such as classical music, painting and sculpture, do not seem to spark much interest. Her list of favourite artists displays a strong association with her Turkish ethnic and cultural background as it only lists Turkish artists Burak Özçivit (actor), Nur Yesiltas (designer) and Said Mhamad (photographer).

Pascalie's (19) attitude towards cultural activities could be described as indifferent. Her mother obtained a senior secondary vocational education and her father's educational level is unknown, however lower educated. In her youth, she frequently visited amusement parks. Museum visits, on the other hand, were absent during her childhood. This pattern is also visible in her current cultural activities. She seldom visit a theatre play or the cinema and, in correspondence with her classmates, she has visited one or two museums as part of their studies but not in her leisure time. Pascalie does not display a broad cultural taste, however her religious background has sparked her interest in classical music and literature:

"I really love expressive portraits of [religious] stories. Look, we have gatherings in which we study the Bible and reading material in small groups. And when I see some aspects of these stories beautifully depicted, expressed, drawn or painted... Yes, that really touches me."

Also, her frequent activity on social media seems to have sparked an interest in photography. Additionally, Pascalie is very enthusiastic about being creative herself. For her, it seems to have much more value to create her own clothes and visit creative fairs, than to be the audience of a museum.

4.2. Actives

Presuming from the categorization of respondents, the actives are expected to be the most culturally socialized and - active. The ensuing paragraph analyses the development of these expectations and their actual experience, appreciation and behaviour during the museum visits.

4.2.1. Expectations: Indifferent attitude

As argued by the concept of contextual model of learning by Falk and Dierking (2016), the experience of a museum visit is shaped by the overarching personal, sociocultural and physical context. In the personal context, one's previous experiences and knowledge shape

individual expectations – which in turn is important for the perception of the actual experience.

Despite Brecht's cultural experience, she expresses quite a traditional image of museums. According to her, the first thing that comes to mind when thinking about museums is *“old paintings and old-fashioned statues”*. This rather conventional association with museums is an important predictor for the experience of a museum visit and seems to conceive an indifferent stance towards visiting. For instance, she says:

“I did not prepare for the visit. I'll just see what's what when I get there.”

The indifferent attitude and the absence of effort prior to the museum visit does not exemplify much enthusiasm. Likewise, Yanisa did not prepare for the museum visit. However, she bases her argument for not preparing on previous cultural experiences and knowledge:

“I explicitly do not look at images beforehand because it creates expectations. [...] I do not visit websites to see what kind of exhibitions there are because it takes time and also I have seen everything already and then I don't like it anymore.”

In spite of Yanisa's cultural background, this quote explicitly indicates that she is not willing to spend time on the preparation of a museum visit.

What is illustrative for both girls, is that their previous experience and cultural knowledge did not lead to activated attitudes for forthcoming cultural activities. This is in contrast to socio-cultural theory indicating that primary cultural socialization and cultural experience is an important precondition for cultural preference. Since Brecht and Yanisa's parents do not belong to what would be considered the cultural elite (or: the traditional museum audience), the cultural preference of visiting museums was possibly not transferred onto their children.

4.2.2. Interpretation: an ego-world relation anchored in ego

Analysing the interview data reveals that both girls in this group demonstrate a relation with the world that is anchored in their ego. This becomes apparent by their interpretation and appreciation of artworks. Both Brecht and Yanisa use their creative background as a reference framework and in expressing appreciation for an artwork, an association with themselves is established:

“Some things that I have seen I'd like to use myself. I saw a painting of a lady with little sticks, glitters and pieces of fabric on her. That was really cool.”

This statement illustrates that Brecht selectively appropriates elements of the painting and adapts them to her own personal reference framework, resulting in involvement and interest in

the painting. This process of essentially self-centered interpretation is also distinguishable in Yanisa her appreciation for 19th century portraits and ball gowns:

“That inspires me a lot. Like ‘I would like to make that myself’ and ‘how does it work?’ and ‘what would the inside look like? That’s all stuff that I think about.’”

This quote illustrates a technical interpretation of the objects, but it is also constructed on her own reality. In the interview, Yanisa mentions her mother’s creative background and how that affected Yanisa and her interest in new techniques. The above-mentioned appreciation seems to be related to her personal interest in creative techniques and is therefore anchored in her ego. Additionally, in expressing her involvement and interest in specific artworks, Yanisa refers to situations in her own life. The associations she makes, result in an active relationship between her and the object:

“When I was in primary school, we used to thank for dinner and read the Bible. So it was interesting to me that it had to do with God. I still have a children’s Bible at home, a large picture book. I really liked it when my mum read from it before I went to sleep. And all that came back to me when I saw the painting.”

In this quote, Yanisa refers to Pieter Brueghel’s Tower of Babylon. It does not express an interpretation based on colour, shape or composition. Nonetheless, this quote reveals a relationship with the painting as it enables her to connect it to a situation that has personal meaning. Throughout, the interpretation of the artworks does not seem to be based on the artist or the context. She said she would prefer not to know the artists’ intention or context, she would rather envision her own “story”:

“I’d rather make it right for myself, than that I would follow those things [artist or context]. Because everybody creates their own image and opinion on something. And I prefer to stick to my own story rather than that I follow an artists’ intention.”

Yanisa is convinced that artworks have an immanent meaning in them. For her, the artists’ intention or the immanent meaning of the artwork stands in the way of having fun:

“With art it is more like it has to have a meaning. It’s not like that with Technopolis⁴ because that’s more like having fun with children or a group of youngsters”.

⁴ Experimental museum Technopolis, Mechelen is positioned as “do-centre” and focusses on the interaction with science and technology.

For a museum experience to become memorable, having fun is also important for Brecht. She remembers a visit to Corpus⁵ as an “*active and fun museum visit*”. However, within this stimulating context, an increasingly contemplative attitude is also notable, when she says:

“*Now you’re older, you are more active and actually want to understand the artworks.*”

The statements of both girls correspond with an ego-world relation that is anchored in their ego as described by Schulze (1992) and Van Eijck and Lievens (2008). Combined with the intention to seek fun, the statements seem to correspond with their description of the entertainment milieu. Most importantly, both girls emphasize the individual relevance to create meaning for themselves without conforming to generally accepted interpretations or the artistic intentions.

4.2.3. Discourses: discovery, relaxation, emotions and creativity

In her study in the field of cultural consumption, Ollivier (2008) formulates 13 discourses. These discourses could be seen as different legitimating registers that people draw upon in the justification for taste, preferences, interests or activities. Broadly, Ollivier bases these discourses on Frith (1990) who classified three discourses (the art-, folk- and pop discourse) and used them for the understanding of expressions and to discern different ways of justification. These three discourses, also identifiable in the milieu groups by Schulze (1992), are augmented by Ollivier (2008) resulting in 13 discourses used to comprehend and discern explanations of interests, tastes and activities. An overview of these discourses is included in appendix 10. In order to clarify their appreciation for museum visits and works of art, the respondents draw upon specific justifications. Analysing these explanations informs us about the personal meaning they ascribe to specific cultural likes or dislikes.

To start with, both girls seem to separate works of art into *interesting* or *boring*. For example, Yanisa said:

“*If it would have been boring art, I would think ‘how would I be able to make an assignment on this?’ But here, there were works that made me think ‘yes, I can work with those’.*”

Based on the previous paragraph, the decision whether an artwork falls under one of these terms seems to be based on the association that they create with their own lives. Also, they are able to explain almost all their appreciations based on previous experiences or an association

⁵ Family museum Corpus, Oegstgeest enables stimulating of the senses as it guides visitors through a giant version of the human body.

with themselves. In the evaluation and discussion of artworks, both Brecht and Yanisa speak in terms of *nice* and *beautiful*. Despite the appreciation that these terms express, they do not demonstrate the mastery of any aesthetic jargon or terms that indicate cultural knowledge. For instance, Brecht was familiar with the artist Piet Mondriaan, however seeing one of his paintings in reality was disappointing:

“I expected more from it, it was really just a small thing! He has paintings that are much more beautiful I think.”

Again, the used discourse does not demonstrate language that exemplifies the possession of cultural knowledge. Additionally, the dimensions of the painting seem to be a relevant feature in her appreciation for the artwork or, even better, for the disappointment caused by the painting. However, consequently, Brecht points out that she would like to visit more exhibitions in order to compare different works of Mondriaan and to increase her knowledge about him. In correspondence with the contemplative attitude towards art mentioned earlier, this seems to indicate a desire to learn and to discover new things as occurring in the discovery discourse by Ollivier (2008). Additionally, Brecht also enjoys the calm, relaxed atmosphere in a museum:

“It is very quiet and you could calmly look at all the paintings and find out about stuff so that is chill.”

This quote indicates a preference for relaxation combined with discovering and learning new things. This is also indicated by her appreciation of Jeroen Eisinga’s *Springtime (2010-2011)*⁶. The slow development of bees landing on the man, the longer attention that is needed to see the man get covered and the calm storyline appeals to Brecht. What stands out, is that Brecht mostly refers to the relaxation and discovery discourse in order to explain her appreciation of the museum visit. The desire to learn and to discover new things is also indicated by her aim to learn about the background stories of the paintings. Unlike Yanisa, who is distracted by the artist intention or the immanent meaning of an artwork, Brecht arrived at her aim to increase her knowledge when she discovers the “*background stories*” of an artwork. About the tour in MBVB she explains:

“I enjoyed it. I expected it to be more boring. But she [the tour guide] selected the right highlights for us, as students. [...] Because there were nice stories behind them [and therefore] you felt it more. The more she told, the more captivating it was.”

⁶ A 19 minutes audiovisual work displaying a man who gets covered by a swarm of bees.

Additionally, she says that she missed information on the context and interaction with a tour guide when she walked through the museum individually.

Yanisa, on the other hand, displays a justification for preference based on emotions and creativity discourses. The selection process in a museum is illustrated by the following:

“I mostly let my feelings lead me. Just like, ‘oh that looks really beautiful to me’. And when something looks a bit scary, I immediately feel that I don’t like it.”

Additionally, the evaluation of hyper realistic sculptures in MBVB is illustrated as follows:

“That really made me feel unpleasant, those eyes stare at me and that doesn’t feel good.”

The overwhelming emotional experience makes it difficult for Yanisa to talk about artworks:

“When I saw something that I could only express with feelings and just can’t... I’m like ‘yeaaaaah I can’t express’.”

Therefore, the individual attitude throughout the museum visit might also be ascribed to the difficulty she experiences to express herself. The absence of a vocabulary might lead to insecurity to talk about artworks. Additionally, in her explanation of admiration, Yanisa draws upon a creativity discourse. Especially techniques are important, which are again related her own creative background as a reference framework:

“Sometimes I think I could have done this when I was four years old [giggles]. But sometimes I think I could never have done this, I do not possess these skills or techniques. And that really inspires me.”

What stands out is that Yanisa explicitly shows that she has some cultural knowledge. About the Sagrada Família in Barcelona she says:

“I think I look at it differently than people who know nothing about it. I like to explain about it then... I kind of know how it works and how they had it in mind”.

Yanisa does not evaluate artworks based on colour, style or composition, but despite this absence she enjoys displaying an expert attitude. Although not comparable with an art discourse used by the cultural elite, Yanisa seems conscious of the legitimate status of cultural knowledge and wants to express this.

In sum, even though aesthetical jargon is not used by both girls, appreciation is expressed. The used discourses differentiate among the respondents, while Brecht draws upon discovery- and relaxation discourses, Yanisa draws upon emotions- and creativity discourses. A real arts discourse remains absent in the evaluation of artworks, although Yanisa does demonstrate something like an expert attitude about the fields that she is informed about – demonstrating awareness of the legitimate status of cultural knowledge.

4.2.4. Aesthetic experience: conventions, self association and sensory stimulation

From the interviews, it becomes clear that both Brecht and Yanisa feel that they have to behave decently when visiting a museum. Yanisa explicitly expresses her discontent about it:

“Being calm, do not run too much, do not make too much noise. Because of the security guards I really feel like they are keeping tabs on me. I don’t really like that but it is part of the museum because it is art and it could be worth millions.”

For them, this strict behaviour, monitored by security guards, seem to stand in the way for having an aesthetic experience:

“When I am looking at something and a security guard walks passed I would be losing my concentration, losing my story.”

The common rules of conduct in a museum and the presence of the security guards lead to high self-consciousness and make the girls feel like they cannot behave as themselves. Being conscious of their own behaviour distracts from a focus on the artworks and disables the establishment of a relationship between them and the object.

Regardless of the experienced difficulty to enjoy the works without feeling spied on, almost all participating respondents display enthusiasm about the hyper realistic sculptures of Duane Hanson (*Seated Child*, 1974) and the installations (for instance Yayoi Kusama’s *Infinity Mirror Room – Phalli’s Field*, 1965) in MBVB. Brecht for instance, said that she was drawn to the reality of Duane Hanson’s sculptures:

“It’s almost real, it’s scary.”

For these kind of artworks, the spectator does not need to be knowledgeable about specific art historical context. Additionally, they immediately allow for self-association as the hyper realistic sculptures are easily recognizable and the mirror room of Yayoi Kusama connects the embodied self with its enviroing space (Shusterman, 1997). Brecht describes the experiences as memorable:

“I got a special feeling about it, when you were present in the room. That was really weird. You don’t really forget that.”

The memorable experience is indicated by an overwhelming feeling, not by judgment of composition, style, colour or context. Moreover, the active-respondents both prefer to create their own interpretation of artworks rather than that they conform to art historical information:

“When a painting appeals to me, I’d read the sign. But I rather look at the artworks than read the signs.”

Since the interest in artworks is not necessarily sparked by art historical context or artist intentions, stimulation of the senses and the association with themselves seem to become

more important in order to appeal to them. As mentioned earlier, the art historical context and artist intentions is referred to as immanent meaning of an artwork by Yanisa and stands in the way of having fun and a personal experience with it:

“...With art it is more like it has to have a meaning. It’s not like that with Technopolis because that’s more like having fun with children or a group of youngsters.”

This quote shows that involvement in a museum is established through activation or an embodied experience rather than through the conventional position of the audience of being a mere spectator.

Concluding, being self-conscious about their own behaviour and the legitimacy of the art historical context (or *immanent meaning*) of an artwork stands in the way of having an aesthetic experience. Recognizable works of art that allows for association with themselves and activation through stimulation of the senses is encouraging for having an aesthetic experience.

4.2.5. Social environment and digital means of communication

In the interview, it is striking that Yanisa does not mention any peers as her social environment, she displays a rather individual attitude. The creative endeavours of her mother are an inspiration for Yanisa and she is also the one who introduced her to several museums. As leisure activity, Yanisa mentions that she likes to watch series while she is creatively active with her hands. Specific digital platforms or other means of communication with her peers remains absent. It seems like they do not play a significant role in her life. In correspondence, Brecht mentions the preference to watch series as well. She specifically mentions the digital broadcasting network Netflix. During the museum experience, Brecht made photos from paintings and the realistic sculptures in MBVB. In contrast to other respondents, Brecht did not indicate that she was going to use them on social networks. The measurements indicated that Brecht has quite some cultural experience, the interviews however were not evident of much cultural activity. She has been visiting some more popular museums in her youth and lately some pop concerts. However, a social environment that is stimulating her of being culturally active is not indicated.

4.2.6. Change

In order to see whether a museum visit in itself could change the perception of these respondents, this paragraph elaborates on the development of their attitudes and expectations. At the starting point of this study, in the pre-visit measurement and the interview, Yanisa and Brecht showed a rather indifferent attitude. Nonetheless, it was positive - they were not

reluctant to visit. Afterwards, both girls say that they are positively surprised. Brecht says that she enjoyed the visit:

“My expectations were lower than it actually was.”

Instead of the expected “*old paintings and old-fashioned statues*” the museum turned out to be more modern. And instead of displaying realistic artworks depicting historical compositions, she found the art was more imaginative. In correspondence with the discovery discourse that Brecht draws upon, she expresses enjoyment of the “*stories behind the artworks*” that they discussed during the tour. This also appears in the after-measurement, which is overall more positive than the before-measurement. Experiencing MBVB was slightly more relaxing, interactive, enjoyable and less boring and formal than her general expectation of museums.

Yanisa compared the MBVB-visit with another visit:

“I expected it to be the same as last time we visited Boijmans as part of our studies. However, it turned out to be really different. And that was the reason I wanted to go. Imagine it would be different..!”

Yanisa’s after-measurement however, was slightly less positive than the before-measurement. The questions answered directly after the museum visit indicated that she experienced it less relaxing and enjoyable than her general expectations of museums. However, the measurements indicate that it was less boring, difficult, serious and formal as well. As these four scores a certain insecurity in behaviour or understanding, it seems like the museum visit eliminated these in a way. This results in a slight change in behaviour and perception of museums.

4.2.7. Conclusion

Among the respondents, Brecht and Yanisa are the most culturally socialized and active. The actives’ selectivity between *interesting* and *boring art* is reminiscent for the restricted cultural taste repertoire of univores (Peterson and Simkus, 1992). Their conventional image of a museum that does not allow for association with themselves, having fun or stimulation through the senses, results in an indifferent attitude. Both girls interpret artworks originating from an ego-world relation that is anchored in their ego, while art historical context and the artist’s intentions are much less relevant. Meaning is created by recognising elements of their own lives or experiences. In addition, stimulation of the senses or an embodied experience seems to allow for connecting to an artwork. This corresponds with Shustermans theory

(1997) that an experience arises in a situation in which “interacting energies are connecting the embodied self and its environing world” (p. 220).

Among the actives, the justification for likes and dislikes are based on emotions discourses. However, for Brecht a more contemplative attitude was found as relaxation and discovery are motivations throughout her visit. Yanisa is one of the few respondents who distinguishing herself from the others based on her cultural knowledge.

For both Brecht and Yanisa, the behavioural conventions of a museum visit seems to stand in the way of an aesthetic experience. Because it heavily deviates from their normal behaviour, they seem to become over-conscious of their own attitude which in turn hinders an aesthetical experience. Additionally, for the respondents, *the immanent meaning* of art stands in the way of having a personal experience. They rather create their own narrative, based on an association they make with themselves, than that they evaluate artworks based on art historical context, shape, colour or composition. Related to Park (1993), the aesthetic freedom that they feel enable them to recover feelings of disinterest and disapproval and to establish a relationship with a work of art.

In conclusion, the museum visit has evoked a change in perception as it negated the conventional image that the actives had of a museum. Afterwards, they both demonstrated a positive intention for visiting.

4.3. Triggered-actives

Based on the distinction theory by Bourdieu (1984), in which it is argued that cultural capital is imparted in childhood, Faiza and Leanna would not be expected to be culturally dispositioned. In their youth, both girls did not acquire much cultural experience. However, as the introduction of the respondents has established, both of them are currently the most culturally active and have a pronounced cultural preference. For this study, Faiza joined the MV-visit and Leanna joined both visits to MBVB and MV. In this paragraph, Faiza and Leanna’s previous experiences and knowledge will be discussed in order to analyse their attitude towards and expectations of a museum visit.

4.3.1. Expectations: high expectations based on triggering experiences

Faiza mostly participates in cultural activities that represent her African or, more specifically, Nigerian roots. The Tropen Museum in Amsterdam and the Afrika Museum in Berg en Dal are among her favourites and the Marvel Studios movie Black Panther was experienced as very inspirational. Besides this, Faiza produces clothes out of African fabric

and organises her own photoshoots. Despite Faiza's culturally inactive youth, she displays much cultural activity and overall, she displays a positive attitude towards the MV-visit:

"If you go to a museum, it's really inspiring. Why? Because it's so valuable. It's really good and it has the ability to inspire you. That's why visiting the museum is better than the internet."

Thus far, the museum is inspiring and valuable for Faiza and in order to demonstrate her enthusiasm, Faiza compares a museum visit with the internet. Yet, it is a comparison in which the museum is favourable over the internet:

"Internet just gives you everyone's opinion, the museum however, is more valuable. There you have specific information that is real. You never know what internet tells you..."

This quote illustrates an information discourse (Ollivier, 2008) in which the relevance of acquiring information throughout a museum visit is expressed. Intently, the information acquired in a museum is appreciated over the information provided by the internet.

Faiza's previous knowledge and cultural experience seem to have influenced her expectations. Consequently, this results in a positive perception and expectation of museums:

"When I go to a real jewellery museum they will tell me the truth and provide a lot of information about jewellery from different countries. So, my expectations were high."

In line with Faiza, Leanna was not culturally socialized by her parents or siblings. Currently however, Leanna expresses great interest in highbrow of art such as the old masters in the Rijksmuseum and the Van Gogh Museum. In contrast with her culturally inactive childhood, Leanna made a point of visiting the Rijksmuseum:

"We really wanted to go before we were 18 because until then it's still free. And it was a lot of fun!"

Leanna associates history with museums and in contrast to the conventional association that Brecht has with museums, this association does not seem to conceive a negative expectation for Leanna. Instead, it sparks her interest. Her previous museum visits and her relatively recently gained knowledge seem to contrive a positive attitude towards visiting. Leanna expresses that she did not know what to expect in the museum. In spite of the novelty of the experience, a positive expectation was displayed when she said *"but it will be fun"*.

Therefore, the traditional principles of the distinction theory by Bourdieu (1984) do not seem to be evident for Faiza and Leanna. Instead of the expected incomprehension of high culture, an open and receptive attitude seems to be displayed here. In the following paragraphs, the openness and receptiveness towards multiple artistic forms and different

cultures (as discussed by DiMaggio, 1996; Peterson, 1992; and Roose, Van Eijck and Lievens, 2012) will be addressed.

4.3.2. Interpretation: based on integration and self-fulfilment milieus

In correspondence with the actives, Faiza displays an interpretation of artworks based on an association with herself. In that sense, familiarity or something recognizable in an artwork triggers an interest:

“I’ve been wanting to visit the museum for a long time because I create jewellery myself.”

Evidently, the jewellery exhibition sparks an association with herself. In comparison however, Faiza and Leanna display more openness towards a broad range of cultural products instead of the selectivity between *interesting* and *boring art* that the actives demonstrate. The attention for familiarity and Faiza’s African background is still present but an openness towards other cultures is displayed as well:

“When the lady started to explain about different things [artefacts from other cultures], I was like ‘I’m not interested’. What I came for were the African accessories. However, it was fun to learn about other cultures too...”

This quote displays the openness for other objects in the museum as well as a changing point of view throughout the visit. Yet, the importance of familiarity that enables for association with herself is indicated as well:

“...and I was inspired by the girl on the poster and the represented jewellery [an African girl wearing African jewellery], that made me think, okay I need to go to this museum.”

This reveals that recognition of elements of herself seems to be an influential motivation, or trigger, for participation. In that sense, association with herself is obviously present. However, as previously mentioned, once in the museum, Faiza displays an openness and tolerance towards a broad range of cultural products as well. Alara and Meyra demonstrate the relevance of recognizable examples in arts and culture as well. They will be discussed in subsequent paragraphs.

Like Yanisa, Faiza is convinced that there is an immanent meaning in artworks. However, while for Yanisa this immanent meaning seems to stand in the way of having fun, according to Faiza, being informed about this immanent meaning is necessary in order to understand the work:

“If you see a bird with little beads on it, you’d think ‘okay, that’s art, nicely done’. But if you really explain like, it means something. Then I would not only look like normal but more like it’s worth something and respect it”.

This quote reveals a contemplative enjoyment for Faiza, when being informed about this meaning creates individual meaning. On the other hand, enjoyment of action is also found when senses of boredom are projected in the interview:

“...if the most important things are mentioned, then we can just go to the next artwork. But we spent too much time at one place. I didn’t like that. [...] If I’d ask, what does this mean, or I’m interested in that. It would be nice if she would explain that then. But she was going into every little detail!”

A combination of highbrow and pop discourses is notable as Faiza displays an openness towards several cultural objects. She relates to the artworks starting from her ego, however enjoyment of contemplation and action is also found. This combination of discourses seems to be an indication of the self-fulfilment milieu (Schulze, 1992). Thorough analysis of discourses used by Faiza will be discussed in later paragraphs.

In the interpretation of artworks, Leanna first demonstrates an ego-world relation that is anchored in her ego by associating something recognizable to her own life. However, a more worldly view becomes visible when she express interest in subjects that are not connected to her ego as well. In that sense, Leanna expresses a tolerance and openness towards unfamiliar objects to a much larger extent than Faiza. The following quote indicates this:

“There was a lot of stuff about religions and I’m religious myself, I’m a Christian. That feels a bit weird because there was a large part about Muslims as well and then I think ‘okay, but this is not part of my faith’. That is something that I find difficult because it’s their religion so I have to accept it. On the other hand, maybe they consider my religion as strange. That’s weird.”

This quote demonstrates that unfamiliarity with an unknown religion is amended by a worldly point of view and results in a tolerance towards this religion. The positive attitude towards unfamiliar forms of art is detectable throughout the interview:

“I knew that it was about jewellery, but I had no idea it had to do with different cultures as well. I was not familiar with this museum at all, I had actually never heard of it. And that’s bad. [There were] A lot of cultures and not just paintings in a room. It’s not like that and I did not expect that”.

This quote even reveals a sense of remorse about not being familiar with the museum and its content. In terms of Bourdieu (1984), this hints at cultural goodwill – a phenomenon in which people from the lower status groups try to mimic manners and lifestyles of the ‘elite’ driven by an aspiration to rival in social class. This perspective of social expectations is also represent in Leanna’s behaviour in MV:

“I always feel like, when I walk too fast and a lot of people are watching a painting very interested, that they would think ‘oh, she probably does not have an interest in arts’ or something like that. I always feel that way. That’s really awkward.”

Continuously, she says that her behaviour is adjusted by this feeling and that in some cases she watches a painting longer than she would normally do. She seems to be conscious of a legitimate taste and the opinions of others is of relevance to her. In terms of Schulze (1992), the tolerance and openness towards unfamiliar cultures, the demonstrated worldly viewpoint, the hints of cultural goodwill and the relevance of social expectations alludes to an integration milieu. Further exploration of used discourses will be provided in the next paragraph.

4.3.3. Discourses: discovery, information and personal integration

The preceding paragraphs discussed cultural socialization such as experience and knowledge that shapes the respondents’ expectations and the cultural taste group that is referred to in order to understand their interpretation of a museum visit and artistic objects. It became clear that Faiza draws upon an information discourse in order to legitimate the value of a museum visit. The desire to obtain information as well as a receptive attitude towards various forms of art can be seen in the following as well:

“I was not interested in Indonesia’s gold for example, but then she told us that gold was also used in West-Africa. And then I thought, maybe I am interested.”

Apart from the aforementioned, this quote indicates an interest in information about her ethnic origin. In justification for her interests, Faiza draws upon a personal integration discourse. The information she is interested in seems to be related to her own culture and would therefore be useful lessons in life:

“I am not connected to my ancestors you know, and I don’t have to be connected⁷. But whenever it has to do with my ancestors, I do want to know about it, I want to learn about it.”

⁷ Faiza emphasizes the fact that she is a Nigerian who is not living in her home country. She is not connected to her home country and she is fine with that, but her home culture does spark an interest.

This quote explicitly indicates Faiza's intentions to enrich her life by drawing lessons about her originating culture:

"Whenever they teach me something about my cultural background, I will go."

The meaning that is ascribed to information about her cultural roots, also corresponds with the relevance that is assigned to familiarity in the arts. Having an example, or recognising something of yourself in the (communication of the) exhibition lowers the threshold of visiting a museum:

"Then you think like, okay, they respect you. They are knowledgeable and they respect your country or the society of your country. So, I like to see that."

Feeling respected and the professionalism of information of her ethnic origin draws her to the museum. Concluding, information- and personal integration discourses are most important in justification for Faiza's preferences. Leanna on the other hand, draws upon a different discourse:

"She [the tour guide] explained things that you would never discover yourself. Hidden stuff that is not visible on first sight. I really liked that."

Leanna is very open to new information and unfamiliar forms of art. She motivates her interest in the museum based on a desire to learn and to discover new things. In contrast to the actives, who seems to need something to associate themselves with, the novelty of themes or objects seems to be an advantage for Leanna:

"Actually, I never thought about it that there could be a cultural meaning in jewellery. I mean, it's not like that in our culture. But, as the exhibition showed, for many cultures jewellery and the symbolism of the beads and teeth are really important. I actually never thought about that. So yeah, really interesting."

In correspondence with Yanisa, Brecht and Faiza, Leanna speaks about *"the story behind the artworks"*. For Brecht and Yanisa, this is based on an assumption that there is an immanent meaning in every work of art. For Leanna, *"the story behind the artworks"* seems to refer to the art historical context and the artist who created it. About glass beads exhibited in MV Leanna explains:

"I was surprised... I always thought that they would be made in a factory or something like that. I never really thought about it. I was impressed by the story that the craft was handed down from father to son and that all sons were obliged to master the skill which seems very difficult and a long lasting process. I thought that was very impressive."

The appreciation Leanna displays for finding out about these *background stories* reveals a discovery discourse. In comparison with other respondents, Leanna slightly displays evaluation of artworks based on the aesthetical value and therefore hints to an art discourse. She mainly focusses on the symbolic meaning of materials and paintings. Yet, it should be noted that this art discourse does not equate to the expert attitude that the cultural elite displays. It especially stands out, that her aesthetic vocabulary is limited which makes it difficult to express appreciation for an object.

4.3.4. Aesthetic experience: aesthetic freedom and familiarity

As established in the previous paragraph, for both Leanna and Faiza, the story behind the artworks contributes to having a relationship with a work of art. The relationship between the respondents and the artistic object is important for the aesthetic experience that results from it. In MV, Faiza had a special experience when she recognised the paper beads used by an African artist:

“When I was little, I used to make these! I thought it was beautiful to see that in a special cabinet. I thought ‘wow, I made these as a little child’. So, I really liked that.”

From this quote, it can be argued that the judgment of the artistic objects might not be seen as aesthetic by Shusterman of Park because it lacks a critical stance. Faiza also does not draw upon an art discourse in evaluation of the artwork. However, a relationship with the artwork is obviously shown. And besides, she immediately feels in the right position to say something about it. Additionally, Faiza adopts many things she sees and uses it as inspiration for her own ideas:

“If you walk into the jewellery exhibition, you’ll see [video clips of] stories of different people. I really like that. I would use that myself, if I have a store or something, then I would hang something like that in the store. I’d really like that.”

Indicating a more practical interpretation, this quote shows that Faiza relates to artworks differently than people with more cultural knowledge and experience would do. However, it helps her to relate to an artwork in her own manner. The practical way in which she interprets artworks corresponds with the practical way in which they are educated and might be seen as feature of their educational status. This also corresponds with the idea of Bourdieu (1984) that people possessing less cultural capital interpret the arts based on functional presumptions. Nonetheless, in that context it had a negative connotation to it as it was considered to stand in the way of a “true” aesthetic experience. However, in this case the freedom to relate to an artwork in her own manner seems to enable Faiza to establish a relationship with the artwork.

The value of recognising one's original culture in a museum is also visible in the interview with Leanna. The following quote is an explanation of why she would rather visit MBVB than MV:

“Just because that is more recognizable for me. [...] Maybe it's just more Dutch? I don't know, it's hard to explain.”

Leanna has a Dutch ethnic background and, despite her openness and interest towards different forms of art displayed, Western art in MBVB is more recognizable for her than the non-Western art in MV. She calls the paintings in MBVB “*normal art*”. Therefore, it is revealed that for her it is easier to relate to recognizable *normal* paintings than to artworks from an unfamiliar culture. In combination with Faiza's statements, it seems like recognition of their own culture draw both girls to a different museum.

4.3.5. Social environment and digital means of communication

For some respondents, it appears that they are not situated in a social environment that motivates them to be culturally active. They are surrounded by people that are not actively involved in arts and culture. For instance, Leanna points out:

“I'm going to take my mum to Utrecht, Jan Taminiaw. Because that is something that she likes. I had to convince her though.”

Additionally, she points out that she has one friend that has a cultural interest similar to hers. They experienced drawing lessons together and they do cultural activities such as going to the Rijksmuseum. Leanna says that if this friend does not come along on museum visits, she would have to go on her own. The absence of peers or social relations that are culturally active is a discouraging factor in their cultural activity.

In order to stay in connection with social contacts, Faiza uses digital communication networks such as Instagram, Snapchat, Tumblr, Facebook and YouTube. Strikingly, they are also used to initiate museum visits:

“I posted on Insta like ‘yeah, I'm finally going to this museum’. And then my sister immediately texted me, like ‘make pictures for me’. She also wants to go”.

These communication channels are used to communicate with people from Nigeria who study in the Netherlands. With them, she does some cultural activities such as a cinema or museum visit. This makes Faiza one of the few respondents who says to be socially surrounded by people who would join a museum visit.

As discussed earlier, the comparison between a museum and the internet seems easily made. Faiza associates the museum with information, in turn the information is associated

with the internet. The generation of the respondents start from the assumption that information is available at any time and the possibility to control the content. About the use of digital information in MV, Leanna says:

“I generally like it, but it’s always so weird when you enter a room and you step in halfway of a movie/clip. It would be really nice if you could press play yourself.”

The comparison between internet and the museum however, often benefits the museum. The respondents emphasize the professionalism of the information provided and the enabled interaction between visitors and the museum:

“She [the tour guide] was explaining stuff, but it was more like a conversation between us. I liked that.”

As the information provided by the museum is considered more reliable than information provided by the internet, the use of multimedia could benefit the museum. This latter quote shows that, when it is introduced in a way that stimulates interaction between the exhibition and the visitor, the museum is experienced as distinctive.

4.3.6. Change

As illustrated by the quote in 4.1. *Introduction of respondents*, Faiza indicates that the visit to MV has opened her eyes for a possible follow-up visit. In that sense, the museum visit has changed her perception of at least MV. The positive experience becomes clear from the measurements as well. She indicates to have fully enjoyed the museum visit. Strikingly, she experienced MV as much less boring and tiring than she expected based on her general perception of museums. She evaluated the visit as more informative and enriching than expected beforehand. Therefore, we can conclude that the museum visit has contributed to a change in perception. However, and unlike the open attitude she displayed during the museum visit, she argues that she would only visit when a subject appeals to her:

... only when I see something that interests me. I wouldn’t go to any museum and think ‘okay, surprise me’.”

For Faiza, that means that if the subject provides information that is useful in her life, in which she could associate herself with she is prepared for visiting.

In line with almost all respondents, Leanna’s expectations for the jewellery exhibition in MV were based on the jewellery she knows.

“I thought it would be more like normal Dutch jewellery. I did not think about it too much but when I think about jewellery I think about silver necklaces and stuff.”

But the broad perspective on jewellery, displayed in MV, was positively received.

“When I walked through the museum, I saw the real masks of Mexico and also those dancing skeletons. Well, I’d never expected that!”

Afterwards she expressed the wish to spend more time in the museum, which displays enjoyment of the visit. Additionally, Leanna mentions that the visit to MV stimulated her to visit again because she feels like she did not see everything and evidently it has triggered her to see the rest. However, she preferred MBVB over MV:

“I’ve been to Boijmans three times now, but it’s never disappointing so I would not mind visiting again. And I’d like to visit Volkenkunde again to actually take my time and see everything I like.”

That preference becomes clear in the measurements as well. In comparison with her general perception of museums, she experienced MBVB much more positively and MV slightly more negatively. She found MBVB more enjoyable, much more relaxing and much less tiring and difficult. MV was experienced as much less relaxing and interactive and much more boring than her general perception of museums. As many of the respondents, both Leanna and Faiza are grateful for the opportunity to go to the museum. Leanna expresses her appreciation by the following:

“I would not have done this on my own. [...] And also the interview was not unpleasant. Because it made me think about stuff that we saw and I really liked that.”

In conclusion, for Faiza and Leanna, the exposure to both of the museums resulted in appreciation for the visits, a positive experience and a change in perception as they call it an eye opener and a surprise. Both respondents indicate the possibility of return visits.

4.3.7. Conclusion

Although both Faiza and Leanna did not acquire much experience with the arts in their childhood, they currently display pronounced cultural preferences. Both girls indicate that their interest is triggered by a cultural event in a later stage of life, which emphasizes the relevance of cultural experiences at any time.

In the interpretation of artworks, an association with themselves is present. Familiarity or something recognizable in an artwork triggers an interest. However, Faiza and Leanna project a more open attitude towards a broader cultural repertoire than the actives do. The open attitude contributes to the ability of both respondents to change their point of view throughout the museum visit. Both girls indicate that they are interested in their own culture. For Faiza, information about her African roots is useful and helpful to establish a relationship with the exhibition or an individual object. She mainly draws upon information and personal

integration discourses in order to legitimate the value of a museum visit. Although a combination of enjoyment for contemplation *and* action is demonstrated. This corresponds with Schulze's self-fulfilment milieu (1992). Leanna has a Dutch background and, triggered by her inspirational art teacher, displays a slight preference for high forms of art, such as the Dutch masters in the Rijksmuseum. She demonstrates a tolerance and openness towards new information and unfamiliar forms of art. By motivating her interest in the museum based on a desire to learn and to discover new things, she mainly draws upon a discovery discourse. In her behaviour, Leanna displays hints of cultural goodwill. The combination of tolerance and openness towards unfamiliar cultures, the demonstrated worldly viewpoint, the hints of cultural goodwill and the relevance of social expectations alludes to the integration milieu by Schulze (1992).

In contrast to the actives, being informed about the supposed immanent meaning of an artwork adds meaning to the experience of Faiza and Leanna. Additionally, a personal experience with the object or an association with themselves, helps them to feel in right the position to say something about it. Even if they are not culturally literate about it. Especially for Faiza, a relationship with an artwork is also established when she sees a practical utility with the work. For instance, a colour or material that she could use for her own creative endeavours.

In comparison with the other groups, Faiza and Leanna move in the most culturally active social networks. However, the cultural activity they are surrounded with is still limited and not very stimulating. Therefore, it is seen as a discouraging factor in their own cultural activity.

As telling for their generation, the respondents start from the assumption that information is available at any time and that they individually control it. The comparison between internet and the museum however, often benefits the museum because the respondents seems to be aware of the downfalls of internet as well. Leanna for example emphasizes the personalised character of the tour and values this over the one-way communication provided by the internet.

In conclusion, for Faiza and Leanna, the exposure to both of the museums resulted in appreciation for the visits, a positive experience and a change in perception as they call it an eye opener and a surprise. Both respondents indicate the possibility of return visits.

4.4. Cultural socialized non-actives

Due to the cultural experience obtained in their youth, Alara and Desiree are considered to be among the most culturally socialized. This experience made them familiar with symbolic and cultural knowledge to some extent, which in turn results in an enthusiast and willing attitude towards visiting. Currently, however, not much cultural activity is detected. This combination of cultural socialization in childhood and cultural inactivity in a later stage is unexpected based on Bourdieu (1984). However, Van Eijck and Knulst (2005) argue that cultural socialization does not necessarily lead to cultural dedication. According to them, enthusiasm for highbrow cultural participation possibly diminishes after childhood and secondary schooling does little to make up for this. This paragraph gives insight in the preconceptions and attitude towards visiting museums of the cultural socialized non-actives. Alara joined the MBVB visit and the MV visit, while Desiree joined the MBVB visit.

4.4.1. Expectations: enthusiasm and a positive expectation

In discussing expectations of a museum visit, Alara explains that she used to not like going to a museum:

“I thought ‘oh my god, a museum, blegh’. I really don’t wanna go.”

Alara has been taken to museums but she did not enjoy that very much. In a later stage of life, both Alara and Desiree have been visiting MBVB as part of their studies. Now they did enjoy the experience. Possibly, the cultural experience in their youth helped in comprehending present museum visits. The demonstrated positive attitudes towards visiting could be seen as an indication of this cultural knowledge and gained experience. What stands out however, is that they do not demonstrate cultural activity in their leisure time. Alara, for example, says:

“It’s not that it would be my own initiative to visit, but when we visit during our class I always really enjoy it.”

Also Desiree seems to have positive preconceptions about museums. She associates museums with *art and calmness*. As this calmness seems to hinder Yanisa and Brecht (the actives) in experiencing a museum visit, it seems to be beneficial for Desiree’s experience. She explains her association as follows:

“Art and calmness. It’s not like a busy event in the city centre. It’s always just nice and quiet. And it gives you another point of view. You see different things than you would normally see.”

In this quote, Desiree draws upon an art, escape and discovery discourse in order to explain her enthusiasm. Thus, both girls express a positive expectation towards the visits that seem to

be based on their previous experiences. In the subsequent paragraphs, the experience and appreciation of the museum visit will be discussed.

4.4.2. Interpretation: pop schemes, selected preferences and cultural goodwill

Firstly, Alara expresses a preference for American popular culture:

“My boyfriend and I have a dream to travel around the United States for all those famous things. In one of those old American cars, bright pink of course...”

In combination with this preference for popular culture, it is indicated that Alara enjoys stimulation of the senses:

“Boijmans is like a playground to me. Okay, there are objects that I’m not interested in, but a lot of the objects make me think like “I’d love to just sit among them for the rest of the day. I wanted to touch everything, but because it’s a museum you’re not allowed to.”

Alara particularly appreciated the embodied involvement of the installations in MBVB. She explains for instance, that she liked the installation for which you have to take your shoes off. It immediately involves the spectator in the object. In this quote, Alara also differentiates between *objects that she is not interested in* and *objects in which she wants to stay all day* revealing a selectivity between *boring* and *interesting art*. This generic criterion corresponds with the selectivity demonstrated by the active respondents and becomes clear when Alara compares the experience of MBVB with that of MV:

“With that other museum [MV], it is more history, more art. You’re not allowed to touch anything, it’s only looking and reading. While at the other [Boijmans] you could enter installations or you had to take off your shoes and you’d enter the room on your socks. And then I thought like ‘yes, those are things I like’.”

In line with the actives, the selectivity between *interesting* and *boring art* could be explained by the ego-world relation that is anchored in her ego, as demonstrated by Alara. The objects that she refers to as interesting, depict themes that are personally important to her:

“I have seen parts about Surinam, about my own culture and I’ve seen some parts about the Arabic culture as well. I really liked that.”

The ego-anchored judgment that is displayed by Alara is also detectable in the admiration she shows for some artists. From the interview, it becomes clear that Alara is interested and involved in the discussion on racial discrimination. Both museums introduced her to artists that focus on this issue:

“She just dares to speak up, especially being a girl of colour. She just dares to make a statement. [...] I thought that was really cool, because she just dares to speak up about it.”

Being a girl of colour herself, Alara recognises herself in it. The recognition and involvement in the discussion creates specific admiration or awe towards the artist and immediately catches Alara her interest. The following chapter shows that Meyra displays this looking up towards artists as well. Again, familiarity and recognizable elements seems to be important in order to relate to the artworks.

The preference for popular culture, sensory activation and the ego-world relation that is anchored in their ego are indications of the entertainment milieu by Schulze (1992). However, indications for cultural goodwill are found in the interview with Alara. In the interpretation of art, Alara explains that *unlike others* she likes to focus on the details in a painting. With this, she seems to be aware of the attitudes of the cultural elite and aims at mimicking these:

“A lot of people only look at what they see in first glance. For example, you see the Mona Lisa on a painting but they don’t look at all the details in the background. For instance, I saw a lot of small lizards in the background of a painting. Something you would not recognise from a distance...”

What Alara and Desiree have in common is their cultural socialization and their current inactivity. The way that it is expressed is much different. Where Alara seems to be aware of a cultural elite, she does not seem to possess the cultural knowledge to be part of it. Instead, she mimics their cultural attitudes. Desiree deviates from Alara in the sense that she does not demonstrate cultural goodwill. Despite the fact that Desiree demonstrates association with herself in the interpretation of artworks, she is among the respondents who do this the least.

“Coincidentally, I was buying a lot of yellow because I’d like to work with yellow fabrics. So when I saw that yellow canvas, I made a photo from it. For inspiration.”

An interest in this painting is demonstrated based on the association she made with her own work. Therefore, a practical interpretation is also detectable. However, for her, there does not seem to be a selectivity between *interesting* and *boring art* and she displays the ability to value artworks based on aesthetic value to a larger extent than some of her classmates.

4.4.3. Discourses: discovery, challenge, creativity, personal integration and escape

In order to express her motivation to visit the museums, Alara says the following:

“I thought ‘yes, now I have something new to think about’. I can find inspiration. Plus, it’s always so interesting because you see all kinds of things. You’ll find the craziest stuff.”

In explanation, what draws her to the museum is the encounter with novel- and out of the ordinary objects and themes. Therefore, a combination of a discovery and challenge discourse is employed. Additionally, Alara draws upon a creativity discourse in order to express her appreciation for MBVB in general:

“It had more colour and it expresses more creativity. It is creativity that I like most, so I could relate to it.”

This preference for creativity is also found in her explanation of the substantial question of *what is art?*.

“I definitely think that everything is art. Because there must have been someone who thought about it, created it, designed it. And you need a creative mind to do so. For example, a socket or a light switch. That’s not something easily created.”

Alara displays an admiration for creativity and creative people. Firstly, this quote is evidence of this tendency. Secondly however, it also conspicuously shows how “open minded” she is. The interpretation of art and the role of artists’ intentions is explained by the following:

“When I’d like to draw a bird in a tree and it has specific meaning for me, that’s not important. It’s about what you see in it. Maybe you see something very happy and cheerful while another sees something very sad in it.”

Again, Alara wants to demonstrate her artistic interpretation and her open mindedness while an interpretation based on cultural knowledge remains absent. This is also demonstrated by her interpretation of the hyper realistic sculpture by Duane Hanson (1974):

“He is someone who leaves the objects kind of mysterious and leaves interpretation to yourself. I think it’s beautiful when that happens.”

While the sculpture could not be any more realistic, Alara is attracted by the free interpretation. It seems that the realism of the sculptures enables her to let her thought about it flow. The mystery of the sculptures creates the possibility to fantasize. The interpretation is therefore originated from a certain freedom rather than from an expert attitude. When she was asked whether MBVB exhibited paintings that were familiar to her, she answered:

“Yes, definitely, those famous painters. Mondrian... And how was that other called? Vincent van Gogh?”

The expression of cultural knowledge, by mentioning the names of famous artists, does not work out well, as Van Gogh was not encountered during the tour. The above-mentioned rather seems to be indications of cultural goodwill than indications of cultural knowledge.

Desiree, on the other hand, seems to remember a painting she appreciated based on the shapes and colours. However, she was not familiar with the name:

“It was large and yellow and it included a pyramid and it had different figures. It was a famous artist.”

In that sense, Desiree seem to discuss a painting based on form instead of function. However, a real expert attitude is not detected here either. In correspondence with Brecht and Yanisa, Desiree evaluates paintings in terms of *beautiful*:

“It was not beautifully drawn, it was drawn like a three-year old made it.”

This explanation does not draw on cultural knowledge and it becomes clear that Desiree does not value the painting based on an expert attitude, like people with higher amounts of cultural capital would do. Instead, the admiration for an artwork is formulated as follows:

“Mostly, I was impressed by how he became famous with his paintings. [...] It’s more like scratching and I could do that too. [...] But it made him famous. What is so special and how did it become so expensive?”

In other words, this quote demonstrates that Desiree does not understand why such silly work becomes famous. Therefore, the statement is an indication of the alleged inadequacy of her cultural knowledge and consequently shows how she interprets an artwork based on this. Additionally, Desiree draws upon a personal integration discourse in order to emphasize what the museum visit means to her and the space it provided to develop her own cultural taste:

“I felt like I was there for my own thoughts and ideas. It was more for myself.”

In this quote, Desiree reveals that she felt in the right position to participate and to immerse herself in what the museum had to offer. In addition to the discourse detected in paragraph 4.4.1. *Expectations*, it can be concluded that Desiree draws upon a combination of escape, discovery and personal integration discourses in order to express the meaning the museum visit created for her. Moreover, the aesthetic meaning and the relationship between the respondents and the objects encountered is discussed in the following paragraph.

4.4.4. Aesthetic experience: sensory experience and aesthetic freedom

According to Park (1993), aesthetical meaning is created individually and is depending on the way the respondents are involving or participating. This paragraph analyses the involvement

and participation of Alara and Desiree and consequently the (aesthetical) relationship that results from it.

To begin with, Alara explains a process of involvement based on an anecdote from herself shopping at the H&M:

“Just like in the H&M for instance. A lot of people are slowly browsing through the racks. I’m not like that. I just walk around and then suddenly my eye catches something and I just have to grab it. Most of the times, it’s immediately something that I buy. And that is the same feeling I have in a museum.”

Firstly, this quote demonstrates that feelings and emotions are leading in involving with a painting. The quote is used to illustrate how she selects a painting to observe for a moment and is representative for her participation throughout both of the visits. From the museum visits as well as the interview, it becomes clear that the time spent per object is quite minimal:

“I’ve walked through the exhibitions quite rapidly, because I wanted to see everything.”

Therefore, the established relationship with some paintings is quite questionable.

Additionally, the first quote reveals that she does not mind museum etiquettes. Contrastingly, Leanna seems to be aware of her position in the museum and what others might think of her. Alara does not demonstrate these hints of cultural goodwill, which is also detectable in the following quote:

“There is always such a vibe in a museum. You have to be quiet, you’re not allowed to talk. At least, you have to whisper, which I really don’t like. I always walk around with my loud voice.”

However, she does seem to be involved and participating especially in the installations in MBVB:

“I was in the room where you could watch the clip. That was like oooh my God. If I could build my own home when I’m rich in the future, I’d built that in my home!”

About Yayoi Kusama’s Mirror Infinity Room, she said:

“I thought, I am just gonna build that in my home and then I’ll just sit there. I always wanted a large walk-in closet.”

Both of these snippets express an enthusiasm for the installations she experienced. She was bodily involved with them which made her fully participating. Concerning Park’s (1993) stages of an aesthetic experience, Alara is positive, activated and a specific consciousness is detectable throughout the experience. A critical attitude, however, is absent. Nevertheless, a specific relationship based on Alara’s involvement and participation is established. It is just

different than people possessing higher amounts of cultural capital would demonstrate. In that sense, the aesthetic freedom that she felt enabled her to overcome feelings of disinterest and disapproval and to establish a relationship with the installation. On the other hand and like the actives, the practical interpretation that Alara is occupied with, seems to stand in the way of involvement as well:

“When the lady was talking really long, my thoughts drifted away and then I thought ‘oh I still need to do this and that and I need to make some homework and stuff’.”

The practical interpretation is a double-edged sword. On the one side, it helps to relate to the artworks, on the other side, it easily distracts Alara from the artworks.

Desiree, on the other hand, demonstrate an interest in the aesthetics of Pieter Brueghel’s Tower of Babel. Desiree observed the painting from a very close angle and stayed there for about 5 minutes after the group was leaving. She investigated the brushstrokes, the colours and the small details from about 10 cm from the canvas:

“I even looked at how it was painted and how every piece of paint was thick or thin. That was the first time I ever looked at it so closely. I was just curious how he had made it. I don’t know, it made me real curious.”

This quote demonstrates her experience with the painting involving a close encounter and grasping her full attention. According to Desiree, this behaviour and extensive focus are new to her. Normally, she associates this appreciation and perception of art as performed by elder generations:

“If you’re a child, you have to behave quietly. Maybe you are likely to run or scream... I don’t know. But our generation has become a bit more calm and focussed. And maybe makes more photos as well. The older generation, really looks at paintings. I never see them making photos of anything. So, they really admire the artworks and keep really quiet. It’s different for every generation.”

This statement indicates that according to Desiree, in general, the differences in behaviour and in involvement are ascribed to age. In her own terms, Desiree seems to have exceeded her age. The involvement and participation that was shown, the positive reaction and her curious attitude are reminiscent of the aesthetic experience that Park (1993) talks about.

On the contrary, Desiree demonstrates a practical interpretation as well as she is very aware of the financial value of the artworks. Therefore, she, like Feline, is afraid for damage:

“When someone passes by and wears studs on his shoulders for example, it is ruined very easily. I thought that was risky. I would change that.”

Thus, respondents like Desiree and Leanna hint at the evaluation of artworks based on colour, style and composition. Yet, a practical interpretation remains visible throughout the evaluation of artworks and the museum experience.

4.4.5. Social environment and digital means of communication

As mentioned earlier, the social environment that the respondents are situated in influences their cultural participation. Alara points out that she is not situated in a social environment in which she could just invite anyone to join a museum visit:

“I’d like to go with my boyfriend but he’s also the kind of person without patience. [...] So, I’m thinking maybe I should go loner⁸ and just let myself be inspired.”

The same situation is illustrated by Desiree when she says:

“Once in a while, I visit a museum with my mum. But that is really not often.”

In almost all interviews, it becomes clear that a large part of their social interactions take place through digital means of communication. The same applies to Alara:

“When I arrived at the exhibition about Mecca and the mosques, I made a Snapchat about it and everybody apped me like ‘where’s that? I’d like to go too!’.”

Alara expresses her appreciation for the installations, based on the photos she made among them:

“I sat down among them and I sat like this [mouth and arms wide open] and then I asked somebody to take a picture of me. That was amazing.”

The photos that she made are used to communicate on these online platforms. The relevance of the photos seems to lie in the fact that she is able to show her social environment where she has been. Therefore, being in the museum seems to be valuable to show. In that sense, the social status of a museum is used by Alara to create a social image. For her, these photos are important means of communication and with that, the museum is creating meaning for her. In addition, and in correspondence with Faiza, Alara recognises artworks in the museum that she encountered on the internet already. This reoccurrence of artworks, the interaction between the online and offline world, enables the respondents to remember the artworks and to place emphasis on the recognised artworks and artists:

“So, when I saw that little boy and I heard that it’s from the same artist as exhibited in the Kunsthall... I saw some clips from that on the internet... Then I thought ‘that’s interesting, I’d like to see more from him.’”

⁸ Popular language for ‘alone’.

Like Alara, Desiree also describes a process of meaning making in which she recognises an artist or artwork from the internet. The recognition she experienced in Museum Boijmans she illustrates as follows:

“I saw him passing on Instagram and Tumblr very often so I looked him up. It appeared to be a famous painter so I was interested in who he was and the works he made.”

Therefore, the internet is important in the social surroundings of the respondents, in order to connect to people interested in arts and culture. In turn, Alara and Desiree use these social networks to demonstrate their enthusiasm. In order to see whether all this contributes to a change in perception, attitude and willingness, the following paragraph will elaborate on the studied changes.

4.4.6. Change

Alara indicates that the museum visits have changed her appreciation for museums. She remembers a previous museum experience:

“A museum that had all sorts of paintings. But I really wanted to leave. My mother in law was very quietly looking at all the paintings and me and my boyfriend were staring in the distance.”

However, after these two visits Alara expresses a change in attitude towards museums and a willingness to go:

“More often, I feel like going to a museum and see stuff.”

From the measurements it appears that Alara experienced the MBVB visit more positively than she would expect based on her general perception of museums. The experience of MV is corresponding more closely to her slightly negative perception of museums. What stands out is that she found MBVB more enjoyable and challenging than expected. The overall scores on MV were somewhat more negative, which is illustrative for the change in attitudes and perception occurring among the respondents. In correspondence with other respondents, Alara expresses gratefulness for the experiences:

“It meant a lot to me. I liked it, obviously. And it just gave me a lot of inspiration. I went to museums that exhibited objects that would not automatically make me plan to go. But now, when I see an exhibition in de Kunsthal I’ll consider to go. So, I opened up a bit more to enjoy museums. Also, I learned more about history and opened up a bit. So, I am grateful for introducing me to these museums. I enjoyed it a lot.”

In addition, the measurements display that overall, Desiree evaluated the MBVB visit more positively than expected based on her general perception on museum. Desiree experienced the visit as more informative, relaxing, interactive, enriching and calming than she expected. She stated that she enjoyed the museum visit. The first experience of paying specific attention the aesthetics of a painting are valuable for her. Therefore, we can conclude that the experience has contributed to a more positive perception of museums.

4.4.7. Conclusion

Based on their cultural socialization, Alara and Desiree are expected to be culturally active. However, their present activity does not show a lot of cultural efforts. In contrast to their non-cultural socialized counterparts, Alara and Desiree seem to be aware of the legitimate status of high arts and demonstrate the ability to comprehend works of art based on aesthetical value. The cultural experience gained throughout their childhood currently results in a positive expectation towards visiting a museum. For Alara, discovering new things, soaking up creative ideas and being challenged are the most important reasons for visiting (discovery, creativity and challenge). For Desiree, the development of her own cultural taste, the calmness and discovering new things are the most important reasons for visiting (escape, discovery, personal integration).

Following Schulze (1992), Alara belongs to an entertainment milieu. She draws upon a pop scheme to explain the things she likes or dislikes and she enjoys an active experience. From the interview, it becomes clear that the installations in MBVB are her favourite because she feels immediately bodily involved with them. Desiree would belong to a self-fulfilment milieu as a combination of pop and highbrow schemes are found and she has an aim for self-fulfilment.

Like Brecht and Yanisa, Alara demonstrates a selectivity between *boring* and *interesting art*. Most likely, this selectivity could be explained by her ego-anchored point of view. The objects she is interested in, depict themes that are personally important to her. This ego-anchored judgment also results in special interest in specific objects. Both Alara and Meyra (who will be discussed later) show an admiration for (female) artists that are an example for them.

In her behaviour and explanations, Alara seems to mimic the attitudes and ideas of the cultural elite by for example conspicuously drawing a distinction between her and *others* or by expressing to be very open minded. However, she does not display high amounts of cultural capital. Desiree, on the other hand, seems to focus a bit more on the actual painting or

artwork by paying attention to the style, the colour or the composition. However, both girls demonstrate a practical interpretation of the artworks as well.

The aesthetic involvement of Alara seems to be much higher with the installations than with paintings. The sensory experience seems to be necessary to get her full attention. Their lack of cultural knowledge leads to a preference for art that is recognizable for them. The hyper realistic sculptures for example, help the respondents to hold on to something that they know, while at the same time they feel the freedom to interpret the artworks in their own manner.

The relevance of digital means of communication is emphasized. Taking photos and making messages to share on social media is important for them and helps to find culturally interested others. At the same time, recognizing an artwork in the museum from the internet helps to make an individual relationship with the work.

In sum, both girls experienced something for the first time during these museum visits. For Desiree it was the close encounter with Pieter Brueghel's Tower of Babylon. For Alara it was the positive experience of the varied collection of MBVB which inspired her extremely. It could not be said that these museum visits turned them over into regular museum visitors. However, they were both aware of the museum experience, what it individually meant to them and how it is different from their perception. Therefore, it could be concluded that it is a contribution to a change in preconceptions about museums in general.

4.5. Inactives

4.5.1. Expectations: negative associations lead to low expectations

Among the last group of respondents, a shared preference for popular culture is found. Chalisa is active in hiphop dancing and interested in fashion. She uses social media platforms to get acquainted with her preferences. Feline and Meyra express their preference for popular cinema, such as movies screened in Pathé. Pascalle likes to visit amusement parks with large groups of friends and family. In all these activities, the respondents seek for fun and action which indicate a pop scheme to express their enjoyment.

The inactives do not visit museums in their leisure time. The museum visits they have experienced were all part of their education and therefore they associate the museum with school. Consequently, visiting a museum is seen as a mandatory activity. However, among the inactives a difference in attitude is detectable. Where Chalisa and Feline have a positive attitude towards visiting, Meyra and Pascalle display a rather negative attitude. Chalisa and Feline associate a museum with art and history and for them this association provokes a

curious attitude and a willingness to visit. For Meyra and Pascalie on the other hand, the associations with history provoke feelings of boredom. Meyra for example said the following:

“Honestly, often times I automatically think it is boring. Maybe also because it is not that... I don't think it is very interesting. About history, it's not like that I'm curious about that.”

Additionally, the first things that come into mind for Pascalie are formulated as follows:

“Quiet, boring, just looking, not touching anything, you should not take kids along.”

These four girls are culturally inexperienced. Pascalie for example indicate that *“a museum is a bit out of my comfort zone, you know.”* Additionally, the inexperience is detectable in the language they use to evaluate artworks and the museum visit in general. Words like ‘peculiar’ and ‘strange’ indicate a judgment without aesthetic jargon or terms that indicate familiarity. Chalisa associates a museum with *“paintings, sculptures that are peculiar”* and these association seems to be confirmed in Boijmans because:

“There were really peculiar paintings. For example there was a picture with trees, pink trees. And then suddenly there was an illuminati. That made me think like, ‘hmm, that's strange.’”

As a result of cultural inexperience and regarding a museum visit as a mandatory activity, the second museum visit reveals much less positive attitudes towards visiting. Chalisa, Meyra and Pascalie indicate an indifferent attitude in which very low expectations were demonstrated.

They regarded the visit as mandatory and therefore they joined. Meyra for example expresses:

“I was curious to what was about to happen, but it was not like I thought ‘yes, we are going to a museum’.”

Among these respondents, an intrinsic motivation for visiting remained absent. This also holds true for Feline who, at first, indicated to join both visits but in the end did not show up at the second visit.

In comparison with the previous groups, the inactives demonstrate low expectations and cultural inexperience. The negative associations they have with a museum visit provoke inactive and indifferent attitudes towards visiting. Difference seems to occur among them as Chalisa and Feline demonstrate curiosity and willingness to visit compared to Pascalie and Meyra. Ultimately however, all four of them demonstrate indifference and disinterest.

The following paragraph discusses the analysis of this groups’ interpretation and judgment of artworks and the museum visit.

4.5.2. Interpretation: association with themselves

From the analysis of the interview data and the observation during the museum visits, it becomes clear that Chalisa, Meyra and Pascale's evaluation of artworks are grounded in their egos. However, in contrast to the more worldly views of Desiree and Leanna, the association with themselves is not only used to display interest but also to display disinterest. It becomes clear that if the respondents feel unable to associate themselves with the subject, they lose interest. About the MV-visit, Chalisa for instance says:

"I was bored with it really quickly. I don't know. Jewellery is not really my thing. Look, I am wearing rings but it's not like I wanna know the meaning behind it."

In this quote, Chalisa substantiates her interest based on her own jewellery. However, the exhibition did not fit her idea on jewellery and was therefore a disappointment. Meyra explained her interest in jewellery based on her personal taste as well:

"I really like accessories myself. I'm not wearing them right now, but two years ago I did not wear a hijab and I used to wear a lot of jewellery. I really like necklaces. And when I heard that the exhibition was about jewellery, I thought I have to see this. I'd like to make jewellery myself [...]. So, that was why I really wanted to come."

But, in correspondence with Chalisa, the exhibition did not fit Meyra's personal taste in jewellery and therefore she was not able to associate herself with the objects. As a consequence, the experience led to a disappointment. When she was asked what she would change in order to appeal to her, she answered:

"Well, the whole exhibition actually. A different subject. So, nothing that has to do with cultures. But instead, that it would focus on different stones. There were not many stones or pearls. It was more about beads and stuff."

This quote reveals that Meyra was disinterested because the objects did not fit her idea of jewellery. Besides, she shows specific selectivity in her interests. She would rather see materials she would wear (stones and pearls) than the ones she would not wear (beads).

Accordingly, Feline explicitly distinguishes *interesting art* from other art:

"I am not going to museums that do not seem to be interesting to me. It has to be interesting."

As discussed by Peterson and Simkus (1992), this selectivity indicates a more restricted cultural taste repertoire. In correspondence with the restricted openness and the possession of limited cultural capital that Peterson and Simkus (1992) are talking about, the selectivity that the respondents show seems to be based on whether these respondents are able to create an

association with themselves. Pascale for example explains her appreciation for MBVB like this:

“I personally really like the light atmosphere of natural stone throughout the museum. I would like to have a house made out of that natural stone.”

Again an association with herself is necessary in order to appreciate features of the museum. Moreover, among the inactive respondents, seeking for activation sparks interest for the museum experience as well. Feelings of deactivation, on the other hand, negatively affect the respondents focus throughout the museum visit. Meyra mentions an experience of listening to a tour guide in which she did not feel involved:

“It was just really boring. I almost didn’t listen at all. [...] It was really bad. We had to listen for an hour, or longer even. And that lady was telling so tardy.”

The examples the inactive respondents use to demonstrate what they would consider *interesting art* involve bodily activation or a theme that provides for association with themselves. For example Chalisa says about MV:

“There was a room about Surinam and I thought that was interesting because that’s where I come from. So, I was a bit proud.”

Or Feline, who mentions a memorable earlier museum visit:

“You were able to enter a bar [...] Just like you were living in that time. Everything was really small, like in that time. And it was an enclosed room, so it felt like you were really in a bar.”

Concerning the interpretation of art and projected taste patterns, it could be said that the inactive respondents demonstrate a pop scheme and strive for stimulation. They demonstrate an ego-world-relation that is anchored in their ego and they prefer the immediate satisfaction of needs and desires. Therefore, the inactives are a relatively homogeneous group who, in terms of Schulze (1991), would be part of the entertainment milieu. However, what stands out for Meyra and Pascale, is that they apologize for their disinterest. About MV, Meyra says:

“It is just that it’s not my interest and therefore I don’t care. Honestly. That was actually it.”

Accordingly, she says:

“I should have listened more closely but that is really me. Because I was really tired, I couldn’t sleep all night.”

In that same line, Pascale excuses herself for not enjoying the exhibition:

“I was totally not in my mood that day. I was really tired. So I had a hard time focussing and listening that afternoon. [...] and that really depends on myself.”

These quotes indicate that they are aware of not being involved but hold themselves responsible for it. Therefore, they seem to be conscious of the legitimacy of a museum and not being interested is their fault. In correspondence with studies by Myles (2008), Lamont et al. (2014) and Laurison (2015), Meyra and Pascalle demonstrate that they do not feel in the right position to have an opinion about the museum and therefore put the blame on themselves. Feelings of exclusion are also demonstrated when Pascalle says that “*a museum is a bit out of my comfort zone.*” Additionally, she says she feels distanced from the content of museums in general and the following quote reveals her perception:

“I was not really expecting anything, it was more like I kept the possibility in mind that it would not fit my interests. I did not expect a lot. [...] I was not disappointed. I just thought this is the museum and it’s... it’s not a disappointment, it’s just... Well, maybe I am not the right type. Or the museum does not meet today’s requirements. And that’s a shame. But well, you’ll never know.”

Feelings of exclusion, disinterest and consequently disinterest are clearly demonstrated by especially Meyra and Pascalle.

4.5.3. Discourses: relaxation, information, sociability, creativity and emotions

The preceding paragraph discussed the interpretation of museum objects as well as the museum experience in general. It became clear that for the inactive respondents, the possibility for association with themselves is imported in order to spark an interest. This results in a selectivity between *interesting* and *boring art*. Especially Meyra and Pascalle seem to be conscious of the legitimate taste of museums and apologize for not being interested. The following paragraph analyses from which discourses the inactives draw in the motivation for their likes or dislikes and for what reason they would or would not visit a museum

In analysing the data, it becomes clear that a combination of discourses is used by the inactives. Especially relaxation, information and sociability discourses are used, as well as creativity and emotions discourses. As expected, the respondents do not draw upon art discourses and it stands out that, in contrast to the previous groups, discovery, challenge and personal integration discourses remain absent among the inactives.

Chalisa, Feline and Pascalle associate the museum with peace and calmness. Chalisa and Feline, however, use this association to describe their appreciation for a museum. Pascalle dislikes the calmness and feels out of place in a museum:

“I think an amusement park is less formal than a museum. In an amusement park you are able to release yourself.”

This quote demonstrates that escapism is rather found in an activated environment such as an amusement park than in a museum. She considers herself more of an amusement park visitor and distances herself from a museum by saying that museum visitors are *“people who do not go to amusement parks”*. Consequently, she says: *“I am not really a quiet type. No, I would not put a museum on my list.”* For her, escapism and relaxation are important in leisure activities but she is not convinced to find that during a museum visit. However, Pascalle also describes a process in which she suddenly gets a feeling attracting her to a painting:

“I don’t know when it happens, but I like it when I suddenly have a moment in which I think ‘guys, I really love this’ or ‘this is attracting, I can watch this for hours’. Yes, I don’t really know why.”

Like all other respondents and in contrast to the regular higher educated museum visitor, Pascalle does not value an object in terms of form over function and does not display an expert attitude. Therefore they deviate from their higher educated counterparts. However, they do describe other processes that stimulate interests throughout a museum visit. Meyra for instance, *“tried to understand what everything means”*. Therefore, Meyra is convinced that artworks have an immanent meaning and being informed about this meaning *“makes you feel empathy for it and it makes you think about it.”* However, this immanent meaning seems to be oppressive at times as she expresses her enthusiasm for the art installations in MBVB:

“With a painting, you look at it and all the information is provided. Then you know everything about it. But when you enter such an installation, you’re free to find out yourself. You’re also able to come up with a new explanation, even though it does not mean something like that.”

Again, she seems to be aware of a legitimate taste requiring cultural knowledge. This quote displays the preference for an open interpretation – an interpretation for which they do not need a lot of cultural knowledge. Instead, the respondents seem to seek fun and pleasure without any further implications (Ollivier, 2008).

Also Chalisa and Feline are aware of a “background story” which they should be informed about in order to understand it. Feline says:

“The story behind the painting was interesting. [...] Because normally I would walk passed because it’s just a small square, but the story behind it makes it really interesting.”

For Chalisa, information about the painting enables her to revive the painting. As a consequence, the ‘absence of a background story’ leads to disinterest:

“I thought I had seen this painting before so I went over to look at it. But the description was not really interesting. Just a painting of people at a table. I thought there would be a story behind it, but that wasn’t the case.”

From the above mentioned, it becomes clear that relaxation, emotions and information discourses are used to justify for what they like and dislike in museums as well as other leisure activities. It additionally becomes clear that the respondents express interest in contexts and/or the need for guidance in interpretation of the artworks. In their own terms and with this guidance, enthusiasm for specific artworks becomes visible.

4.5.4. Aesthetic experience: Self-consciousness about behaviour and practical concerns

In this paragraph, the relationship between the respondents and the artistic object is scrutinised. The experience resulting from this will inform us about the perception and appreciation of aesthetics of the respondents. From the analysis it becomes clear that during the museum experiences, the inactives feel preoccupied by how they ought to behave in a museum, they feel distracted by functionalities and experience difficulty with focussing on one object among all the others displayed at the museum. This paragraph will discuss each of these topics but conclude with experiences in which they were able to relate to an artwork.

Similar to the actives and Alara, Feline and Pascale explicitly mention that they feel uncomfortable with the way they ought to behave in a museum. Strict behavioural rules and the presence of guards distract them from establishing a relationship with an object. Feline for example says:

“If you are standing there on your own, with a security guard it is really annoying. And then they keep staring and you feel awkward and then you want to leave the room. I had that a couple of times, so that is annoying.”

Also Pascale’s attention is interrupted by being conscious and uncomfortable in her behaviour:

“I am a bit exuberant and enthusiast, so it makes me feel like I have to back off sometimes. So, when I am talking to my friend, an exuberant reaction might be possible and I have to think about that a bit more in a museum. I experience that as a restriction of freedom.”

It becomes clear that at least Feline and Pascale feel that they ought to behave differently than they would normally. In terms of Csikszentmihalyi (1992), it can be concluded that the

state of flow is not achieved as self-consciousness is increasing instead of decreasing. In his model, a combination of action and awareness results in specific attention to the experience. In this case, the imbalance of action and awareness leads to distraction of the experience.

For the inactives, the aesthetic experience is also interrupted by practical concerns. This corresponds with the practical issues that people with less cultural capital are concerned with, as assumed by Bourdieu (1984). Although they are not worried about the entrance they have paid, the interviews display some practical concerns that the inactives are occupied with. Chalisa, as well as Feline, was concerned there were no maps:

“I thought that was very frustrating because I had lost everyone and I had no idea which way to go. You have a new and old entrance. And I went the wrong way, so when you are out, you are not coming in again. That made me think like, okay, what is this? I had that often and I really didn’t like it. You’ll continuously walk in rounds and you don’t know where you are.”

Additionally, Pascale displayed a functional interpretation in MBVB and demonstrates that by the following:

“I was walking passed a couple of chairs [the design exhibition in the basement of MBVB] and I really thought, okay guys, you could much better sit on a chair than to exhibit it. That is such a waste!”

In that sense, Pascale does not experience the aesthetics of the design of the chairs. Instead, she is occupied by the functionality of them.

Based on the previous findings, it could be said that the respondents experience difficulty with focussing on the artistic object and feel occupied by self-consciousness or instrumental concerns. Additionally, and in contrast to the other groups, the experience of the inactives seems to be influenced by the way the tour guide was talking. They feel like the tour guide in MBVB was able to actively involve them resulting in a focus on the objects. The tour guide in MV was “*talking so tardy*” that they lost this focus. Meyra for example indicates a process of activation influenced by the MBVB tour guide:

“The lady from yesterday just told everything very nicely. So, automatically, you came to like everything. I thought it was very interesting but when I would walk around individually, I would just pass actually.”

From this quote, it becomes clear that Meyra needs assistance in focussing on one specific artwork. A preference for activation in order to establish awareness for an object, is also detectable in Feline’s explanation about the tour guide:

“It will help you to focus your attention. That’s much better. Your attention is drawn to it and then you actually listen. That’s when you memorise it, not when you’re reading it.”

The above-mentioned indicate that the inactives experience more difficulty with establishing an aesthetic relationship with an object than some respondents of other groups. This is demonstrated by Chalisa, saying:

“I thought everything looked the same. [...] Except for that large room, that was kind of normal. [...] But those smaller rooms, I don’t know. They were all boring.”

However, for each of the respondents, a positive experience was also detected. This experience could be used to get familiar with what aspects of the museum or the object does appeal to them. Like Brecht and Alara, Chalisa was impressed by the hyperrealistic artworks of Duane Hanson:

“I was shocked because he seemed so real from a distance. I thought, is that really a boy sitting there?”

The reason why she was attracted to this artwork is found in the following quote:

“Because that other artwork was obviously fake. You know, the one that came out of the ground. But that first boy I found scary. It was just like he could get up any time.”

The idea that an artwork seems *fake* seems to prevent her from having an aesthetic experience, while the artwork that seems to fit into her own reality enables to provoke specific awareness. Again, recognition of familiarities seems to be influential for establishing a relationship with an object. This also holds true for Pascalle. Her religious upbringing made her familiar with biblical stories. Recognising religious depictions enables her to say something about it and to relate to it:

“Maybe the story is more impressive to me than the painting itself. I don’t know. But when I see how beautifully depicted some of these narratives are, drawn or painted, I don’t know, that could really touch me.”

As discussed earlier, Meyra and Pascalle excused themselves for not being involved with some parts of the museum. The awareness they feel regarding the legitimate status of high arts makes them feel like they are not in the right position to say something (negative) about it. The recognition they experienced has put them in a place where they do feel entitled enough to tell something about it.

Additionally, Meyra illustrates an experience with an art installation in MBVB that provoked specific attention in her:

“That was some kind of installation and then you had to take off your shoes. [...] You’d hear noises, like rain and thunder. I thought that was peculiar. I tried to understand what it meant.”

For her, the bodily involvement and sensory experience lead to decrease of self-consciousness which enabled her to experience the installation with full awareness.

To sum up, this paragraph has discussed the concerns of the inactives that keep them from having a specific awareness of an object resulting in a distracted aesthetic experience. It is shown that self-consciousness of their behaviour and practical concerns such as feeling lost stand in the way of a flow experience. However, for the inactives, being activated by for instance a tour guide or something they personally recognise might be able to restore the balance of action and awareness and result in a focussed experience.

4.5.5. Social environment and digital means of communication

The respondents of this study do not belong to the cultural elite, instead they are considered to possess little cultural capital. And indeed, almost all respondents indicate that they are part of a social environment that is not culturally active. As argued previously, the inactive social environment influences the cultural participation of the respondents. This is acknowledged by Chalisa and Feline who respectively say: *“most of my friends are not really interested in museums”* and *“my friends would also not really like it”*. However, most respondents indicate that they would rather visit a museum accompanied by someone than alone. Feline for instance says:

“I’d rather visit together with someone, I’d think. Individually, you’ll not look at all the paintings and read everything. That’s too much. When you’re together with someone, he might say ‘read this, this is nice.’ And then you’ll read and talk about it together.”

The interaction it brings about is highly valued by Feline, but her social environment does not connect her to people who would like to visit a museum together. This discouraging situation is shared by Meyra. She says that she would like to visit with *“someone who also likes it”*. Because *“then that person has a thought about something and you think about it. Then you’re able to talk about it together”*. Consequently, she believes there is nobody in her social environment who would like to accompany her during a museum visit. Also Pascalie points out that she would never visit a museum alone. The importance of visiting together with a friend or family member is illustrated by the following:

“It’s nice to be together with someone and then I don’t mind whether I like something or not. [...] I could, so to speak, walk in circles around a square with a friend. I don’t mind.”

Additionally, Pascale indicates that her peers are not particularly museum visitors as well:

“I feel more comfortable in a museum with people that I’m connected with. [...] However, they would not be able to walk around quietly in a museum.”

The perception of not being surrounded by people who would like to visit a museum is a threshold for the inactives. Cultural activities are not something they talk about with their friends or family and therefore the idea of visiting together is not initiated. In contrast to the previous groups, who show some cultural interaction with their peers through digital means of communication, the inactives do not show any of this activity. In scrutinizing the perception of art and museums of youngsters who are not culturally socialized, it is important to take their social environment into account. This paragraph indicated that being culturally active in their social environment is something that is seen as extravagant.

4.5.6. Change

In order to see the change in perception that occurred among the inactives, the expectations are compared to their experiences and attitude at the end.

From the measurements, it appears that Chalisa experienced MBVB overall more positively than she expected. MV scores positive on some features as well. However, her general idea on museums stays more or less the same. An indifferent attitude is found after the last museum visit when she says:

“It’s not like I would visit again.”

Feline experienced MBVB as more informative, interactive, pleasant and much less tiring than expected. Her general expectations scores, however, were higher than the other inactives in the beginning. Strikingly, Feline did not show up for the second museum visit. She did not overcome the threshold of travelling to Leiden and therefore it is questionable in what way the enthusiasm for MBVB was able to change her perception on museums in general. This is acknowledged by the conclusion of the last interview:

“Not that I would go to a museum on my own initiative. I wouldn’t do that.”

Meyra and Pascale, who demonstrated to be less culturally enthusiastic, experienced MBVB more positively than expected and MV more negatively than expected. These scores indicate that for them, the perception of museums is fluid. New experiences affect their

general idea on museums. In the interview reviewing the experience of museum visits, Meyra says:

“I think it’s a bit more interesting now. So, it depends on what kind of museum it’ll be and what you’ll see. I wouldn’t like a museum with only paintings.”

Still, Meyra demonstrates specific selectivity although, she indicates that the experiences have made her a bit more open towards a new visit. Pascalle’s expectation of a museum visit has changed from reluctant to indifferent:

“Now it’s different. I’m not like ‘blehh, we’re going to a museum’. Now I am more like ‘oh, we are going to a museum. Let’s see’.”

Overall, it can be said that the inactives have shown less change in perception due to these new experiences.

4.5.7. Conclusion

The inactives share a preference for popular culture. What they have in common is that they only visited a museum as part of their education and do not (prefer to) visit a museum in their leisure time. Therefore visiting the museum is seen as something mandatory. Especially Meyra and Pascalle have negative expectations. In turn, inactive and indifferent attitudes are demonstrated. In comparison, Chalisa and Feline demonstrate a bit more curiosity and willingness to visit. In terms of Schulze (1992), the inactives would be placed among the entertainment milieu.

In the interpretation of artworks, the opportunity to associate the object with themselves enables them to relate to it. In other words, having something recognizable is important in establishing an awareness or focus on the specific object. On the other hand, when an exhibition or a specific object appears to be very different from what is familiar to them, disappointment and consequently a loss of focus occurs.

As a consequence of this association with themselves, they demonstrate specific selectivity among “interesting” and “boring” art which seems to be substantiated by their personal taste or associations. Anything recognizable is easily called interesting, while anything unfamiliar is easily called boring. This also corresponds to the idea of a restricted cultural taste repertoire of Peterson and Simkus (1992). Additionally, instead of an association with themselves, feelings of bodily activation could spark an interest or specific focus in the inactive respondents as well.

Strikingly, Meyra and Pascale, who demonstrate the most negative attitudes throughout the museum visits, apologise for not being enthusiast. In that sense, they seem to be aware of the legitimate status of the arts and demonstrate signs of not belonging.

The inactives draw upon relaxation, information, sociability, creativity and emotions discourses in order to express their preferences and aversions. In comparison, discovery, challenge and personal integration discourses are absent.

In the aesthetic experience of the respondents, the implicit behavioural rules and functionalities distract from attention to the experience. In that sense, a balance of action and awareness resulting in a specific focus, or a flow-state, was hard to establish. Moreover, aspects such as the likability of the tour guide occurred to be important in maintaining this focus.

The aforementioned indicates that these culturally inactive respondents do not value art in a museum the same way as the culturally experienced would do. However, appreciation and admiration for some works has been noticed with objects presenting something recognizable. Feelings of disorientation and not belonging might put the culturally inexperienced in a place in which they do not feel like they can say anything about the artworks encountered. By encountering something recognizable it is like safety boundaries have been put up in which they are free to relate to it in their own terms and discuss it. Additionally, bodily involvement and sensory experience lead to decrease of self-consciousness, enabling the respondents to restore full awareness.

Lastly, the social environment of the culturally inactives is much different than for people from higher social strata and it is influential for not visiting. The respondents indicate that they would not visit museums alone, but their social environments do not automatically provide for someone who would come along. Where the previous groups showed some digital connections that enabled them to find cultural enthusiasts, this was absent in this present group. In stimulating this groups for museum visits, the inactive environment should be taken into account.

Overall, the attitude towards visiting did not drastically change. Especially, the indifferent and disinterested attitude of Chalisa and Feline did not change due to the new experiences. The perception of Meyra and Pascale however seem to be fluid as their overall ideas on museums change according to the experience.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and discussion

The aim of this study was to scrutinize the perception, appreciation and experience of art in museums by people that are not culturally experienced and possess less cultural capital than the traditional museum audience. In the Netherlands, the financial withdrawal of national and local government has presented the cultural sector some serious challenges. Due to this and developments such as digitalization, the function of museums in society has changed and their objectives changed accordingly from the mere function of conservation, preservation and display of art towards a more multisided approach in which leisure and education are interwoven (Falk & Dierking, 2016). Therefore, communication and education of museums aimed at a broader, more diverse target audience. Traditional museum audiences consist of higher educated people possessing cultural capital as they are considered to comprehend the value of high arts (Bourdieu, 1984). But for museums attracting a *new* audience, it is important to look beyond this traditional museum audience. Yet, how the new audiences, possessing less cultural capital, deal with art and museums has not been thoroughly scrutinized yet. Thus far, attracting a wider audience appears to be a challenge as visitors are still mainly white, higher educated and belonging to the middle class. In order to attract a new and different audience, it is necessary to be informed about their interests and what sparks their enthusiasm. Theory about the role of arts in higher social classes is omnipresent, but the question remains how cultural meaning is created for people that are less culturally experienced. Therefore, this study employs an open approach in answering the following research question: **How do non-visitors perceive, appreciate and experience museums and how do their perception and appreciation change as a result of attending a museum?** Included in this study are relevant and recent studies on (hierarchy in) cultural preferences, taste patterns- and schemes and aesthetic experience. The objective of this research was to gain insight in the cultural preferences of a “new audience”. By means of before- and after measurements, observation of museum experiences and in depth interviews, the respondents’ expectations, interpretations, discourses, experiences and social environment are described as well as the possible change in attitude towards a museum visit. The results of the analyses have been presented through these elements and these will therefore be leading in the conclusion as well.

5.1. Expectations: attitude towards visiting

All respondents are primarily oriented towards folk or popular cultural activities. Some respondents combine this preference with an interest in highbrow arts. Considering the lower

educational status of the respondents and their parents, cultural socialization and - experience were expected to be limited. However, throughout the research, preconceptions and attitudes towards visiting appeared to be divergent. As opposed to Bourdieu's arguments that cultural socialization is a precondition for cultural participation in a later stage of life, some respondents were culturally active despite the absence of cultural socialization. The explanation for this cultural interest was often traced back to an event that triggered their interest such as an inspirational art teacher or specific exhibitions concerning personal interests. By the same token, the (brief) cultural socialization other respondents had did not always prove to be a precondition for cultural enthusiasm and participation. The actives were less open and interested in high arts than expected. Explanation for this might be found in the contrast between high- and popular art. Growing up with creative and fairly higher educated parents made the respondents culturally active. But, they are mostly interested in popular forms of art and creative techniques they can execute themselves. In their ego-anchored world view, they do not associate their own cultural activity with high arts or the museum. For instance, their multimedia activity, streetdance classes or sewing activity does not make them feel involved with *arts and culture*. This leads to signs of disinterest and indifference to high art or museums. The (largest) group of inactives, however, align with the expectations and show an absence of cultural socialization and –experience resulting in an indifferent attitude towards visiting museums. In line with statements by Bourdieu (1984) and Van Tongeren (2015) and in contrast to people belonging to the traditional audience of museums, indifferent attitudes and behaviour occur throughout the expectations and experiences of almost all respondents. In some cases however, this indifference was reduced by a personal association or an activating involvement with an artwork.

5.2. Interpretation: selectivity and recognisability

In terms of Peterson and Simkus (1992), most respondents would be identified as univores and display a restricted cultural taste repertoire. Some exceptions occur in which a preference and tolerance for a broader range of cultural products is displayed. What stands out is that the triggered actives and culturally socialised non-actives display slightly more openness and a worldly view than the actives and the non-actives. The latter two groups have a firm preference for popular (cultural) activities while the first two are more broadly oriented towards different, high forms of art. In itself, this shows that interest in high arts is not necessarily effected by reproduction in higher social classes, but could also be triggered by cultural experiences later in life.

In contrast to people that interpret artworks based on formalist criteria such as colour, shape or composition, most respondents interpret and appreciate artworks based on an association they make with their own lives. In all groups, the respondents selectively appropriate elements of artworks and adapt them to their personal reference framework. This is coherent with Schulze's description of a relationship with the world that is anchored in the ego in which it is individually decided which elements are selected and which meaning they ascribe to it (Van Eijck & Lievens, 2008: 222). These associations result in most cases in an active relationship with the artwork. Consequently, however, specific selectivity arises in which the respondents look for something they recognize. Themes or subjects that are unfamiliar for them are set aside. In turn, this results in a distinction between what they find *interesting* and *boring art*. For instance, the artists' intentions and the art historical context of an artwork are unfamiliar elements and seen by the respondents as the immanent meaning of an artwork. For many respondents, this supposedly immanent meaning stands in the way of having fun. Especially the actives and non-actives, who are less open towards uncertainty and display an ego-world relation that is anchored in their ego, prefer to individually fantasize and make associations with their own lives. Respondents with a brief cultural socialization or a triggered interest in a broad range of cultural products, intend to find out about *the story behind the artwork*.

Generally, specific relevance is ascribed to the truthfulness and the credibility of art. Art that refers to contemporary life and is thus recognizable for the respondents, enables them to relate to recognizable elements and interpret it in their own manner. In that way, they avoid possible difficulties of missing specific cultural knowledge. Moreover, relevance is ascribed to the role as spectator in which bodily involvement is highly valued. In correspondence with an enjoyment for action as occurring in Schulze's pop scheme, limited cultural knowledge is overcome by art that stimulates the senses. In line with the functional and instrumental stance that was among others argued by Bourdieu (1984), the respondents of this study demonstrate a practical interpretation of artworks as well.

What stands out is that many respondents are aware of legitimate taste. They are conscious of not belonging to the traditional museum audience, who all know how to behave and interpret the museum. As a reaction, especially the non-active respondents feel like they have to adjust their behaviour which makes them feel uncomfortable. In turn, the triggered actives and the culturally socialized non-actives, who feel more secure in the museum, mimic cultural attitudes of other museum visitors. For example, by drawing a line between them and *others* who do not understand the meaning or the details of a painting.

5.3. Discourses: escapist, relaxation and discovery

In order to express the meaning that is ascribed to (cultural) preferences, most respondents draw upon the same discourses. For almost all respondents, escapist, relaxation and discovery discourses are important in expressing their appreciation for a museum visit. In contrast to the alleged intolerance and disinterest in highbrow culture as established in the theory section, many respondents display a desire to learn and discover new things. Among the triggered actives and the culturally socialised non-actives, a contemplative attitude is found and the museums is seen as opportunity for personal enrichment. For others, acquiring information about specific artist, artwork or genre without further qualifications is creating enough meaning. In few cases, respondents draw upon an art discourse. However, the presented quotes rather demonstrated cultural goodwill (as explained by Van Eijck & Lievens, 2008, p. 223), in which an expert attitude is mimicked rather than that it demonstrated explicit cultural knowledge. Another implication of the absence of cultural knowledge and experience is the limited vocabulary of respondents. Appreciation for artworks is predominantly based on personal taste preferences. Judgment and evaluation of objects in the museum are asserted in terms of *nice* and *beautiful*. In contrast to the expert attitude of the cultural elite, whose aesthetic disposition enables them to evaluate artworks based on shape, colour or composition, respondents of this study used the dimensions of a painting in which a small painting caused disappointment. A large object or installation impresses and in line with a preference for stimulation, as illustrated in Schulze's entertainment milieu, many respondents appreciate the possibility to individually immerse themselves in for instance installation art.

Continuing on this individual attitude, the absence of the sociability discourses indicate that the respondents do not consider a museum visit to be a sociable activity. More clearly, many express the desire to visit more often but do not have a social environment that includes company for these visits. DiMaggio (1996) indicated the difference between visitors and non-visitors based on their social values and attitudes. In line with the barriers for participation that Stevenson et al. (2017, p. 95) is talking about, this study acknowledges that the absence of cultural participants among their peers is a barrier for their own participation.

5.4. Aesthetic experiences: overcoming feelings of disinterest and indifference

Many respondents experience the conventions of a museum as an obstacle. The conventional layer, as portrayed by Dewey in 1934 already, lead to insecurity about their behaviour and to a self-consciousness throughout the museum experience which in turn distracts from an aesthetic experience.

In scrutinizing the experience of a museum visit, Garioan (2001) and Farkhatdinov (2014) argue for an active audience by immersing and integrating the audience in the discourse of a museum. In line with expectations, the art installations in MBVB allowed for an active engagement of the respondents, resulting in a state of concentration in which self-consciousness is decreased. This specific focus is defined by Csikszentmihalyi (1992) as a state of flow and also occurs among most respondents when they encounter recognizable elements in artworks. For example, recognising elements of their ethnic background in MV helped them to recover feelings of disinterest and disapproval and consequently put them in a position where they felt entitled to engage in the experience and in discussion about it. For others, the recognizable hyper-realistic sculptures in MBVB allowed for activation of their imagination and lead to a specific focus resulting in a state in which self-consciousness was decreased (as explained by Csikszentmihalyi, 1992). In contrast, the jewellery from unfamiliar cultures in MV lead to an imbalance of the flow state and concentration was lost.

This is in line with Park's theory (1993) that the aesthetic experience is an individual experience and depends on the way in which one is involved or participating. In this study, most respondents demonstrate a rather individual attitude throughout the museum experience and discussion of what they have seen afterwards is often absent. Many are convinced that artworks contain an immanent meaning and particularly the triggered actives and the culturally socialized non-actives prefer guidance to get familiar with these meanings in order to feel like they *understand* the works of art. The actives and non-actives rather prefer to use their imagination to create their *own story* with artworks. In line with the expectations, the respondents have shown a preference for this aesthetic freedom. Allowing themselves to relate to a work of art in their own manner rather than conforming to art historical conventions, enables the respondents to establish an individual relationship with an artwork. While the distinguished groups demonstrate a slight pattern in this preference, it should be noted that often a combination of these approaches is used throughout the same museum visit encountering different objects. Respondents across all groups are interested in contextual information about the artworks to some extent and seek for guidance in interpreting them. These *stories behind the artworks* as many respondents call them, allow them to create an individual relationship with it because it is seen as opportunity to build associations with their own lives. Accordingly, it is demonstrated that this process of association sometimes lead to feelings of awe towards specific artists. Despite the absence of a critical discussion that Park would argue for, the respondents in this study have demonstrated that a specific consciousness and relationship with certain objects is established.

5.5. Social environment and digital means of communication

Throughout the research, the relevance of the respondents' social environment becomes apparent. All of them indicate the absence of culturally active social contacts. When a respondent demonstrates cultural interest, it is often quite solistic and isolated from others. The absence of culturally active peers is a discouraging factor in their own cultural participation as culture does not play an evident role in their lives. Some respondents put emphasis on digital means of communication which enable them to contact peers with similar cultural interests. Photos taken in the museum are used as means of communication when placed on social networks. Respondents from all groups are aware of the social status of museums which is used to create a social image on digital platforms. The use of Tumblr, YouTube, Facebook, Instagram and Twitter is apparent in every group, however using them to conspicuously show their own cultural activity and make connections with peers is predominantly done by the triggered actives and the cultural socialized non-actives.

The respondents of this study are obviously used to the presence of the internet. The museums are seen as sources of information and the comparison between the internet and the museum is therefore often made. The information provided by the museum is seen as reliable and valuable and it allows for discussion, in contrast to the one-way, ambiguous information from the internet. Emphasis is also put on works that they recognise from the internet. In line with the preference for familiarity, the preference for celebrity is indicated. Coming across something they recognise from the media ignites curiosity and a desire to obtain information.

5.6. Change

The theory of distinction by Bourdieu (1984), notions of omnivores and univores as argued by Peterson and Simkus (1992) and the emphasis put on the difference between visitors and non-visitors suggest that less culturally experienced and –literate people would enjoy a museum visit to a limited extent. More recent studies, however, have proven that cultural socialization does not inevitably lead to unquestionable dedication to the arts (Van Eijck & Knulst, 2005). Indeed, the present study has shown that the absence of cultural socialization does not inevitably lead to a reluctant attitude towards museums either. All respondents demonstrated enjoyment of the visits, at least selectively. The actives, triggered actives and cultural socialized non-actives demonstrate that the experience did not meet their, often conservative and traditional, perception of museums. All were able to selectively appropriate elements of both museums and associate them to their own lives, resulting in interest and enjoyment. The measurements show that their general ideas about museums

change accordingly. This is also detectable for the cultural inactives but they also demonstrate some boredom or disinterest throughout the experiences which influence their general perception negatively. Their plain distinction between *boring* and *interesting art*, based on an association with themselves, is again visible. What stands out, however, is that the perception and attitudes of non-visitors are more flexible than expected.

Many respondents speak about the museum visits as *eye-opener* or *positive surprise*, this indicates that their idea about museums has changed. Almost all respondents normally experience a museum visit, as part of their education and do not consider it as a leisurely activity. The museum visits for this study were not associated with school and therefore allowed for an individual experience. It was indicated that many show appreciation and gratefulness for the experience and used it to develop their individual interests and taste.

5.7. Recommendations

This study has provided a profound analysis into the perception, appreciation and experience of art by people who are not used to be culturally active or, more specifically, to visit art museums. For museums, as well as for the cultural sector as a whole, these qualitative data could be used for engagement with this audience group. For instance in means of communication of the museum or in adjusting their (exhibition) programmes to satisfy in this the needs of this group.

Unlike the expectation that the inexperienced young adults would not feel involved with the arts encountered, there were obviously features of the museum visits that provoked enthusiasm and engagement. Firstly, it stands out that they are looking for an experience that performs a getaway for them. The world of arts and culture is something they are not familiar with and that causes insecurity. In their experience, they are looking for recognizable objects which give them something to hold on to. Finding this enables them to talk about it and for example engage in a discussion about it. Therefore, it is necessary to provide suitable guidance to explore that world. In supporting contexts, they could find themes to associate themselves with or artists to admire. Ideally, the choice of guidance should be up to the visitors. In order to provide an individual experience, guidance should differentiate between (groups of) visitors by for example having different guides or tours that each have different specialties.

Secondly, it is shown that the respondents of this study do not relate to the works of art in a pure aesthetic manner. However, oftentimes it is shown that they do respond positively to the artworks encountered and sometimes the experience of an artwork is seen as memorable.

For example, when it was the first time that they understood the historical relevance of the work of Mondriaan, or that they examined the brushstrokes of an oil painted work. Without having a real critical stance towards the works, a relationship seems to be established based on amazement or association with themselves. What the respondents need, however, is the feeling that they are welcome and that someone (or the museum in general) paid attention to their needs. Their limited vocabulary and their (for them) uncommon behaviour make them feel like they are not in place. Creating an approachable museum experience in which the art is explained in terms that they understand might be of help. Moreover, the consciousness about their position and behaviour in the museum might be distracted by things that they could do. In all this, the respondents (who have multiple ethnic backgrounds) have showed appreciation and in turn interest in art or artists from their country culture of origin. Seeing their culture represented in a museum makes them feel like they belong there too.

Thirdly, it was shown that all respondents do not move in social environments that are stimulating cultural activity. Also, most of them associate art and especially the museum with school as they only experienced museum as part of their education. The museum could use this as input for their marketing or events. When MBVB is moving to the South of Rotterdam for a couple of years, they are located in an area inhabiting lower social classes. Very practically, invite, for instance, families or groups of friends for a night at the museum. That will make them feel special, it includes their social environment and it is exciting because they feel like they can explore the museum in their own manner, at night. It also makes them experience the museum in their leisure time which could be stimulating for other cultural endeavours outside their education. Lastly, and maybe quite obviously but not less important, extensive interaction through social networks might be of help. The respondents have demonstrated that encountering something famous from the internet, in the museum also sparks their interest. This could work two ways, the communication of the museum could provide extensive interaction with the group. Or the museum could exhibit something that went viral on social media in their museum.

5.8. Limitations and further research

This study is limited to a group of the Albeda College Rotterdam. The group only exists of girls who are creatively active in their education. That makes them an interesting group because they have affinity with creativity and the question could be raised, why are they still not visiting? On the other side, this group might give a relatively positive reaction to art based on their educational experiences. In order to extend knowledge on the needs and desires of

this audience, further research should be conducted. For example, examining lower educated boys studying in a creative interface of arts and culture. These might, for instance, be found at the architecture study of the Techniek College Rotterdam.

Moreover, the results of the museum visits are indicated based on a change in preoccupations about museums based on before- and after questionnaires and the intention for more visits. Nevertheless this way of measuring is not fully reliable as the total change in perception could only be measured overtime. In order to get insight in the results of cultural experience in the long term, and to increase predictive validity, longitudinal study is necessary.

During the research, the groups joining each museum visit changed. The intention was to have a similar group which could be used to make a comparison between the experiences of the two museums. As the groups deviated along the process, the comparison between the two museums could not be made in a reliable way. Still, this research contributed to insight into the behaviour, attitude and appreciation of both museum visits and offering two different museum visits to the respondents has resulted in rich data about the experiences of arts and culture. Yet, the comparison between the two museums was placed more on the background of this study. In order to make a valid and reliable comparison between two different museums, further research should be conducted.

This research is a first exploration of the appreciation, perception and experience of art and whether this changes when museums are visited more often. This study aimed at understanding motivations for behaviour and attitudes and to understand how the experiences made the respondents of this qualitative study feel. However, in order to make representative, generalizable statements about this target audience, a quantitative study should be conducted.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview guide

Introductie

- Publieksonderzoek Boijmans, ik onderzoek de waardering van een museumbezoek en het beeld dat mensen hebben van musea.
- Daarover zou ik graag in gesprek gaan. Ik heb wat vragen voorbereid.
- Deelname is vrijwillig, als je ergens niet op wilt antwoorden of je wilt stoppen met het interview dan kan je dat aangeven.
- Het gaat over jou mening, er zijn dus geen goede of foute antwoorden.
- Het onderzoek is anoniem.
- Als je ermee akkoord gaat dan neem ik het interview op.

Deelvraag 1: verandert de perceptie, waardering en ervaring van kunst nadat je naar het museum bent geweest? (±10 min.)

1. Zou je mij kunnen vertellen wat je zoal doet in je vrije tijd?
2. Als je aan een museum denkt, waar denk jij dan aan?
3. Hoe vond je het om gisteren naar het museum te gaan
4. Heb je je voorbereid op het museum bezoek?
 - a. Op welke manier?
5. Had je zin in het museumbezoek? Of zag je er eerder tegen op?
 - a. Wat deed jou je erop verheugen? Of wat deed jou er tegen op zien?
 - b. Klopte je verwachtingen?
 - i. Wat viel er mee aan het museum?
 - ii. Wat viel er tegen?
 - iii. Wat is je algemene ervaring? Waarom?
 - iv. Wat maakte dat de verwachting wel/niet klopte?
6. Wat zal je het meest bijblijven van het museumbezoek?
 - a. Hoeft niet alleen de kunst te zijn maar kan ook het gebouw, de winkel of het restaurant zijn.
7. Ga je vaker naar een museum?
 - a. Ben je wel eens op eigen houtje naar het museum geweest?
 - b. Ging je in je jeugd naar musea? (even vragen of ze het goed vinden als ik wat vragen stel over hun jeugd).

- c. Zo ja, kan je je nog herinneren waar je heen ging en wat je daarvan vond?
- 8. Heb je het gevoel dat je je op een bepaalde manier moet gedragen in het museum?
 - a. Op welke manier wel/niet?
- 9. Denk je dat je na deze ervaring de volgende keer anders naar het museum zou gaan?
 - a. Smaakt het naar meer? En waarom?

Deelvraag 2: welke omgevingsfactoren beïnvloeden de ervaring van een museum bezoek? Welke faciliteiten dragen bij aan een positieve ervaring? Welke factoren dragen bij aan een negatieve ervaring?

Nu hebben we besproken wat je verwachtingen waren van het bezoek en wat je ervaring was van het bezoek. Graag zou ik ook nog even wat vragen willen stellen over het fysieke museum, dus het pand, de ruimten, hoe het eruit ziet, de faciliteiten, dat soort dingen.

1. Wat vond je van het pand?
 - a. Voelde je je er welkom of juist meer ongemakkelijk?
 - i. Waarom was dat?
 - b. Wat vond je van:
 - i. De entree
 - ii. De expositieruimten
 - iii. Algehele sfeer
 - c. Wat vond je meevallen?
 - i. Waarom?
 - d. Wat vond je tegenvallen?
 - i. Waarom?
 - e. Wat vond je van de faciliteiten?
 - i. De winkel
 - ii. Toiletten
2. Wat vond je van de informatie in het museum?
 - a. Was er te veel/te weinig tekst/uitleg?
 - b. Was het te ingewikkeld of te simpel?
 - c. Was het (on)overzichtelijk?
 - i. Bewegwijzering
3. Wat vond je van de rondleiding?
 - a. Denk je dat het museum je zou interesseren als je geen rondleiding zou hebben gekregen?

- b. Denk je dat je dan actief en geïnteresseerd door het museum zou rondlopen? (bordjes lezen, route uitstippelen e.d.)
 - i. Waarom wel/niet?
- 4. Was het fijn om er met klasgenoten te zijn?
 - a. Hebben jullie er nog over gepraat naderhand? Was dat positief/negatief?
- 5. Zijn er anderen met wie je erheen zou willen?
- 6. Als jij museum directeur zou zijn van het museum waar we gisteren waren, wat zou je dan veranderen?
 - a. Wat voor sfeer zou jij dan neerzetten?
 - b. En hoe zou je dat doen?

Deelvraag 3: Welke persoonlijke motivaties dragen bij aan de bezoekers ervaring? Op welke manier draagt iemands persoonlijke kring bij aan de bezoekers ervaring? (±10 min.)

1. Wat hoopte je/verwachtte je te bereiken met het museum bezoek?
 - a. Verrijking, leren, plezier, ontspanning, inspiratie?
2. Wat vond je van de kunstwerken die we gezien hebben?
 - a. Was het te moeilijk om te begrijpen of te simpel?
 - b. Wat vond je van de variatie van kunstwerken?
3. Denk je dat je zelf iets hebt gehad aan het museum bezoek? Is er iets dat je meeneemt van het museumbezoek?
 - a. Heb je er iets van geleerd? Of waarom heb je het gevoel dat je er niet zoveel van hebt geleerd?
 - b. Denk je dat je die kennis kunt gebruiken?
 - c. Is dat een reden om wel of niet na te denken over een volgend museum bezoek?
4. Heb je bepaalde schilderijen/kunstwerken wel eens eerder gezien of eerder iets over gelezen of gehoord?
 - a. Waar was dat?
 - b. Wat voor gevoel kreeg je bij het schilderij/kunstwerk toen je het daadwerkelijk/weer zag?
 - c. De schilderijen/kunstwerken waar je weinig over wist of nog niet eerder hebt gezien, voelde je je daarbij anders? Of maakt dat niet uit?
5. Met wie zou jij naar een museum gaan?

- a. Waarom met diegene en waarom niet met iemand anders?
- 6. Waarom denk je dat sommige mensen graag naar het museum gaan?
 - a. Gelden die redenen ook voor jou?

Vragen m.b.t. de nameting

- 1. *Vraag 2:* Op de vragenlijst heb je aangegeven dat je het museumbezoek [...] vond.
 - a. Kun je uitleggen waarom?

- 2. *Vraag 3:* Stellingen algemene perceptie van musea/kunst/cultuur.
 - a. Kun je uitleggen waarom?

- 3. *Vraag 4:* Op de nameting heb je aangegeven dat je het meest onder de indruk was van [...]
 - a. Waarom was je daar zo van onder de indruk?
 - b. Had je vooraf gedacht dat je zulke objecten zou zien?
 - c. En had je verwacht dat je daardoor zo onder de indruk zou zijn?

Appendix 2: Before-measurement

Enquête

Naam:.....

1. Hieronder vind je enkele uitspraken over musea in het algemeen. Geef aan in welke mate je het met elk van deze uitspraken eens bent (omcirkel het best passende cijfer).

Ik vind een museumbezoek over het algemeen:	Oneens						Eens					
	0	1	2	3	4	5	0	1	2	3	4	5
Informatief	0	1	2	3	4	5						
Ontspannend	0	1	2	3	4	5						
Interactief	0	1	2	3	4	5						
Saaï	0	1	2	3	4	5						
Plezierig	0	1	2	3	4	5						
Niet aansluitend bij mijn interesses	0	1	2	3	4	5						
Een leuk uitje	0	1	2	3	4	5						
Vermoeiend	0	1	2	3	4	5						
Moeilijk	0	1	2	3	4	5						
Verrijkend	0	1	2	3	4	5						
Serius	0	1	2	3	4	5						
Rustgevend	0	1	2	3	4	5						
Formeel	0	1	2	3	4	5						

2. Hieronder vind je enkele uitspraken over kunst en musea. Geef aan in welke mate je het met deze uitspraken eens bent (omcirkel het best passende cijfer).

	Oneens					Eens
Het bezoeken van een kunstmuseum is gezellig.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Ik vind het leuker om zelf creatief bezig te zijn dan ernaar te kijken in een museum.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Ik bezoek graag een museum met mijn familie.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Als je een museum bezoekt ben je er even lekker tussenuit.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Kunst kan me gestolen worden.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Ik wil dikwijls graag weten wat de betekenis achter een bepaald kunstwerk is.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Ik vind kunstmusea vaak ouderwets.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Het lijkt me leuk om een museum te bezoeken met vrienden.	0	1	2	3	4	5
In musea wordt te weinig gebruik gemaakt van verschillende media kanalen.	0	1	2	3	4	5

3. In welke van de volgende onderwerpen ben je geïnteresseerd?

	nee	een beetje	matig tot sterk	heel sterk
Musical				
Cabaret				
Mode				
Spoken word				
Schilder-/ of beeldhouwkunst				
Dans				
Poëzie/literatuur				
Theater				
Comedy				

Klassieke muziek				
Pop				
Rock				
Hip hop				
Dance				
Fotografie				
Film				
Architectuur				
Design				

4. Hoe vaak heb je in de afgelopen 12 maanden onderstaande locaties of activiteiten bezocht?

	niet	1-2 keer	3-4 keer	5 keer of meer
Theater				
Dans- of balletvoorstelling				
Bioscoop				
Concert of festival (klassiek, opera)				
Concert of festival (pop, rock, hip hop, ...)				
Dance-festival (bijv. Sensation, Welcome to the Future, Mysteryland, Tomorrowland)				
Museum (kunst)				
Museum (techniek, geschiedenis, natuur)				
Musical				
Boekenbeurs				
Filmfestival				
Andere (welke)				
.....				

5. Bezocht je met je vader en/of moeder tot je achttiende de volgende activiteiten of evenementen?

	nee	zelden	soms	regelmatig	vaak
Theater					
Dans- of balletvoorstelling					
Bioscoop					
Concert of festival (klassiek, opera)					
Concert of festival (pop, rock, hip hop, ...)					
Musical					
Museum (kunst)					
Museum (techniek, geschiedenis, natuur)					
Kermis of attractiepark					
Circus					
Dierentuin (bijv. Blijdorp of het Dolfinarium)					
Boekenbeurs					
Literair evenement (lezing, poëziefestival					
Bibliotheek					
Filmfestival					
Andere (welke?)					

6. Wie zijn jouw lievelingsartiesten? (dit mag van alles zijn: schilders, zangers/zangeressen, filmmakers, ontwerpers, schrijvers, dichters, fotografen... Wat jij maar interessant vindt.).

.....

7. Hoe oud ben je?

..... jaar.

8. Wat is je geslacht?

Vrouw

Man

9. Welke studierichting volg je?

Specialist Mode Maatkleding

Junior Stylist

Andere (welke?)

10. Wat is het hoogst behaalde diploma van je ouders?

Vader

Geen

Lager onderwijs

VMBO, MAVO

HAVO, VWO

MBO

HBO

Universiteit

Weet ik niet

Moeder

Geen

Lager onderwijs

VMBO, MAVO

HAVO, VWO

MBO

HBO

Universiteit

Weet ik niet

Appendix 3: After-measurement

Enquête

Naam:

Naam museum:

1. Hoe vond je het museumbezoek?

- a. Heel erg leuk, ik heb ervan genoten.
- b. Niet zo leuk, het sprak me niet zo aan.
- c. Leuk voor een keer, maar niet meer dan dat.

2. Hieronder vind je enkele uitspraken over het afgelopen museumbezoek. Geef aan in welke mate je het met elk van deze uitspraken eens bent (omcirkel het best passende cijfer).

Ik vond het museumbezoek:	Helemaal oneens					Helemaal eens				
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Informatief	0	1	2	3	4	5				
Ontspannend	0	1	2	3	4	5				
Interactief	0	1	2	3	4	5				
Saai	0	1	2	3	4	5				
Plezierig	0	1	2	3	4	5				
Niet aansluitend bij mijn interesses	0	1	2	3	4	5				
Een leuk uitje	0	1	2	3	4	5				
Vermoeiend	0	1	2	3	4	5				
Moelijk	0	1	2	3	4	5				
Verrijkend	0	1	2	3	4	5				
Serius	0	1	2	3	4	5				

Rustgevend	0	1	2	3	4	5
Formeel	0	1	2	3	4	5

3. Hieronder vind je enkele uitspraken over kunst en musea. Geef aan in welke mate je het met deze uitspraken eens bent (omcirkel het best passende cijfer).

	Helemaal oneens					Helemaal eens
Het bezoeken van een kunstmuseum is gezellig.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Ik vind het leuker om zelf creatief bezig te zijn dan ernaar te kijken in een museum.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Ik bezoek graag een museum met mijn familie.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Een museum is vaak interessant.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Als je een museum bezoekt ben je er even lekker tussenuit.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Kunst kan me gestolen worden.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Ik wil dikwijls graag weten wat de betekenis achter een bepaald kunstwerk is.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Ik vind kunstmusea vaak ouderwets.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Het bezoeken van een museum is leerzaam.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Het lijkt me leuk om een museum te bezoeken met vrienden.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Kunst weet mij vaak te raken.	0	1	2	3	4	5
In musea wordt te weinig gebruik gemaakt van verschillende media kanalen.	0	1	2	3	4	5

4. Van welk kunstwerk en/of artiest was je het meest onder de indruk? (een beschrijving van hoe het eruit zag of waar het hing mag ook).

.....
.....
.....
.....

Appendix 4: Observation protocol

Site	
What/who to observe and how does it relate to your research topic	
Role	Observer participant
Beschrijvende elementen	Hoe zag de situatie eruit?
Reflecterende elementen	Wat was mijn rol in deze situatie?
Do not make value judgements	“The room is full of creative people” – how do you know?
Do not be vague	“There were lots of people” – how many?
Avoid interpretations	“The students are bored” – why are they bored? How do you know?
Record different aspects of the visit	The entrance The questions The interactions Behaviour Gestures Conversations

1. Physical setting (describe where the observation takes place in detail, including sounds and smells)	
2. People involved (record the characters who are part of your observation; provide descriptive details of these characters)	
3. The entrance	
4. The questions	
5. Behaviour	
6. The interactions (including non-verbal communication, informal conversations: write down verbatim quotes if appropriate and acceptable).	
7. Gestures, language, tone, expressions.	
8. Own reflection (thoughts, emotions, reactions. What is your world view and how is it affecting the observation?).	
9. Date, time, place	
10. What went well, what went wrong	

Appendix 5: Results before-measurement

Voormeting

Naam	Alara	Brecht	Chalisa	Desiree	Feline	Faiza	Leanna	Meyra	Pascalle	Yanisa	
Vraag 1											
Informatief	5	5	3	2	4	4	5	4	3	3	
Ontspannend	5	4	3	4	5	5	5	3	3	3	
Interactief	4	4	1	2	4	3	5	3	2	4	
Saai	2	1	2	3	1	4	0	3	3	2	
Plezierig	4	4	3	4	3	4	4	4	3	4	
Niet aansluitend bij interesses	3	1	1	3	1	1	0	0	4	1	
Een leuk uitje	5	5	3	2	4	3	5	4	3	4	
Vermoeiend	3	1	1	2	3	2	4	1	4	2	
Moeilijk	0	0	0	2	0	1	3	0	2	2	
Verrijkend	4	5	4	2	5	3	5	4	4	3	
Serius	3	3	4	3	5	2	3	2	4	3	
Rustgevend	4	5	4	4	5	4	3	3	3	2	
Formeel	3	4	2	3	4	3	3	2	3	2	
Vraag 2											
Gezellig	5	4	4	2	4	4	4	5	3	3	
Zelf creatief	5	5	1	3	1	4	1	4	3	3	
Familie	3	4	4	0	0	2	0	0	2	3	
Tussenuit	3	4	4	1	3	4	3	2	2	3	
Gestolen	0	1	0	1	2	4	0		4	2	
Betekenis	3	4	5	3	5	4	5	5	3	3	
Ouderwets	1	1	0	2	0	3	0	1	2	1	
Vrienden	1	5	4	5	4	4	5	0	4	3	

Media	2	3	2	4	1	4	2	0	3	2
Vraag 3										
Musical	3	3	4	2	4	1	4	3	4	4
Cabaret	3	3	3	2		1	3	4	2	4
Mode	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Spoken word	4	2	2	4	2	3	2	1	2	1
Schilder-/ of beeldhouwkunst	4	3	3	4	4	2	4	2	2	2
Dans	4	4	4	3	2	4	1	2	2	4
Poëzie/literatuur	3	2	1	2	1	2	4	3	4	2
Theater	4	3	4	3	1	4	3	3	4	4
Comedy	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	2	4
Klassieke muziek	3	2	2	2	3	1	3	1	3	3
Pop	4	4	4	4	4	3	2	3	1	4
Rock	2	3	3	4	3	1	2	2	1	3
Hip hop	4	4	4	4	4	3	1	3	1	1
Dance	3	4	4	3	3	4	1	3	1	4
Fotografie	3	4	3	4	3	4	4	4	3	4
Film	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	2	4
Architectuur	3	4	2	3	4	2	3	4	1	4
Design	4	4	3	3	4	4	3	4	1	4
Vraag 4										
Theater	1	2		1	1	2	2	1	2	2
Dans- of balletvoorstelling	1	2	1		1	3	1	1	1	3
Bioscoop	2	4	2	4	2	4	3	4	2	2
Concert of festival (klassiek, opera)	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1

Concert of festival (pop, rock, hip hop, ...)	1	3	1	4	2	4	1	1	1	1
Dance-festival (bijv. Sensation, Welcome to the Future, Mysteryland, Tomorrowland)	1	2	1	2	1	4	1	1	1	2
Museum (kunst)	2	4	2	2	3	3	3	2	2	3
Museum (techniek, geschiedenis, natuur)	2	2	2	1	1	3	1	2	2	3
Musical	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	2
Boekenbeurs	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1
Filmfestival	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Andere (welke)	Shisha Lounge (4)								Mode, creabeurs (2)	

Vraag 5

Theater	3	2		1	1	3	1	1	2	2
Dans- of balletvoorstelling	1	3	2	5	2	1	1	1	2	1
Bioscoop	5	3	2	1	3	1	1	3	3	2
Concert of festival (klassiek, opera)	3	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1
Concert of festival (pop, rock, hip hop, ...)	3	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	1
Musical	2	2	2	4	1	1	1	1	2	3
Museum (kunst)	3	3	2	4	1	1	2	1	1	3
Museum (techniek, geschiedenis, natuur)	3	1	2	3	1	1	2	1	1	2
Kermis of attractiepark	4	3	2	5	3	4	1	3	4	3
Circus	1	2	1	5	1	1	1	1	2	2

Dierentuin (bijv. Blijdorp of het Dolfinarium)	5	4	2	5	3	1	4	3	3	3
Boekenbeurs	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
Literair evenement (lezing, poëziefestival)	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bibliotheek	5	1	2	5	2	1	5	1	4	1
Filmfestival	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Andere (welke?)										

Vraag 7

Leeftijd in jaren	19	20	21	19	21	19	18	20	19	18
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Vraag 8

Geslacht	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V
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Vraag 9

Studie richting	SPEM	SPEM	SPEM	SPEM	SPEM	Junior Stylist	SPEM	SPEM	SPEM	SPEM
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Vraag 10

Vader	Weet ik niet	MBO	Weet ik niet	MBO	VMBO, MAVO	VMBO, MAVO	MBO	Lager onderwijs	Weet ik niet	VMBO, HAVO
Moeder	Weet ik niet	HBO	Weet ik niet	HBO	Lager onderwijs	MBO	MBO	Lager onderwijs	MBO	MBO

Open vragen

Meyra

Desiree

Voormeting vraag 6

Burak Özcivit (acteur), Nur Yerkitas (ontwerper), Said Mhamad (fotograaf)
The Weekend, Frank Ocean

Pascalie Alara	Verfilmde sprookjes, muziek is afhankelijk van emoties, zou graag piano of gitaar spelen.
Brecht Yanisa	Christian Dior, Donatella Versace, Calvin Klein, Rihanna, Mary-Kate and Ashley Olsen, Tommy Hilfiger
Chalisa Feline Leanna	Michael Cinco Alexander Wang (ontwerper), Cardi B (rapster), Zendaya (zangeres/actrice), Beyonce
Faiza Zorima Camilia	Zanger: Called Out Music
Sanita Felicia Shari	Beyonce, Drake, The Weekend, Bryson Tiller, Karl Lagerfeldt Karl Lagerfeldt, Jeremy Scott Elie Saab, Gucci, Louis Vuitton, Drake Logic, Bruno Mars, Ronnie Flex, Alex Pina, Aziz Wrijving, MJ, Janet Jackson, Tabitha, Bazi

Appendix 6: Results measurement after Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen

Ervaring Boijmans van Beuningen

Naam	Meyra	Desiree	Pascalie	Alara	Brecht	Yanisa	Chalisa	Feline	Leanna
Ervaring museum	A.	A.	C.	A.	A.			A.	A.
Stelling									
Informatief	4	3	3	5	5	3	3	5	5
Ontspannend	4	5	4	5	5	2	4	5	5
Interactief	3	4	3	3	5	4	3	3	5
Saaï	1	2	2	0	0	1	1	0	0
Plezierig	5	3	3	5	5	3	3	4	5
Niet aansluitend bij interesses	1	2	4	0	1	1	3	1	0
Een leuk uitje	4	4	3	5	5	3	3	4	5
Vermoeiend	0	2	4	4	0	2	0	0	2
Moeilijk	0	3	2	4	0	1	0	0	1
Verrijkend	3	3	3	5	3	3	3	3	5
Serieus	2	3	4	4	3	2	4	5	4
Rustgevend	2	5	3	5	5	3	4	5	5
Formeel	0	3	3	3	3	3	4	4	2
Gezellig	4	5	3	5	5	3	4	4	3
Zelf creatief	3	2	3	0	3	3	3	1	1
Familie	0	3	4	3	4	3	3	0	5
Interessant	4	4	2	5	5	2	4	5	5
Tussenuit	2	2	3	5	5	2	4	4	5
Gestolen	3	0	4	0	1	2	0	1	0
Betekenis	4	5	2	3	4	2	5	5	5
Ouderwets	1	1	3	3	2	2	1	0	0
Leerzaam	4	3	3	5	5	3	4	5	5
Vrienden	1	5	4	5	5	3	4	3	5

Raken	2	5	1	5	4	2	2	5	5
Media	0	3	4	4	2	2	1	3	1

Nameting Boijmans

Meyra	Kleine jongen die op een doos zat. Hij was heel emotioneel. Je zag aan hem dat hij het heel moeilijk heeft.
Desiree	De Toren van Babel.
Pascalie	Toren van Babel van Pieter van Brueghel.
Alara	De video hal waar je kon klimmen en een gedeelte waar ik aliens zag en dat kleine jongetje.
Brecht	Van de auto waar muziek uitkwam waar waar verschillende hoofden op waren geplaatst.
Yanisa	Mondriaan
Chalisa	De Toren van Babel (van Brueghel).
Feline	Mondriaan en oude portretten.
Leanna	Toren van Babel, Bram Bogart, Gerrit Benner, Salvador Dali, De mandril, Anselm Kiefer - Notung.

Appendix 7: Results measurement after Museum Volkenkunde

Ervaring Volkenkunde

Naam	Meyra	Desiree	Pascalle	Alara	Brecht	Yanisa	Chalisa	Feline	Leanna	Faiza	
Ervaring museum	C.	X	C.	C.	X	X		C.	X	A.	A.
Stelling											
Informatief	3		4	5			4		5	5	
Ontspannend	2		3	3			3		3	3	
Interactief	3		4	4			3		3	3	
Saaï	2		4	2			0		4	0	
Plezierig	2		2	3			3		4	3	
Niet aansluitend bij interesses	4		4	3			1		3	0	
Een leuk uitje	2		2	3			4		4	4	
Vermoeiend	1		4	3			2		2	0	
Moeilijk	0		3	2			0		4	1	
Verrijkend	3		3	4			2		4	5	
Serieus	3		4	4			4		5	3	
Rustgevend	2		2	2			4		3	3	
Formeel	2		4	3			4		2	3	
Gezellig	3		2	4			4		4	4	
Zelf creatief	5		5	4			3		1	5	
Familie	0		0	2			4		1	5	
Interessant	2		2	4			4		5	3	
Tussenuit	2		2	4			4		5	3	
Gestolen	3		4	0			0		0	0	
Betekenis	4		2	3			4		5	3	
Ouderwets	2		3	3			0		0	3	
Leerzaam	4		3	4			4		5	5	
Vrienden	0		2	2			4		5	5	

Raken	2	2	3	1	4	5
Media	0	3	3	0	1	3

Nameting Volkenkunde

Meyra	Van de gouden armband, het heeft heel veel moeite en tijd gekost.
Pascalie	N.V.T.
Alara	Kunstwerken van Afrikaanse vrouw, gedeelte over slavernij.
Chalisa	Tentoonstelling over Suriname want daar kom ik vandaan.
Leanna	De glaskralen die gemaakt waren van glaspoeder. Ze zagen er heel mooi uit, mooie patronen en heel knap gemaakt.
Faiza	Kralen van het Afrikaanse continent.

Appendix 8: Participant observation notes: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen

- Bij het wachten voor de deur arriveren twee busladingen met museumbezoekers. Daarnaast staan er meerder groepen mensen te wachten voor de entree. Het is druk. Pascalle vraagt zich hardop af: “Ik begrijp eigenlijk niet goed waarom zoveel mensen nog steeds naar een museum gaan, het is niet alsof het een pretpark is ofzo.”
- Iedereen geeft aan een keer eerder in Boijmans van Beuningen te zijn geweest. Ongeveer een half jaar geleden met school.
- Tijdens de rondleiding komt ter sprake dat de entree onder 19 jaar gratis is, de meesten waren daar niet van op de hoogte.
- Namen als Mondriaan, van Gogh en Rembrandt kennen de meesten wel.
- “Mevrouw, dit is zo cool!” wordt er geroepen bij de Spiegelkamer van Yayoi Kusama.
- Er is veel enthousiasme, er worden veel vragen gesteld. “Wat is dit?”.
- Als de rondleider vragen stelt over de toren van Babel, worden die enthousiast beantwoord. De vragen gaan over het verhaal van de toren van Babel, Pascalle is gelovig en weet het verhaal nauwkeurig te vertellen.
- Anderen vragen zich af of de toren echt heeft bestaan of dat het een mythisch verhaal is. De rondleider verteld dat er geen resten zijn gevonden op de plek aan de Eufraat waar het moet hebben gestaan. Op basis daarvan concluderen de leerlingen dat het om een mythisch verhaal moet gaan. “In Rome zijn toch ook allemaal oude dingen terug gevonden. Als het echt had bestaan dan moet daar echt nog wel iets van terug te vinden zijn!”.
- De leerlingen zijn niet bang om te praten en geven graag hun mening of stellen een vraag.
- Ze weten best veel en vullen elkaar aan tijdens het religieuze verhaal van de toren van Babel.
- Desiree zondert zich af en kijkt van heel dichtbij naar het schilderij. Later zou zij vertellen dat ze let op de details, de penseelstreken, het licht en de kleuren let. Tevens ook, dat dit de eerste keer was dat ze op deze manier naar een schilderij heeft gekeken.
- Als we later door het museum lopen en worden gepasseerd door een groep kleuters, vragen meerderen zich hardop af wat zij doen in het museum. “Het is niet alsof zij iets begrijpen van de schilderijen”. En “alsof ze gaan luisteren naar wat er wordt gezegd”. Een ander probeert “maar wel goed als ze als kind al met het museum kennis maken”.

- Bij Dalí: “ik zie hele rare dingen hierin...”
- Ook de bijen (bee-bearding) worden met afgrijzen aanschouwd. Ze willen precies weten hoe het zit. ‘Waar zit zijn gezicht?’ en ‘kan hij dan niet bewegen als hij wordt gestoken?’ en ‘hoe komen ze er dan weer af?’. Als de rondleider vertelt dat de koningin in een bakje aan de kin van de man zit, vraagt een leerling zich af: “zit de queen dan vast? Trippen al die bijen dan niet?” [alsof de geliefde vrouw van alle mannen wordt vastgehouden].
- Er is veel hedendaagse kunst in het museum.
- Als we de ruimten in lopen met de realistische beelden, schrikt iedereen opmerkelijk. Ze verwonderen zich over de man die uit de grond komt door naar hem toe te lopen en zich hardop af te vragen hoe het zit. Maar als het jongetje in de hoek wordt opgemerkt lopen de gemoederen hoog op. “Aaah! Zit daar een jongetje?”, “is hij echt”, “hij is zo eng”, “het lijkt alsof hij elk moment in huilen uit kan barsten”, “hij kijkt zo zielig”, “ik wordt bang van hem”. “waarom zou hij daar zitten?”. Er worden veel foto’s gemaakt en er worden verhalen verzonnen over hoe het jongetje daar is gekomen. Er wordt veel gelachen. Omdat het jongetje op kniehoogte zit bukt bijna iedereen om op de juiste hoogte te zijn om zijn gezichtsuitdrukking goed te kunnen zien. De interpretaties zijn fantasievol.
- Na de rondleiding wil het grootste gedeelte van de groep langer blijven. Ze willen zo snel mogelijk verder om de tijd goed te benutten en als ze mogen rennen ze snel een kant op (in groepjes, allemaal een andere kant).
- De meiden van de Junior Stylist opleiding gaan wel eerder weg.
- Camilia: “de kunst was heel boeiend en interessant. Leuk dat het niet alleen schilderijen zijn.”
- Sanita en Zorima gaan ook eerder weg.
- Zorima: “de rondleiding was niet interactief genoeg, het wist me niet te boeien”.
- Pascalle wist veel te vertellen over religie. Ze stelde vragen en keek geïnteresseerd naar de schilderijen.

Appendix 9: Participant observation notes: Museum Volkenkunde

- We verzamelen om 10:00 uur op Leiden Centraal. Er komen 6 leerlingen opdagen, iedereen die gister in de klas had gezegd mee te gaan is er.
- Ze maken allemaal een moeie indruk. Chalisa is heel stil. Pascalle en Yanisa vertellen over hoe vroeg ze uit bed moesten en hoe moe ze zijn. Ze zijn verbolgen over het feit dat ze na het museum bezoek weer terug naar school moeten.
- Alara, Meyra en Leanna komen als laatste aanlopen en samen lopen we naar Volkenkunde.
- Alara is geïrriteerd over het vroege opstaan en het gekwebbel van Pascalle. “Het is nog zo vroeg en ik moet nu al haar stem aanhoren, ik kan dat echt niet aan”. Ik zeg: “Probeer je zen te bewaren”. Alara: “Ik verlies alle zen die ik in mij heb, mevrouw!”. Dit laat blijken dat ze gepikeerd is dat ze zo vroeg op moest en dat ze geïrriteerd is op haar klasgenoot.
- De leerlingen geven allemaal aan dat ze nog nooit in het Volkenkunde zijn geweest.
- Alara geeft aan wel een aantal jaar in Leiden op school te hebben gezeten.
- Het is ongeveer 3 minuten lopen naar het museum.
- Als we binnen komen zijn de leerlingen stil. Ik betaal bij de ingang en we worden geholpen door de dame achter de kassa.
- De rondleidster komt aangelopen en stelt zich voor aan mij. De leerlingen zijn nog steeds erg stil.
- We krijgen een aantal muntjes voor de kluisjes om de jassen in te doen. De leerlingen spreken onderling en met mij af wie bij wie in het kluisje gaat.
- Als iedereen weer boven, bij de kassa, is verzameld lopen we achter de rondleider aan het museum in. De leerlingen zijn stil. De rondleidster vraagt naar de collectie die de leerlingen moeten ontwerpen en wijst ze op een aantal poppen in traditionele Oosterse kledij (ongeveer 10). De leerlingen zijn nog steeds stil maar zijn duidelijk onder indruk want ze verzamelen zich om de poppen heen en blijven kijken. Zelfs als de rondleidster verder wil lopen, blijven ze nog staan. Pas als ze vraagt om mee te gaan, lopen ze mee.
- Verderop, bij de ingang van de sieraden tentoonstelling, hangen 6 schermen waarop de gezichten van mensen te zien zijn die een verhaal vertellen.
- Bij het binnen komen verlangzamen de leerlingen hun snelheid en blijven geïntrigeerd staan kijken. Ze zijn nog steeds stil en kijken aandachtig naar de schermen. De

rondleidster heeft alleen weinig tijd en maant ze tot doorlopen. Ik zie een aantal teleurgestelde gezichten.

- In de eerste zaal waar we komen bevindt zich een grote U-vormige vitrine kast, waar sieraden van menselijke en dierlijke onderdelen zijn opgesteld. De rondleidster begint te praten en de leerlingen luisteren aandachtig.
- Ze gaan in op vragen van de rondleidster, onder andere door te bevestigen dat ze weten wat een sjamaan is.
- Een sieraad gemaakt van een vogel en zijn vleugels is een belangrijk status symbool van het hoofd van een traditionele stam. De leerlingen begrijpen het symbolisme van het vliegen door ja te zeggen en te knikken en te zeggen dat het waarschijnlijk een belangrijk iemand was.
- Ik loop ondertussen naar de kassa om het entree bewijs voor Faiza te halen. We hebben gister afgesproken dat zij een kwartier later zou arriveren.
- De leerlingen reageren verafschuwend als de rondleidster verteld dat de volgende sieraden gemaakt zijn van mensenhaar. “Gadver!” hoor ik van verschillende kanten. Ook de uitleg, waarbij wordt verteld dat ze dit doen om de goden dichtbij te houden levert afkeurende reacties op. “Iellll”. En Alara zegt, “ik zou hier echt niet s’ nachts willen zijn, dit hele museum is bezeten” en “overal dwalen geesten, ik weet het zeker”. Deze opmerkingen duiden er wel op dat ze erbij is met haar aandacht. Ze gaat ook in op vragen en vraagt bijvoorbeeld of er ook melktanden worden gebruikt voor de sieraden.
- Faiza sluit ergens in deze zaal stilletjes aan bij de groep.
- Chalisa en Meyra luisteren aandachtig.
- Yanisa, Pascalie en Leanna lopen iets verder en kijken zelf rond.
- Ik zie Yanisa achter ons lopen en voorover tegen een muur aanhangen. Ik vraag of het gaat. Ze zegt dat ze zich niet zo goed voelt, maar dat het wel gaat. Ik zeg dat ze het aan moet geven als het niet gaat.
- We lopen naar de volgende zaal. Daar staan stoelen voor een aantal tv schermen. Iedereen gaat op de stoelen zitten/hangen. De rondleider legt uit dat we naar glaskralen kijken die worden gemaakt van glaspoeder, een traditie van vader op zoon. Iedereen kijkt aandachtig.
- Yanisa komt naar me toe, haar gezicht is lijkbleek. Ze zegt dat ze zich niet goed voelt. We zonderen ons af van de groep en ik ga met haar zitten. De komende 20 minuten ben ik bezig met haar en kan ik helaas niet bij de rondleiding zijn.

- De leerlingen gaan nog door naar de goudkamer en de zilverkamer.
- Bij het laatste onderdeel sluit ik me weer aan. We zijn in een zaal waar je uit een kauwgomballen automaat kralen kunt kopen. Er staat gereedschap en apparatuur om zelf een sieraad te maken.
- Alara vindt het leuk om iets te maken maar is ook een beetje sceptisch. “Kan je ook letters erop drukken?” en wijst naar een voorbeeld, “nee, dat kan weer niet”. Alara kijkt naar mij en rolt lichtelijk met haar ogen. Ze is het aan het doen, maar is ook een beetje geïrriteerd doordat niet alles werkt en voor handen is. Als het nog niet af is, stopt ze ermee.
- Faiza is speciaal geld gaan pinnen om kralen te kunnen kopen en maakt enthousiast haar eigen sieraad.
- De rest kijkt een beetje rond en geeft dan aan om zelf in het museum te willen kijken.
- We spreken een tijd af en ze zijn snel weg.
- Ik blijf met Faiza bij de sieraden, ze gaat aandachtig en gretig te werk. Ondertussen vertelt ze me over de sieraden en accessoires die ze zelf maakt en verkoopt.
- Op de afgesproken tijd komt Chalisa het muntje van ons kluisje halen.
- Met zijn allen lopen we naar het station. In de trein vullen de studenten de vragenlijsten in. Er wordt verder niet gesproken over het museum. We zitten in een stilte coupé, maar praten toch soms wel. Voornamelijk over de opleiding die de studenten doen.

Appendix 10: Discourses by Ollivier (2008)

Discourse	
Sociability	Doing an activity primarily for its social aspect, to spend time with friends and family.
Fun, pleasure	Mentioning pleasure and fun without further qualifications.
Escape, relaxation	Expressing a desire to relieve tension, to escape from the requirements of everyday life.
Emotions	Enjoying the emotions generated by an activity, or doing an activity to generate emotions, e.g. listening to loud music create flows of energy (see DeNora, 2000).
Discovery	Expressing a desire to learn, to open up the mind, to discover new things.
Health	Doing an activity to promote psychological and physical health and well-being.
Challenge	Enjoying an activity because it represents a challenge, because it is out of the ordinary.
Personal integration	Using an activity to assess one's life, to draw lessons useful in one's life.
Art	Emphasizing form over function, expert attitude, discussing formal beauty.
Creativity	The satisfaction of creating something new, the pleasure of do-it-yourself.
Information	Expressing a desire to obtain information without further qualifications.
Nature	Enjoying activities because they take place outside, in nature.
Spirituality, religion	Enjoying activities linked to religious or spiritual needs.

FIGURE 2: RELEVANT DISCOURSES IDENTIFIED BY OLLIVIER (2008)

This table appears in Ollivier (2008, p. 129) and is based on the study by Frith (1990).