“It doesn’t count here”: super-diverse community experiences in a local history museum

Charlotte Barratt MA MRes

Department of Sociology

December 2020

Abstract

This thesis looks at the experiences of super diverse communities in a local social history museum. Having spent two years working with English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) Groups visiting the Newarke Houses Museum in Leicester, I have explored their sensory and emotional experiences in the space. In visiting the museum with 56 people across four ESOL groups and four families, I have been able to reflect on Leicester as a super-diverse city and how the local communities have developed and changed over time, the story that the local history museum tells does not always reflect its local communities.

The process of discovery includes using photography to document the visits alongside more reflective artwork drawn from the resulting images and notes. This process of reflection provides an alternative method of exploring other people's emotions and experiences.

From the interactions with objects and stories, this thesis outlines a series of solutions for local history museums who are based in or looking forward at developing content that represents their super-diverse communities. The findings highlight areas where museums could tell more accurate narratives around their local communities to encourage belonging and sharing cultures. Decolonising the language around the museum alongside reducing the amount of text in exhibits would encourage further participation of people with English as an additional language. It also contributes to the literature around creative methods and building relationships with communities for research.

"It doesn't count here" was a quote from one of the people I visited the museum with, and it resonated across contexts from education, to contribution, to missing narratives.

Acknowledgements

Thank you to the local ESOL tutors who were more accommodating than I could have hoped for and the ESOL learners who were happy to visit museums with me. I am always happy to see you around town.

I would like to thank my partner for always believing I could do this and allowing me the space to have my moments about it. Thanks to my Mum and Step-Dad, Dad and Step-Mum, and my partner's parents for their multiple kinds of support over the last six years. I would also like to include my colleagues in the Future Students Office who have been my cheerleaders during this time.

I would also like to thank Professor Kate Pahl for pushing me to improve and to Professors John Goodwin and Henrietta O'Connor for showing me how far I have come.

Contents

Abstract 2
Acknowledgements 3
Figures 8
Chapter 1: Introduction 9
The place 10
The people 11
The museum 13
The visits 14
The experiences 15
The change 16
The current social climate 18
Conclusion 19
Chapter 2: The Place 22
Leicester as one large community 22
Super-diversity 27
Leicester as a series of super-diverse spaces 29
Transition areas 32
2011 Census Data 34
St Matthews, Spinney Hills and Coleman 37
Westcotes 37
Introducing the groups 38
Demographics of the groups in relation to Leicester and their areas 43
Chapter 3: The Theories behind the thoughts 47
Introduction 47
Qualitative versus Quantitative 48
Community focused methodologies 50
Arts based methodologies 50
Experience focused methodologies 52
Emotion focused methodologies 56
Working with speakers of English as an additional language 58
Children and Multigenerational Groups 61
Limitations and ethical considerations to this study 63
Conclusion 66
Chapter 4: The People and our Purpose 67
Introduction 67

Workers' Education Association English Spoken as an Other Language Group 67
In the classroom 70
Story of the visits 71
Leicester Adult Skills and Learning Service (LASALS) ESOL Groups 72
Data analysis 75
Permissions and ethics 78
The Power and Privilege Problem 79
Practical and ethical considerations when working with children 85
Conclusion 86
Chapter 5: Collecting our Thoughts 88
Introduction 88
My relationship with the groups and individuals 90
ESOL Learners in the Museum 93
Memories 96
Evidence of colonialism 100
Conclusion 104
Chapter 6: Collecting our Experiences 105
Introduction 105
The emotional experiences 105
The sensory experiences 110
Sight 110
Smell 113
Sound 114
Culture sharing 119
The Listening Post 120
Hopscotch/Hayo Hayo/Tejo/Pise/Classen 123
Snakes and Ladders 125
Conclusion 126
Chapter 7: Drawing (on) my data 128
Illustrating 130
Chapter 8: Communities and ESOL 144
Introduction 144
Building relationships with communities 144
An introduction to community based studies 145
Community 'groups' and zones 148
Communities and museums 153

ESOL learners and museums 161
Conclusion 165
Chapter 9: Senses 166
Introduction 166
Sight 168
Sounds 171
Touch 174
Space 175
Conclusion 178
Chapter 10: Emotions 179
Introduction 179
Emotions (in Social Sciences) 180
Emotions in the museum 182
Affect (in Social Sciences) 188
Affect in the museum 188
Belonging 193
Conclusion 197
Chapter 11: Culture Sharing, Memories and Colonialism 198
Introduction 198
Culture sharing 200
Colonialism 207
Conclusion 212
Chapter 12: Outcomes and Policy 214
Introduction 214
The Civic Museum 215
Belonging 217
Connections and collections 219
Representation 223
Working together 227
Conclusion 229
Chapter 13: Final Reflections 231
Introduction 231
Realities of researching 231
Problems with the problem 234
Discovering possible change 235
Challenging the status quo 237

In an ideal world… 239
Conclusion 239
Appendix – Ethical Approvals and Consent Forms 241
Participants from ESOL Groups 241
Participants from Family Groups 244
Bibliography 249

Figures

Figure 1 Nowhere to go based on a drawing from Jephcott (1967. p.132) 11
Figure 2 Sketch of the entrance to the Newarke Houses Museum used in an academic poster I presented in 2019 13
Figure 3 Leicester Wards (Leicester City Council, 2014) 31
Figure 4: Transition Areas and Saffron Lane 34
Figure 5 Map of Leicester showing the location of the educations centres (red stars) and the Newarke Houses Museum (purple triangle) Red Stars (left to right) WEA, Adult Education Centre, Salma Centre, St Barnabas Library 43
Figure 6 The Haberdashery (Feb 2018) 98
Figure 7 Peering into the cabinet together (Nov 2018) 99
Figure 8 Detail from one of the text panels in the Regimental Gallery 101
Figure 9 Text panel in the temporary exhibit 103
Figure 10 The cooking and tiffin pots and teapot. 106
Figure 11 Praying in front of Ganesh (Family Visit Feb 2018) 107
Figure 12 Watching the Alice Hawkins Video (REIA Nov 2018) 112
Figure 13 Ba using the listening post on his own (March 2018) 116
Figure 14 The same copy of the game they had at home (Mn Family Visit Feb 2018) 126

Chapter 1: Introduction

From spending time volunteering in Leicester's local museums and sitting as a trustee for the City of Leicester Museums' Trust, we have talked at length about encouraging new audiences into the museum space. These conversations were almost exclusively held in a room full of white middle class people (myself included) and rarely mentioned consultation with any "target groups". Consulting non-visitors to museum and heritage spaces is notoriously difficult. However, the Taking Part Survey (Department of Media, Culture & Sport, 2019) identified that people are not necessarily not participating in cultural or heritage based activities if they are not attending museums, but museums are not attractive to a large number of people. Both Wessendorf (2013, p.418) and Savage et al (2005, p.29) agree that belonging can be defined as participation in local activities and not necessarily how long someone has been in the area. In this initial chapter, I would like to summarise the problem that local social history museums face in this very global society, the questions I asked and the answers I gathered.

Local authority museums, or civic museums[1], have a responsibility to represent their local communities. With the changing face of what local is, due to migration, the covid-19 pandemic, and the Back Lives Matter movement, museums need to rethink what they are offering to their audiences and how they are representing them. This project was also not about why people are not visiting the museum, but about how they feel about the museum as it is, about what emotions were being evoked and what sensory experiences they were having when they did visit. In a previous study I conducted for a master's degree, I used museum visiting families to explore their experiences (Barratt, 2014). All of these families were white and middle class, a reflection on myself and my recruitment methods. For this project I wanted to work with people who were not like me, who represented the super-diversity of the city and who are woefully underrepresented in the museum.

[1] The English Civic Museums Network represents small and local authority museums who seek to serve local communities.

To build a project based on these issues I posed myself three questions:

1. How do the senses impact on the museum visiting experience?
2. What do visitors feel when they go around the museum?
3. How does local museum visiting make a difference to local super-diverse communities?

With my findings, I hope to inform exhibition programming and how diverse communities are represented in the museum space. In this introductory chapter I will outline why I chose Leicester as the place to complete this project, the people I worked with, the museum it was situated in, what we did in the museum, our experiences and how these can inform change.

The place

I have lived in Leicester for over 30 years, and seen how the city has adapted and changed in that time. Leicester is also a super-diverse community, with the most diverse areas situated near to the city centre. Leicester's history of migration is not only recent, however, as the number of people relocating to the city became more varied and increased from the middle of the twentieth century. Seventy years later, there are still new arrivals in the city but also third and fourth generation families who represent heritages from outside of the UK. While there are other areas of the UK that are also super-diverse, Leicester has adapted with the addition of new communities.

Many of the local services take into account the needs and representation of diverse communities across the city. The museums' service has made some inroads into telling the story of people moving to the city but still regard many of the communities as migrant rather than the settled communities they are. Leicester on the whole has been adapting to the diverse cultures and celebrations of the city. This means that everything is celebrated on a civic level. The festival calendar includes passion plays, Sikh parades and Eid celebrations. However, this is not reflected at a museum level.

Leicester presents an ideal location to situate this project. The city has both tight knit diverse communities and also a sense of larger city cohesion. There is pride in the way

Leicester welcomes people from all over the world. However, it does not tell that story for the public.

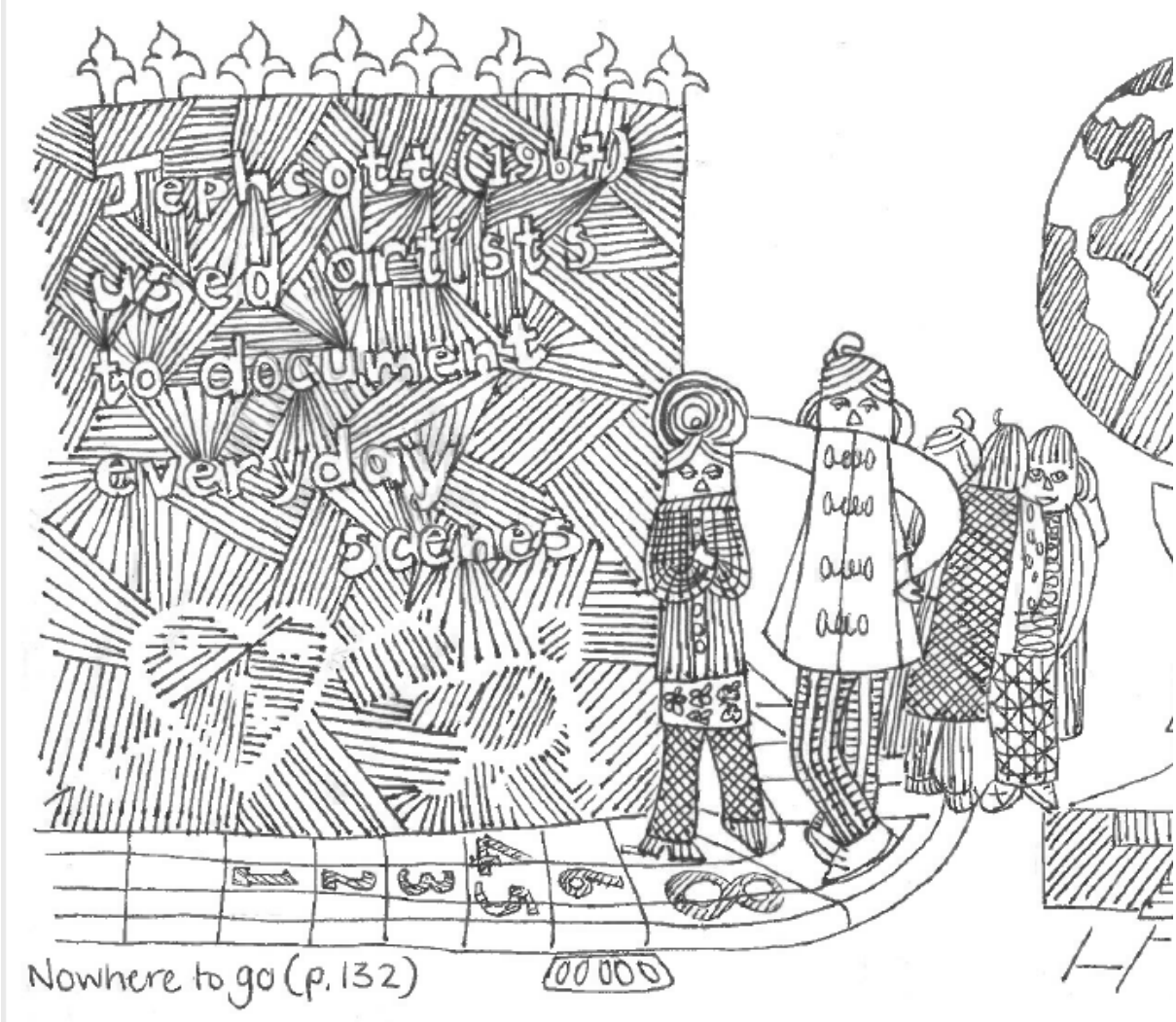


Figure 1 Nowhere to go based on a drawing from Jephcott (1967. p.132)

The people

In order to find out what a range of people from different heritages experienced in the museum, I needed to think about how I was going to find people who would be happy to visit the museum with me. Drawing on the work of Jephcott (1964, 1971), I wanted to get to know the people I wanted to work with and give something back if possible. In her projects, Jephcott (ibid) would spend as much time as possible with the people she was working with to build relationships. As mentioned above, in a previous study I conducted, I recruited my families by standing in the foyer of the museum. This meant I only really attracted people who were happy to contribute time to my study and who

felt comfortable talking to a total stranger. Therefore, the families were reflective of myself being entirely white and middle class.

This time I wanted to know a lot more about the visits and to do this would need to build relationships with the people I visited with. I also wanted to meet a variety of people that represented the diversity of the city. From working with English language teaching providers in the city, I was aware that volunteering with an ESOL class could be a way of meeting a group of people that would fulfil these criteria. The Workers' Education Authority (WEA) is based in one of the most diverse areas of Leicester and provides a variety of English classes for local people. The group I volunteered with in this centre were representative of the demographics of the local area. In a group of eleven, there were only a couple of people who spoke the same language or came from the same country. I was able to volunteer as a teaching assistant with this group, weekly, for an academic year. We got to know each other quite well in the teaching environment. We visited the museum as a teaching group and then three of the group were happy to visit again with friends or family.

Sadly, the group at the WEA disbanded due to a lack of funding for further classes. I then approached the Leicester Adult Skills and Learning Service (LASALS) to see if I could replicate the success of the previous year with an ESOL group in their centre. LASALS had funding for a programme called Real English in Action, which took ESOL learners out of the classroom to practice their skills. It was a six week programme with visits to a theatre, shops, cafes and heritage sites. Once I had explained my project they were happy to accommodate me as a volunteer on this programme. It ran once per term for up to fifteen people. They also had a couple of other volunteers from higher level ESOL groups. Demographically, these groups were less diverse, but did represent people who were not represented in the other group. The majority of the people in these groups shared language and heritage. The tutor at LASALS changed her programme slightly to include a visit to the social history museum, rather than the larger general museum, to support my project.

I worked with LASALS over another academic year, spending six weeks getting to know them and the other volunteers. We completed one visit to the museum and one of the other volunteers visited again with me and her son. The second term, I spent four

weeks with the group, due to work commitments. Again we visited the museum together as a group but there were no additional visits. And in the final term the course was cut short due to Ramadan and timing. I met most of the group only once before our museum visit and some people only on that one day.

The people I had time to help in their classes were more comfortable sharing culture and stories with me and the rest of their group. Those who I had not spent much time with were much more reserved and hesitant to share. Outside of these ESOL classes I would not have been able to meet the range of people I did in the time available and build relationships with them in this way.

Figure 2 Sketch of the entrance to the Newarke Houses Museum used in an academic poster I presented in 2019

The museum

Leicester has five museums that are managed by the local authority. With the exception of the New Walk Museum, which is described as the flagship and includes the art collections, natural history and geology, each museum covers part of the story of Leicester. The Newarke Houses Museum is social history from around 1700s to the present (figure 2). The exhibits and collections are displayed in adapted houses built around 1600 in a historic area of Leicester called the Newarke. A Charitable Trust, which aims to represent the people of the city alongside Leicester City Council, supports purchasing objects for the museums.

The museum also has a garden and hosts the collection of the Leicestershire Regiment. Exhibits include manufacturing in Leicester, working life, childhood and a recreation of a street from 1920s. There is also an exhibit on migration from Kampala to Leicester in 1970s. I chose this museum as it has displays around lived history, or remembered

history from the twentieth century as well as displays about working life and manufacturing. Of all of Leicester's museums, it is one which is most centred around people. This museum seeks to represent the near past and current people in the city.

The Newarke Houses Museum is also situated on the edge of the city centre, next to De Montfort University adjacent to Westcotes. Westcotes is the most diverse area in the city. It is walking distance from both the WEA and LASALS centres. This was an important consideration as there were no funds for travel, the classes were intending to visit as groups and I wanted people to feel it was an easy museum to get to if we went to visit again together.

The visits

As mentioned above, we visited the Newarke Houses Museum as class groups as part of the ESOL lessons and again as family groups with some of the people I got to know through the lessons. In total, there were four group visits and four family visits. I wanted the visits to be as normal as possible considering we were visiting as an educational group. I spent time on the visits observing, making notes, taking photographs or films and chatting about exhibits. Members of the group took photographs as well. I asked if they would be willing to share them with me but all but one person declined. Most of the people were happy for me to take photographs of them in the museum and wanted copies of images where they were posed in front of exhibits. With the LASALS groups, any photograph used in this project was signed by the people in it to confirm that they were happy with them being included. There were fewer people happy with being photographed in the LASALS groups. This was due to ethnicity, as most of the women were Muslim[2], and the shorter amount of time we had to build a relationship. Everyone I met was happy to have me include their stories, chats and how they experienced the museum in this project.

We conducted the group visits during lesson time. At the WEA, the members of the group saw it as part of their learning programme for the year. By including this trip during their lesson time, they were more likely to join in on the trip. It was made clear to every group that they did not need to be part of the project if they visited the

[2] In Islam, images of people are not permitted unless for an essential purposes such as identity cards.

museum, they could visit and not have their information included. For those people who wanted to visit again with me and bring family, we organised a suitable time to meet. On one visit with a family, we encountered another family from the classes who did not want to visit the museum with me, but was happy to return to the museum with her family.

The experiences

From collecting field notes, photographs, video and chatting amongst ourselves while we were in the museum, I was able to ascertain emotional and sensory experiences in the museum space. I paid attention to the exhibits that drew the most attention or elicited a reaction. Where the person was happy for me to photograph at the exhibit I did, or I took a photo of the exhibit to remind me of the moment. The visits highlighted areas of the museum that I would not normally have focused on.

I found that while the groups wanted to see as much of the museum as possible and pay attention to it all, some areas provoked stronger responses and therefore more time was spent there. The groups were almost all engaged with similar exhibits regardless of their language level or background. These exhibits were ones where they could share experiences and talk about similarities in growing up in different countries. While they did speak about difference, it was in relation to rules of childhood games rather than larger cultural differences. It promoted a sense of belonging within the group.

In other areas where the exhibits did not allow for sharing in the same way, the conversations opened up into smaller debates. Again, the topic of debate was not about difference but about exclusions and personal experiences. With exhibits that did not provoke debate, individuals were interested in the history of their area. In exhibits where particular communities were discussed there was more debate. In particular, a temporary exhibition to commemorate the end of the First World War drew comment on the lack of history about Sikh soldiers. The city has memorials to these soldiers (and to soldiers from Commonwealth and allied countries) but this exhibition omitted them entirely. For the person who commented on this, it seemed to encapsulate her experience of living in the UK – she had been told that her master's degree in history from India did not count here either. In the exhibition about migration to Leicester,

there was pride in seeing familiar businesses but the exhibition was so text heavy that the messages and story was lost. One of the groups assumed it was the gift shop due to the modern, everyday objects.

In the family groups, the emotions around some of their experiences were more prominent due to the visits being smaller and more personal. On these visits I encountered more anger and sadness than with the larger groups. On these visits I noticed that reaction where the museum promotes the colonial narratives during the wars, and focuses on one side of some of the stories.

I entered all of the data into Nvivo and coded based on my three questions.

1. How do the senses impact on the museum visiting experience?
2. What do visitors feel when they go around the museum?
3. How does local museum visiting make a difference to local super-diverse communities?

I coded based on emotional experiences, then coded further based on type of emotion. I looked at sensory engagement and what type of senses were involved. I also coded for experiences and culture sharing during the visits. This helped me make sense of the visits and divide the data into themes and questions.

In taking a step back from the visits and considering my visual data, I also wanted to provide a focus on the emotions of the people with whom I spent time. I wanted to encapsulate their emotions in images as well as words. Rather than simply add in the images I used in my data, I have included drawn portraits of some of the people I got to know. These portraits are taken from snapshots when they were drawn into an emotional encounter.

The change

The data and analysis leads to ideas about how the Newarke Houses Museum and other local social history museums can improve their engagement with their local communities. There were some general observations around the visits that did not neatly fit into any of the questions. For example, this particular museum relies on text for detailed descriptions. For the groups, who were all learning English, this was off

putting. One person even said that she would like to improve her English and then come back so she could learn more. She took that to mean that as her language was not at a level that meant she could comfortably understand, she was at fault. Social history museums should look at the language they use and the amount of text used in their exhibits to encourage people who do not have English as a first language to feel confident in visiting.

While I was not actively exploring language learning within the museum space, there was a noticeable increase in confidence from almost everyone in using English. The Real English in Action classes were designed specifically to promote this and the preparation before each visit included practicing some basic questions to ask in the venue. When we visited the museum, the conversation went beyond these basic questions and into discussing experiences and asking about objects. Some museums have links with local ESOL classes and allow them to hold their lessons in their spaces (Armitage, 2017; Clarke, 2010; Cloutier et al, 2016). Evidence from my visits supports this and for those who are not based in a museum, I would recommend museum visits to build confidence in those learning.

From my questions about the senses and experiences of people in the museum, there were some clear outcomes. Firstly, people want to share their experiences. If there is an opportunity to chat about a common object or event, people will take that opportunity to connect with others. The simplest of objects in the museum triggered these encounters, especially ones that related to childhood or areas that people lived in. There was discussion of similarities and differences around these objects. There was also some confusion over why some objects were in the museum. Where we (the institution) might think that bringing an everyday object with you when migrating might be interesting, it is not necessarily interesting or relevant to people who have made that journey. The Kampala to Leicester exhibition in the Newarke Houses Museum was developed as a temporary exhibition in conjunction with the local people who experienced the migration from Uganda to the UK. However, in redisplaying it as a permanent exhibition it lost some of the relevance. It also captures a snapshot of one group of people in the city.

Continuing along this thought of representation, the museum represents a very white centric history of the city. Communities and groups are only mentioned if there was a particular event worth mentioning. The story of the steady migration and settling of people from around the world is not embedded in the museum itself. Where particular communities or groups are mentioned it highlights the absence of other communities. This is not to say that events that impacted or involved only one community should not be exhibited, but where many communities came together and only one is mentioned, the absence is jarring. In the Regimental Museum (which covers almost half of this museum) there are colonial references. The history of the Regiment uses outdated terminology and country names. This could be used to tell the history of the Regiment but also decolonise the museum's story. There was interest in the objects and stories from the Regiment and people were making connections to countries where that the Regiment had served. This is another opportunity to unpack the history of the city, and the story of the people of the city around the world.

Finally, I have built on the literature around working with groups of people. Building of the work of Jephcott (1964,1971) and Frankenburg (1967) I took time to get to know the people I was working with. I had the opportunity to spend around nine months visiting one group on a weekly basis and six weeks with another. With these groups, I was able to get to know everyone, and they me. We were still in a teaching environment, but it gave us time to explain my ideas and also listen to their ideas. With the groups I could not spend as much time with, I found that we did not share as much as we had in the other groups.

The current social climate

As I write this, we have two crises that are shaking the world. The Coronavirus pandemic has put us into lockdown or isolation and it is disproportionally affecting black, Asian and minority ethnic people (British Heart Foundation, 2020). Museums are closed and are attempting to remain current and remembered via social media and educational projects for schools. The #BlackLivesMatter movement has gained increasing support after the murder of George Floyd in Minneapolis, USA. This has bought racial inequality into the forefront of the media and prompted marches and protests across the world, regardless of the pandemic. Historical narratives are being

corrected, statues toppled and museums are having to re-evaluate their collections and interpretation.

I have considered my social position in relation to this project throughout. As a white, middle class researcher who is embedded in the institution, it is very easy for me to other the people I would like to work with and speak for them. My aim in this project is to show how museums can be better at representing the people in their local communities. I am part of the museum institution as a trustee. We are meant to represent communities that we are not part of. The board is entirely white and middle class and in some cases entirely removed from how diverse the city can be. I want to use my privileged position to normalise diverse representation in museums and to move away from sensationalising or othering stories unnecessarily. This sits side by side with the wider decolonisation agenda.

Conclusion

From the outset of this project I wanted to listen to the people I was working with. I wanted to find out how they felt and experienced a museum I was overly familiar with. In the process I met a wonderful group of people who all class Leicester as home, while still referring to their place of birth as home. I have developed a greater understanding of my own home city and learnt about how there is a sense of belonging here that can be increased by telling the full story of the place. In starting on this journey, I joined others on theirs via the ESOL classes. Since completing my fieldwork I have met a few of the people I worked with in the street and found out how they have been doing since we visited the museum. This sense of belonging and community is something that should extend throughout the museum.

My overall aim to explore the experiences of people from different heritages that have settled in Leicester in the local social history museum has shown that there are ways in which museums can improve the representation of their local communities. People visit spaces where they feel comfortable and by recognising the diverse groups that live in the area, there is the likelihood that a more diverse cross section of the community will visit. Many of the people from the groups had already visited at least one museum in Leicester. Of the family groups, the children had also all visited one of

the museums with their schools. When asked about visiting again, the people who said they did not want to visit again said the content did not interest them.

People are interested in the area that they live in and its history. By telling inclusive history, more people may be encouraged to visit the museum. The space is also a space to share experiences. Allowing discussion, conversation and learning through the right exhibits and objects that do not reply on language ability will bring more people into the museum to share and to learn. Local social history museums have the potential to be hubs for social sharing and gaining better understanding of cultures.

This thesis does not follow a traditional format from here. In reviewing the narrative of the research a literature review-methodology-findings-discussion format would not allow a full exploration of the project or its findings. To avoid the flow of the thesis being disjointed I have opted for a more narrative approach. Following on from this introduction I move on to address the background of project. Chapter 2: The Place, introduces Leicester as a super-diverse series of communities. It also places the groups I worked with within the city. Chapter 3: The theories behind the thoughts, explores the theories that underpin the project. This chapter looks that methodologies that others have used in relation to working with groups, communities and also creative methods to explore emotions and experiences. Chapter 4: The People and our Purpose outlines the story of the visits and how the methodologies contributed, or not, to the collection of data. In Chapter 5: Collecting our Thoughts, I begin to introduce the data collected that aligns with themes around memory and evidence of colonialism on the visits. Collecting our Experiences (Chapter 6), presents the data around sensory engagement in the museum. From the collected data, I looked at my own experiences and how I translated them into further data through drawing, this thought process and literature around it is presented in Chapter 7: Drawing (on) my Data. Chapter 8: Communities and ESOL begin to compare the data with the literature around working with community groups and language learners and draw out further findings. In a similar way, Chapter 9, 10 and 11 take the findings from the sensory, emotional and experiential data, situate them in the literature and move that literature forward. Chapter 12: Policy and Outcomes, details the practical applications of the findings

alongside current museum and local authority policies. Finally, on Chapter 13, I reflect on the whole process.

Chapter 2: The Place

The location of this study is as important as the methods and theories it is based upon. In order to explore the experiences of people who live near the museum, the museum has to be accessible to areas of super-diversity. In 2007, Steven Vertovec first used the term super-diversity in relation to communities that have no clear majority demographics, stressing that additional criteria should be considered alongside ethnicity or country of origin of residents (p.1025). In this chapter I am going to introduce super-diversity as a concept and the developments since 2007. I will then apply the concept to the communities of Leicester and how this makes Leicester the ideal place to undertake this project. The history of the city plays an important role in how and why it has become the diverse series of communities it is today.

> "One cannot ignore the fact that every present society has grown out of earlier societies and points beyond itself to a diversity of possible futures" (Elias, 1987. p.226)

Rather than introduce the people I worked with in my methodology chapter, I am going to include that in this chapter. The groups I worked with were dependent on the location of the language classes they attended and also the local areas they came from. This project would not work as well in areas where the population was not as diverse.

Leicester as one large community

Leicester is almost at the centre of England. It is at the intersection of two Roman roads, Watling Street and Fosse Way, and more recently at the crossroads of the M1 and M69 with easy access to the M6. Within an hour's journey is an international airport as well as London and Birmingham by direct rail links. It has two city universities and one nearby county university. Diverse from the beginning, Leicester was co-opted by the Romans. Archaeological evidence shows that a Roman cemetery in the city centre held people with African heritage (BBC, 2016). Due to the easy river links with the Derbyshire Dales, the wool, hosiery and leather trades became essential to the city with garment manufacturing remaining a key business. Following World

War II there was an influx of Irish workers to the city to support these trades (King & O'Connor, 1996). At the same time, some of the Polish Forces personnel who no longer felt welcome in Communist Poland also settled in the city (Vidal-Hall, 2003). In addition to these new communities, throughout the 1950s the Caribbean and Asian communities grew, mainly comprised of people from Commonwealth countries (p.136). This was encouraged by the British National Act in 1948 that allowed Commonwealth citizens to migrate to Britain. This included people who had travelled to the UK from the Caribbean as part of the Windrush generation. Encouraged by Leicester's rich manufacturing industries people from all over the Commonwealth moved into Leicester. As O'Connor (1995) states "Leicester's African Caribbean community is arguably one of the most neglected of the ethnic groups in terms of research" (p.25). Sadly, the Afro-Caribbean community is also neglected in this study as I worked with people who were part of ESOL classes. As a result of the colonialisation of the Caribbean, English has been an official language of many of the islands. Due to this, there are very few if any Afro-Caribbean people in ESOL classes.

Afro-Caribbean arrivals were earlier in the 20th Century and people were attracted by the job opportunities. Much like any new arrivals to the city the main areas people moved into where areas of high density housing close to the city centre. As the city was redeveloped and communities relocated to the new housing estates further from the centre, the Afro-Caribbean community moved too. O'Connor (1995,p.25) mentions that the Census data from 1971,1981 and 1991 show this pattern emerging, and the data from 2001 and 2010 shows that there are thriving communities settled in the Braunstone and Beaumont Leys areas to the west of the city centre. Leicester's Caribbean Carnival is one of the largest in the UK and has been established for over 30 years.

In 1972, with the expulsion of the Asians from Uganda, Leicester experienced an influx of families joining the city. Families were attracted to the area, partially due to the already established East Asian community and partially due to the efforts of the council in attempting to warn people off. Posters were placed in airports and railway stations claiming that Leicester was full. This had the opposite of the desired outcome, as with an already settled community and resettlement camps nearby, it was easy for

newcomers to visit to look for work and homes (Marett, 1993, p.258). Having an already established community meant that there were some community organisations already in place to create a sense of belonging.

In the 1970s, some of the people of Leicester struggled with accepting its new arrivals. In 1973 and 1976 the National Front used the housing of Ugandan Asians in council housing as the focus of their campaign. By 1973 some of the families had been in the city for a year and then qualified for council housing (Marett, 1993. p. 253). Local industry had found that there was a raft of people who were happy to work for a low wage. At Imperial Typewriters in 1974, when it was discovered that Asian workers were not being paid as much as their white counterparts, there was a strike. This was a turning point for many low paid workers in the city, but also for solidarity between white and Asian workers who took on "bosses, prejudiced employees, and the fascist National Front" in a 14 week strike (The Strike at Imperial Typewriters, 2019). Following the strike, the Council committed themselves to anti-racist policies and by the 1980s had "a raft of non-statutory measures and guidelines for training, recruitment and tackling racism" (Machin & Mayr, 2007. p. 455). The number of local councillors from ethnic communities around Leicester began to increase.

Since 1979 and in particular following Enoch Powell's "Rivers of Blood" speech in 1968[3], the city had been (and remains) a Labour Party stronghold. "The party claimed to have transformed the city into 'a leading case of European civic multiculturalism'" (Singh, 2003. p. 40). In the 1990s, Leicester began to lead the way on race relations. The first British Council of Race Relations was founded in Leicester in 1992. In 1994, Vertovec observed the increase in representation of different communities within the council as well as other community positions such as head teachers. He noted that there were Asian councillors in 1969 and this number had grown considerably.

> "Leicester City Council…had managed to create a model for community based on diversity being valued." (Machin & Mayr, 2007. p. 457)

[3] Enoch Powell was a Conservative MP who made a speech against mass immigration, particularly from Commonwealth countries. The speech led to Powell being dismissed from the Conservative Party.

In the 2000s, almost an entire Somalian community moved to Leicester from the Netherlands to join family and friends in the area (van Leimpt, 2011). Bonney & Goff (2007) use this twice migration, in relation to the Somalian group and also the Ugandan Asians, to claim that Leicester is "unlike other British multicultural cities" (p.51). This pattern of migration has been mainly large numbers of people from similar communities moving into the area. Incoming groups have usually settled into areas of the city that already have established community networks and have come with joining those networks in mind. The patterns of migration to the city have changed since the Somalian arrivals between 2000-2010. With the addition of more countries into the EU in 2004 and 2007, there has been an increase in smaller, younger family groups moving to the city. However, this pattern also highlights people arriving from South America as well. In the theme of welcoming people from all over the world, the City Council has endeavoured to support and represent new communities.

> "Once admitted to the UK it is in everyone's interests to give practical support through public, private and voluntary sectors and assist the rapid acceptance and integration of new communities for the benefit of all." (Leicester City Council, 2004)

Since we are between censuses, current trends are based on my observations, but since the last Census in 2011, there does not seem to have been a large scale migration to the city like that of the Somalian or East Asian communities. I will review the Census data later in this chapter. The city remains a City of Sanctuary[4] and so welcomes family groups from all over the world. There are notable shifts within the city that I will describe in detail below. In some areas the Eastern European communities are more established. From speaking with a community worker in the Belgrave area of the city, he has observed that there are more people arriving from the Daman area of India. They are arriving with resources to purchase property and set up businesses in the Belgrave area. Vertovec (2007) recognises the shift in migration patterns and that smaller scale migrations are not as simple to track or to

[4] Cities of Sanctuary provide additional support for asylum seekers and refugees. The network provides support for new arrivals in cities across the country and links up with partner institutions. https://leicester.cityofsanctuary.org/

include in larger scale policy making around inclusion and exclusion (p.1039). I would argue that Leicester has achieved “diversity as normalcy” (Meissner & Vertovec, 2015. p.550). However, there are some areas of policy that have not caught up with this in particular where individuals have moved into new areas (Vertovec, 2007. p.1028).

Diversity and Leicester now go hand in hand. As an emerging culturally diverse city, in the 1960s, Leicester’s council began to put policies in place to encourage community cohesion. Singh (2003) documents the progress within Leicester from 1960s into the early Millennium. Leicester in that time developed a series of policies that changed the city from being one of the most racist in the UK to the most culturally cohesive. Much of the political force behind the policies came from the Labour Party in the early 1970s who wanted to push a multicultural agenda in Leicester. With the new arrivals from Uganda this gained momentum within the city and as a result opened up funding from inner city development funds that was used to support local community groups (ibid. p.44). This funding was used to develop the city’s festivals, that Singh (2003) suggests should not be used as a sign that communities are cohesive within the city, but also to provide specific public services (Hassen & Giovanardi, 2018. p.48). Singh (2003) warns of efforts to promote inclusion and multiculturalism through festivals and the idea of a “carnival view of multiculturalism”. He feels that the Council uses this as basis for their policies (Machin & Mayr, 2007. p. 457). Two weaknesses in Leicester were identified by Bonney & Le Goff (2007) one being that the relationships between different cultures in different parts of the city appeared to be on a community leader level with links between the people on the street extremely low. The second weakness being that communities tend to segregate themselves (p.61). In 2005, this was a concern of Trevor Phillips who was the chairman of the Commission for Racial Equality at the time. He believed that Leicester would eventually turn into a series of ghettos (Bonney & Le Goff, 2007.p. 70; Machin & Mayr, 2007.p.458). Both of these points I will address later in this chapter when discussing the city as a series of diverse spaces.

In Singh’s (2003) description of the “Leicester Model”, the idea that Leicester functions as a multicultural society due to not having been blighted by riots or protests like in other multicultural towns and cities, highlights some of the super-diverse characteristics of the city. He stresses that distinctions within ethnicities needed to be

recognised when creating local policies. For example, many East Asian communities were twice migrants (as mentioned above), having settled in Africa before moving to the UK. The differences between the financial capital bought from Kenya and Uganda are described below; however the experience of having set up businesses and communities in one country was also brought with them and so setting up businesses in Leicester was not a new experience.

In 2007, the Centre for Social Action at De Montfort University was commissioned by Leicester City Council to assess community cohesion in the city (De Montfort University, 2007). Their report recognises the already diverse city at that stage and sought to show how involved local people were in their local community through engagement with volunteering or understanding who their neighbours were. The project surveyed people on an individual basis. However, the list of "groups represented" were for the majority and judging by the names of the people listed, white. The conclusion of the paper was more about the effectiveness of the project and how it could shape further surveys.

Bonney & Goff (2007) argue that this sets Leicester apart from other diverse areas. They say that communities who have migrated to other countries prior to moving to the UK are better equipped and more able to settle into a new community and recognise opportunities (p.52). Wekker (2019) uses the term "commonplace diversity" to express that migrant communities are not unusual in certain place. In Wakker's (ibid) context, however, it refers to boundaries created between people of different race, class or lifestyle (p.91).

Super-diversity

A result of an increase in migration from different countries all over the world, some spaces within large cities are increasingly diverse. We live in a global society. Communication and movement are now quick and easy. This allows for sharing of resources and maintaining links with heritage and family in different countries. Migration, a subject that I am not going to discuss in detail here, has changed from select mass migration between certain areas, to more low level migration to more varied locations. Vertovec's 2007 seminal article on super-diversity gave a name to the concept of areas that have high diversity of ethnicities, country of origin, socio-

economic status, education, languages or religion (to name just a few). Part of his definition stresses the importance that this is not solely applied to areas where ethnicity is diverse.

> "Such additional variables include differential immigration statuses and their concomitant entitlements and restrictions of rights, divergent labour market experiences, discrete gender and age profiles, patterns of spatial distribution, and mixed local area responses by service providers and residents. Rarely are these factors described side by side. The interplay of these factors is what is meant here, in summary fashion, by the notion of 'super-diversity'." (Vertovec, 2007. p.1025)

Vertovec (ibid) stresses that in considering the concept of super-diversity, the narratives around the complex matter of migration need to be recognised. How people settle into areas is important to better understand the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion (p.1039). Understanding the development of Leicester into a super-diverse community will underpin the work that museums can do in working towards inclusion within their exhibitions.

His definition is developed from the term diversity, or more often used 'multiculturalism', being inadequate to describe the full extent of the variety of experience in some communities. However, the term multiculturalism comes with its own warnings and has been tainted by Government policies on encouraging multiculturalism that in fact encourage the idea of "integration". Following the community unrest in Bradford, David Blunket published the White Paper on Secure Borders, Safe Haven: Integration and Diversity in Modern Britain,

> "To enable integration to take place and to value the diversity it brings, we need to be secure within our sense of belonging and identity and therefore to be able to reach out and to embrace those who come to the UK" (Home Office, 2002, p.1)

Ted Cantle, founder of the Institute of Community Cohesion and The Cohesion and Integration Network says "it is about envisioning the world as we want it to be, rather than be determined by our separate past histories" (Cantle, N.D.).

Vertovec (2007) suggests that the large group migration in the past which led to multicultural social practices being developed, has paved the way for smaller groups and individuals to move into new areas and countries. Pioneer migrants bring their own culture, religion, financial status and languages with them as they settle (Wessendorf, 2019). In areas where this is happening, Vertovec (2007) says policy needs to reflect the new communities (p.1028). In a later article, Meissner & Vertovec (2015) highlight three ways in which super-diversity can be invoked: first as a description of the areas that no longer neatly fit into the description of diverse; secondly as a shift in methodology moving forward from an ethno-focal focus; and thirdly a shift in policy taking into account the super-diversity of global migration (p.542-543). In this project all three of these uses will be taken into consideration.

Since 2007, super-diversity has been linked to a variety of academic disciplines. Vertovec (2019) observes that in each of the disciplines the term has been used in slightly different ways (p.127). In this study I intend to use it as a backdrop or foundation to describe the city. I will also be using it to temper my language, assumptions and observations during the data collecting process. In the next section I will place super-diversity within the geographical, historical and social realms of Leicester.

Leicester as a series of super-diverse spaces

Leicester is a super-diverse city with 50.6% of the city's population describing themselves as white (UK Census, 2012d) in comparison to the UK average of 85.3% (UK Census, 2012a). The other 49.4% of the population are comprised of approximately 28% of Indian heritage and higher proportions of people from diverse ethnicities than the national averages. This makes Leicester unique in its composition, but also in the manner in which the communities geographically split. The centre of the city is enclosed within a ring road which creates a boundary between the closest communities and the predominantly commercial centre. On the outskirts of the ring road are communities of closely built terraced housing, which are converted Victorian terraces, factories and purpose built high-rise domestic housing (see figure 1 below: Belgrave, Wycliffe, Castle, Fosse, Westcotes and Spinney Hill). There are two universities in the city, both on the ring road boundary and many of the terraced

houses near these institutions are let to the student population (figure 1: Westcotes & Castle). Increasing new conversions and developments in the city are purpose-built student accommodation blocks.

The documentation of new arrivals to the city was easy to track in the 1960s and 1970s. Marett (1993) describes how council housing was not allocated automatically to Ugandan Asians coming to Leicester in 1972. No concessions were made to the residency rule, meaning "that one year's residence was necessary" before being eligible for a council property (p.252). This was based on the precedent set when a large number of Kenyan Asians relocated to the city and had come able to purchase houses and businesses to establish themselves.

> "…the Kenyan Asians, who had managed to transfer important financial resources. In Uganda, by contrast, there were severe limitations on what Asians were allowed to leave the country with." (Vertovec, 1994 p.12)

This often meant that families were living in overcrowded conditions and were in danger of being exploited by unscrupulous landlords. At the same time, Leicester Polytechnic[5] (now De Montfort University) expanded and much of the terraced housing in the Westcotes area was bought up for student housing. This also displaced East Asian families and others who had settled in the Narborough Road area (ibid).

New arrivals to the city who do not come with a wealth of resources end up housed close to the centre in the densely populated areas with multiple occupancy housing. Those who arrive with resources can afford to settle in more affluent areas as the Kenyan Asians did. As individuals and families become more settled they then move further away from the city boundary and into areas where their community needs can be met, such as close to a place of worship, school or to more appropriate housing.

[5] Leicester Polytechnic was a higher educational institution between 1969 and 1992, following a change in Government educational legislation, it became De Montfort University.

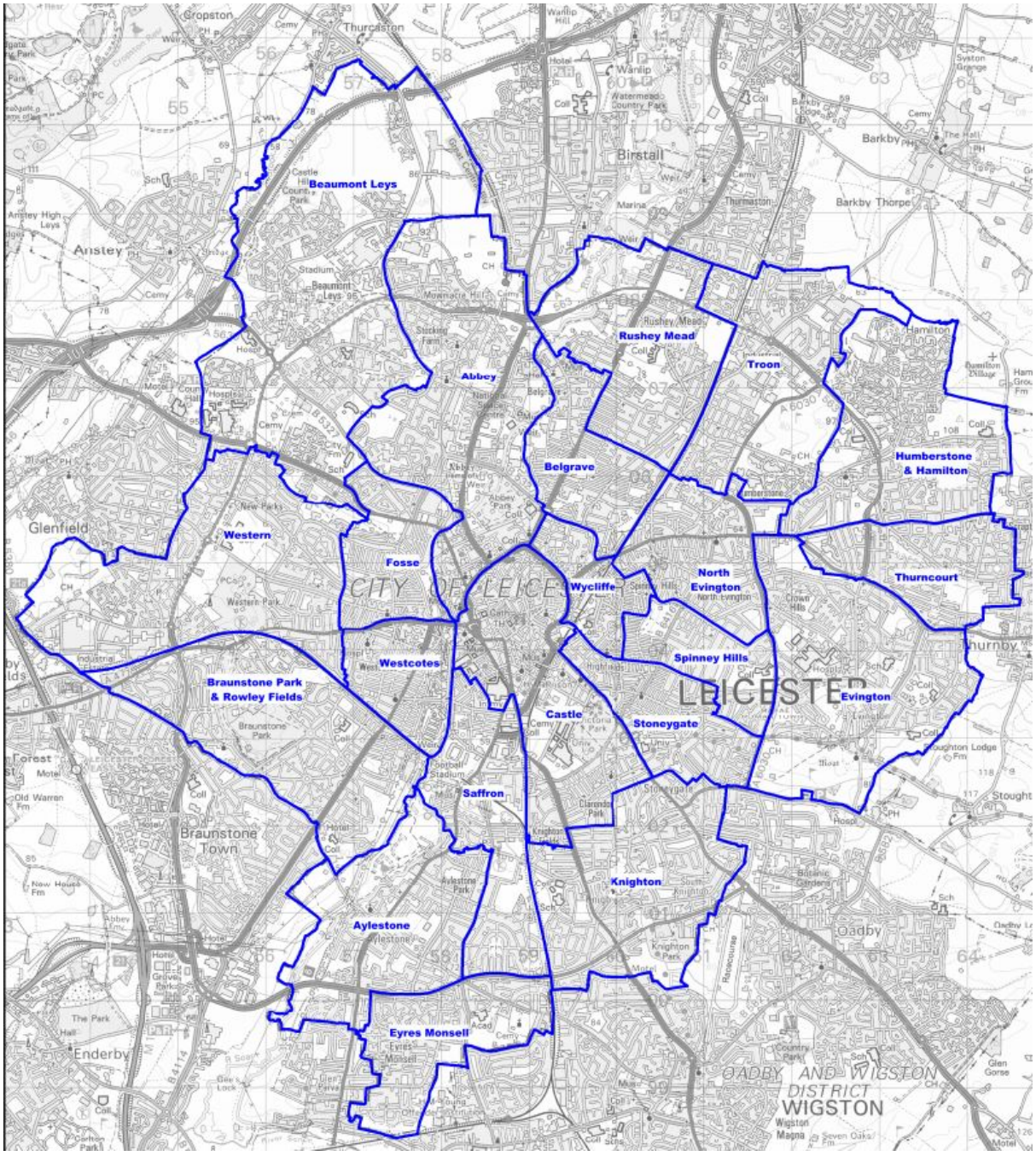


Figure 3 Leicester Wards (Leicester City Council, 2014)

Transition areas

I am focusing my analysis of the city on the South side of the city. This is because the transition areas lie on this side of the city and all of the participants in my study came from near or around these areas. The north of the city has more settled communities, which I mention elsewhere in this chapter. Leicester has developed a number of transition areas, where new arrivals to the city tend to move before settling and relocating within Leicester (King & O'Connor, 1996; see figure 4 below). In the 1950s a lot of the White working class communities were moved from high density housing in Spinney Hills (formerly part of Colman Ward) and other areas close to the city centre, out into new social housing estates in Eyres Monsell, Saffron Lane (Saffron), Braunstone (Braunstone Park & Rowley Fields) and New Parks (Western). This left in-expensive multiple occupancy housing available for rent for new communities to move into.

Spinney Hills and North Evington developed into an inexpensive and easy place for new arrivals from India and East Asia. Businesses were established and temples, mosques and community centres catered for people from India, Bangladesh, Pakistan and other smaller communities who shared either a religion, language or culture. As people settled in to the city, they then moved out into the wider Evington area, Rushey Mead or Stoneygate, where the housing is less dense. This then allows more new arrivals into the area.

> "By the late seventies there was a decided move by the majority from the ethnic rental sector to owner-occupation and a concentration in the Belgrave area which was seen as more prestigious then Highfields (Phillips, 1981)" (Marett, 1993. p. 253)

A second transition area has developed in Westcotes around Narborough Road. Narborough Road is "the most diverse high street in the UK" according to Hall et al.'s (2015) study. This area is adjacent to De Montfort University and has traditionally housed the majority of De Montfort University's students. In the last 10 years, in line with the removal of the cap on student numbers, there has been more purpose built student accommodation built in the city and so this area has a large amount of available multiple occupancy housing. As there was no large scale migration to this

area and it mainly catered for students from all over the world, the shops began to do the same. The area has a temple, mosque and churches. The community is varied with people from all over the world using it as a transition point. I will describe the data on ethnicity, age and date of arrival to the UK and other pertinent information in these areas later in this chapter.

Vidal-Hall's (2003) description of how the city has changed in her lifetime looks at some of the political changes within the city. She grew up in Leicester, moving away in the 1960s, shortly before some of the major migration to the city (p.132). On an extended stay twenty years later she observed a number of distinct changes. The city was once labelled "the most racist in the UK" (p.135). The National Front were a strong presence until 1979. At this point the local council began to invest in its local communities. This investment has led to the city becoming a lot more cohesive. Leicester now prides itself on celebrating difference and that there is something and some place for everyone.

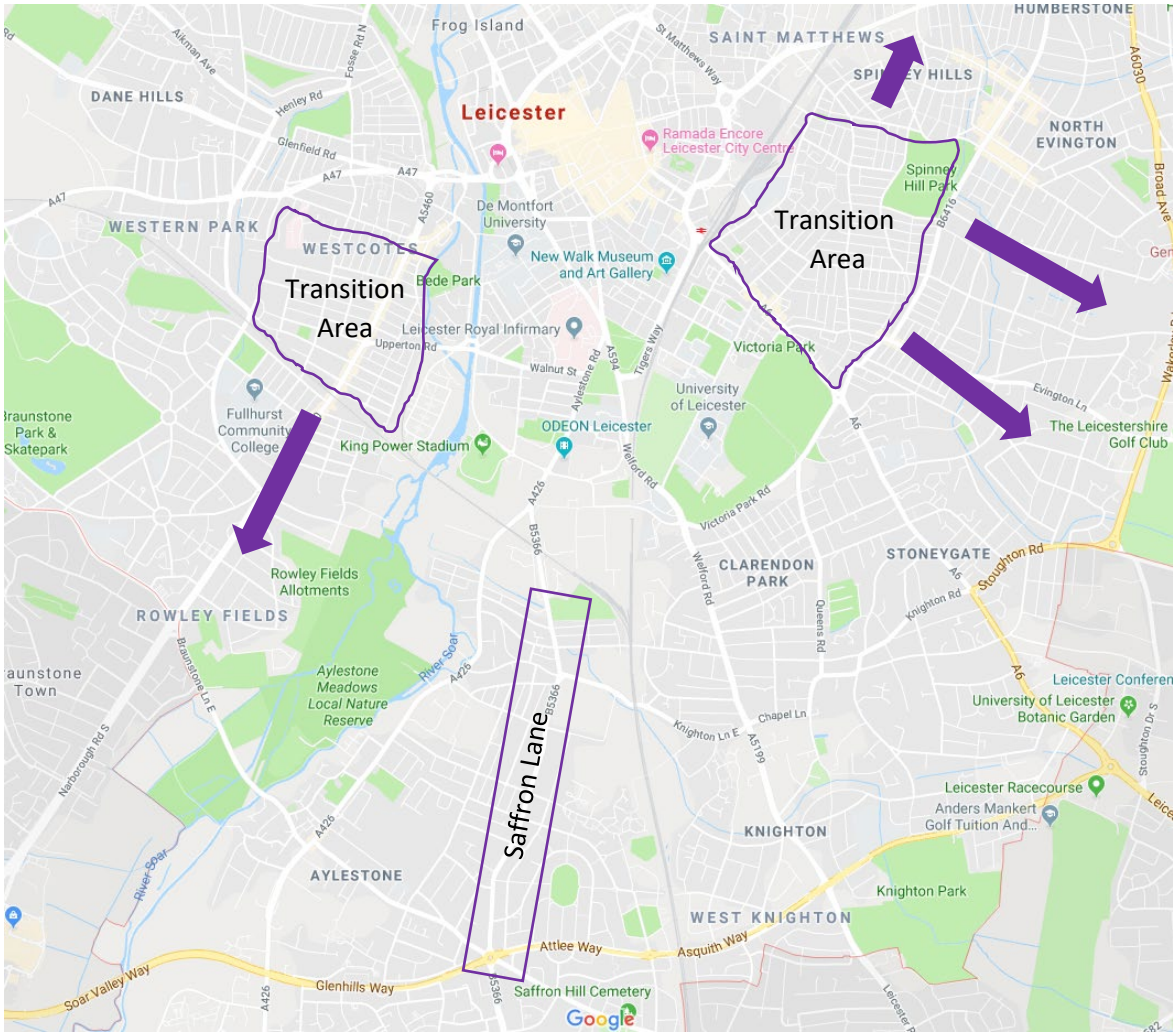


Figure 4: Transition Areas and Saffron Lane

2011 Census Data

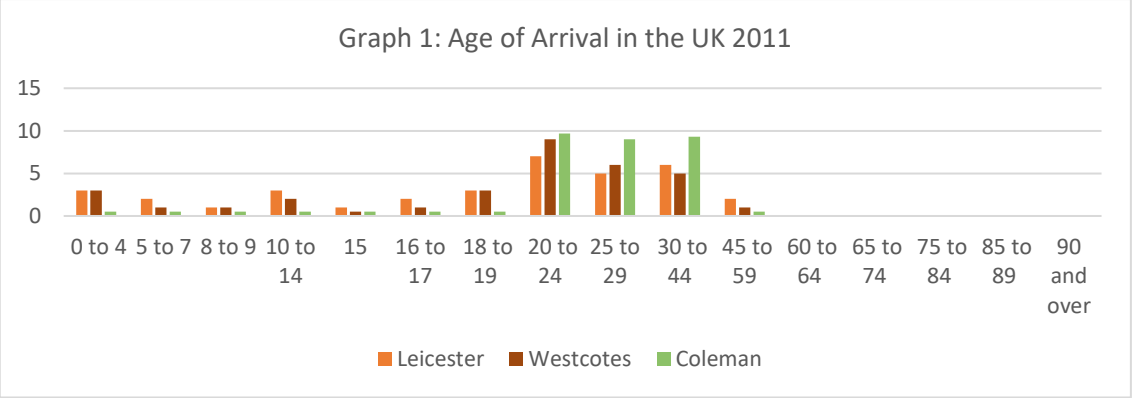
The Census Data shows us patterns in arrivals to the areas in question, and helps to show how the migration pattern changes depending on age and which transition areas people are drawn towards. In the city as a whole, approximately 66% of people were born in the UK; in Westcotes this number is 67% (most likely skewed by the number of students also in the area) and in Coleman/Spinney Hills 50% of people were born in the UK. I will refer to Spinney Hills as Coleman for this section of the analysis as the ward boundaries changed in 2015. Census data from 2011 are based on the old ward boundaries.

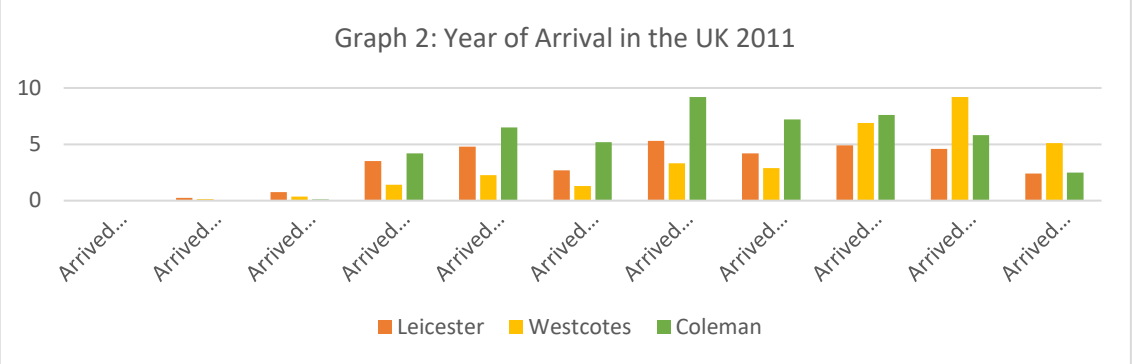
Of those who were not UK born, the general ages of arrival in Leicester are evenly spread across 20 to 45 years old. The younger age groups imply that they arrived in family groups. In the Westcotes ward, there is a peak in the 20 to 24 age group.

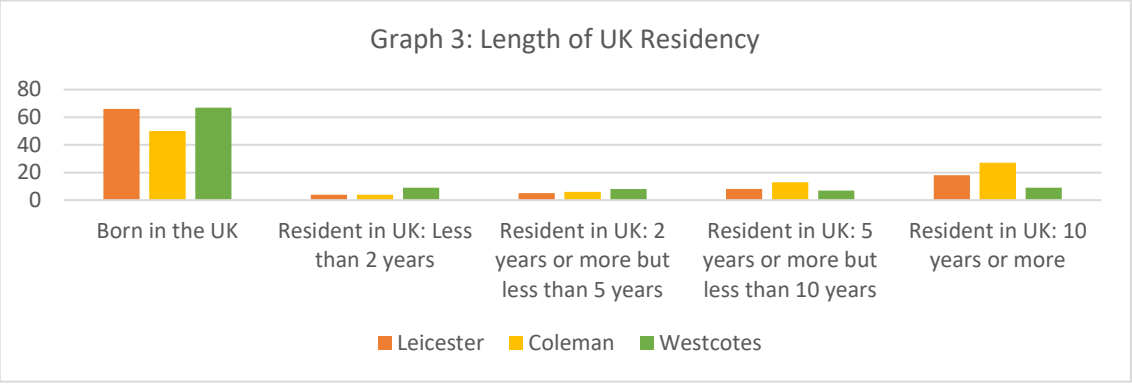
While this probably incudes some of the students in the area, it indicates that the population moving into Westcotes is younger, sometimes with younger families. The number of people arriving in the UK between the ages of 25 and 45 steadily decreases. There are very few people coming into the city over the age of 60 in the Westcotes area. In the Coleman ward, around 27% of the residents arrived between the ages of 20 and 44.

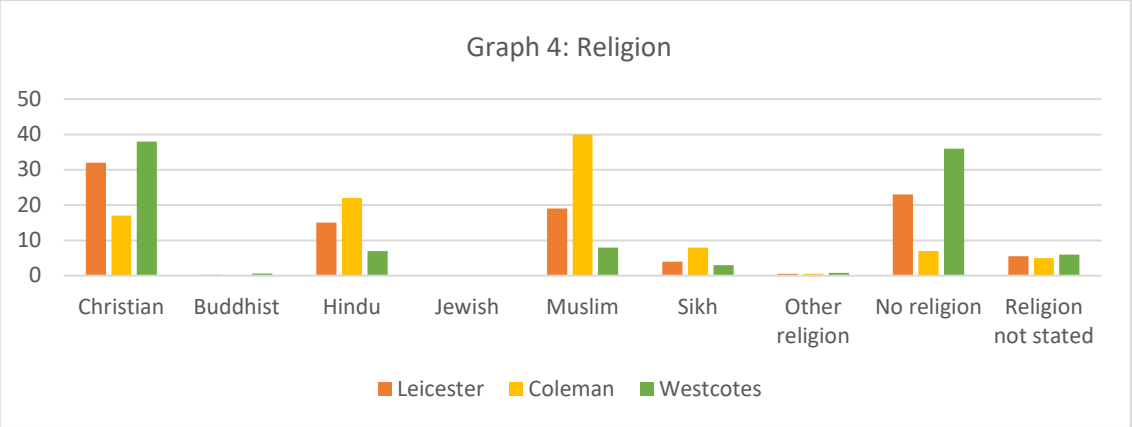
I can outline the stories of these two areas using the data on year of arrival, age of arrival and length of UK residency (graphs on page 36). There are general peaks in new arrivals, between 1971-1980 from Uganda with Idi Amin's expulsion of the Ugandan Asians, in the 1990s with people fleeing conflicts in the Middle East, then in 2000s there was the arrival of the Dutch Somalian communities and the integration of new countries in the EU. In Colman, the peaks match the arrival of the Ugandan Asians in 1972 and the Somalian community in the 2000s. There was also general movement of families to the area to join up with other families and the housing of refugees from the Balkans, Kurdistan, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan in the 1990s. Many of these would have settled in the area and joined temples, mosques and community groups where religion and culture were shared (Leicester City Council, 2012). In Westcotes, the peaks coincide with other events and migration to this area is steady until 2004. This is when Slovenia, Slovakia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Cyprus joined the EU allowing free movement of people into the UK. In 2007, Romania and Bulgaria joined these countries. By including the data on length of residency, it shows that the newer arrivals are settling in Westcotes, which again matches with the introduction of new EU countries and increased free movement.

The next section focuses on the two areas where the ESOL groups in the project are located and where the groups generally live in Leicester. Once the areas have been introduced, I will introduce the people who I worked with in the classes and how demographically they relate to the project.


Graph 1: Age of Arrival in the UK 2011
15
10
5
0
0 to 4
5 to 7
8 to 9
10 to 14
15
16 to 17
18 to 19
20 to 24
25 to 29
30 to 44
45 to 59
60 to 64
65 to 74
75 to 84
85 to 89
90 and over
Leicester
Westcotes
Coleman


Graph 2: Year of Arrival in the UK 2011
10
5
0
Arrived...
Arrived...
Arrived...
Arrived...
Arrived...
Arrived...
Arrived...
Arrived...
Arrived...
Arrived...
Arrived...
Leicester
Westcotes
Coleman


Graph 3: Length of UK Residency
80
60
40
20
0
Born in the UK
Resident in UK: Less than 2 years
Resident in UK: 2 years or more but less than 5 years
Resident in UK: 5 years or more but less than 10 years
Resident in UK: 10 years or more
Leicester
Coleman
Westcotes


Graph 4: Religion
50
40
30
20
10
0
Christian
Buddhist
Hindu
Jewish
Muslim
Sikh
Other religion
No religion
Religion not stated
Leicester
Coleman
Westcotes

St Matthews, Spinney Hills and Coleman

Coleman ward has a slightly more varied mix of ethnicities than Spinney Hills alone. The majority ethnicity is Indian/British Indian at 54.4% with the next largest population as White British at 16.3% (UK Census Data, 2012c). The remaining population has a more even spread across the ethnicities in comparison to Spinney Hills, which more closely resembles the percentages in Leicester as a whole. This area also does not factor as an area of high deprivation (Indices of Multiple Deprivation 2015). Spinney Hills and Highfields are the main areas of initial settling for many Ugandan Asians who did not move with funds to purchase property in the 1970s. Since then, as some families established themselves and looked to move into larger housing there has been a migration of families into the Belgrave area "which was considered more prestigious than Highfields" (Marett, 1993. p.253) and has a community of Kenyan Indians from previous mass migration. Vertovec (1994) described Belgrave as having been revived by the arrival of East African Asians who were not keen on having other new communities move in. From my personal experience of the Highfields and Spinney Hills area, in the last 30 years it has gone from looking run down to having a number of established businesses and community centres.

The St Matthews area of the city sits between Spinney Hills and the more lucrative Belgrave areas. There was a small number of Somalian people living in this area until the mid-2000s when a large group relocated from the Netherlands to settle in Leicester (Van Leimpt, 2011).

Westcotes

In a study funded by the ESRC, Hall et al. (2015) identified Narborough Road in Westcotes (the main road adjacent to Hinckley Road) as one of four 'super-diverse' high streets in the UK. Their study focuses on the area from the point of view of the changing high street, however they also identify the countries that the shop proprietors were born in. From their findings, they identified 22 different countries of birth. Those countries, discounting those that have English as an official language, are Poland, Lithuania, Turkey, Somalia, Kurdistan, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan (Hall et al. 2015, p. 8). In addition, "79% of the shop proprietors speak more than one language, while 63% speak three languages or more" (p.4).

This area is also adjacent to one of Leicester's universities and used to house a large number of students in shared terraced housing. Marett (1993) observes that expansion of De Montfort University (formerly Leicester Polytechnic) created competition in Westcotes and Highfields where both students and the East African population were seeking cheap accommodation (p.252). With the further expansion of the universities in the city in the 2000s, blocks of purpose built managed accommodation were developed and the student population moved out of privately owned rental housing into the new purpose built blocks. This left a huge amount of cheap multiple occupancy housing available to individuals moving into the city from across the world.

Unlike Spinney Hills, this area has become home to small group and individual migrants from around the world. As mentioned above, the inclusion of new countries in the EU allowed for free movement: if people were looking to settle in Leicester they could find people who spoke their language, local support and cheap housing in this area. From working with the Workers Education Association, it is apparent that there is local housing for asylum seekers and refugees nearby. The Census data on Year of Arrival (see graph 2 above) also indicates that arrivals increased between 2000-2009, which matches with the EU expansion. The ages of the new arrivals are younger, with fewer children arriving, which can be interpreted as young people looking for working opportunities rather than family groups.

Introducing the groups

English language classes for speakers of other languages (ESOL) take place regularly across the city due to number of people who do not have English as a first or additional language. The groups are usually based on ability and begin from Entry 1-3, then level 1-2. Each class or level has assessments in reading, speaking, listening and writing. ESOL classes were the ideal place to find a variety of people from different backgrounds and ethnicities in one place. As a class this would also mean that they would meet on a regular basis and so with permission I would be able to engage with the group regularly in order to build a relationship with them.

My intentions had been to work with one group over 12-18 months, build relationships and make multiple visits with them in a group, as individuals and with

their families to the museum. Once this plan came into contact with the outside world, there were a number of hurdles. The plans were adapted to the situations I found myself in, in order to build and maintain relationships, and also to complete enough museum visits to make comparisons and collect data. In this section I will introduce the groups I found myself working with, how I chose which groups to approach and some of the background of the areas the groups were from.

The Workers' Education Association (WEA), is based within Westcotes and in providing English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) courses they bring a broad cross section of the local community together. In the past, I had visited the centre to deliver talks on choosing universities and courses, what qualifications may be needed to get into higher education and to discuss postgraduate options. This was part of my full time professional role as a widening participation officer for the University of Leicester. I did not have much time to develop a rapport with the students at the centre and wanted to build a longer term relationship with a group. In looking into getting more involved I was able to contact them and make enquiries about volunteering on a regular basis. I was open with the WEA about the project and my reasons for volunteering from the beginning and explained that while I was a volunteer I would like to work with one of the ESOL classes with the aim to build a relationship with the group for my project.

I was able to begin volunteering over the summer of 2017; I met with tutors and people hoping to attend classes in the September. I supported registration days at the main WEA centre in Westcotes and the Salma Centre in St Matthews. The people I met at the Salma Centre were welcoming; however, the group there was almost entirely comprised of women from Somalia. This did not fit the diverse composition I was looking for in a group. The Salma Centre was also quite a distance from the museum I was hoping to visit.

One of the ESOL tutors at the main WEA centre was accommodating and wanted to facilitate my project while providing a different learning experience for his group. The tutor was keen to help and agreed that as a group we could visit the museum. The summer assessment and registration days allowed me to meet new and returning individuals and take part in the assessment process for the ESOL classes. It was also an

opportunity to understand the demographics and situations of the people who attend the centre. Once term began I joined the ESOL group once a week as their classroom assistant.

I volunteered with the WEA group for one academic year. Initially I visited them once a week while they met twice a week and in the later terms I went once a fortnight to fit in with my work schedule. However, this class ended abruptly and early due to funding complications. They were also told that they were able to take some assessments that were then withdrawn, which left the mood very low and unfortunately I lost contact with the group. This left me with some unanswered questions. The groups' demographics varied widely. In the WEA group, there were no more than two people from the same country. In the introductory week, we spent a lesson asking each other questions about who we were and where we were from. In addition to this, during a lesson on the phrase "used to" the group were asked to write a page of A4 on what it used to be like for them ten years ago. Where they were happy for me to include some of this information to explain their background, the information is included in the data analysis chapter.

Through my employment, I began to engage with different groups at the Leicester Adult Skills and Learning Service (LASALS). In my enquiries and conversations about ESOL and possible volunteering opportunities, they mentioned a group called "Real English in Action". This group visited cafes and museums to put their English skills in practice. Further enquiries led me to apply as a volunteer for a second academic year of data collection. The "Real English in Action" is a six-week supplementary course that sits with the ESOL Entry 1 & 2 courses. The ESOL tutors at LASALS were also keen to help when I discussed my project. They suggested the REAL English in Action group due to the museum visit. We decided that this could be an opportunity for me to contribute to their programme by volunteering and helping create the sessions in the museum. Once a week they have a short classroom session at the main LASALS Centre in the city and a visit to a local museum, coffee shop or market stall to visit, chat and ask questions of the staff. The group are encouraged to discuss their visits with each other and the other volunteers who are usually ESOL level 1 & 2 learners. The tutor was keen to have me involved as a "professional volunteer" (Keles, 2018). This group

was initially scheduled to visit the New Walk Museum but the tutor agreed to try the Newarke Houses Museum to help with this project with the condition that we change it back if it was not as successful as the other visits.

The Real English in Action groups were smaller groups of 10-15 people from a range of ESOL groups run by LASALS across the city. The course ran for 6 weeks each term for different groups. I was able to work with three groups throughout an academic year. For the first half of the session we would write down and practice key phrases that could be used in the venue we would be visiting later. The venues were the Curve theatre, the Fairtrade shop, Leicester market, Newarke Houses Museum, a charity shop and the Richard III Visitor Centre. There were also volunteers from the higher level ESOL classes. Some of these volunteers were happy to visit the museum again with their family at another time.

Motivations for attending the classes varied from wanting to progress into higher education to simply improving daily interactions with other people. Some of the group had been to previous classes and some also took classes in maths. The whole class took part in the first part of my project that was based within the classes themselves. Initially the group was bigger, but as the first term progressed people moved to other classes or dropped out due to personal commitments, although this was usually due to changes in work commitments.

By spending the academic year with the first group I was able to build relationships with the group. There was a trust that developed between group members, the tutor and myself. Our discussions varied each week and we covered festivals, religion, food and entertainment as well as more academic and languages based topics. Wessendorf (2013) study in Hackney into discussions on diversity found that difference and diversity was not discussed as it was deemed the norm. Wessendorf (2019) conducted research within her own area of London, building relationships with new arrivals in the area. She discussed their social relationships with them in association with their networks in their new city. ESOL classes played a part in developing new network and building knowledge.

> "Getting access to these classes was not only a huge step towards learning English and finally feeling less isolated, but also represented her first opportunity to obtain formal education and access to literacy" (p.26)

In Leicester, reasons for attending the classes varied. In some cases, where the individuals had more recently arrived in the UK the reason was to improve education or employment opportunities. For others, who had been in the UK longer, it was more about getting around better rather than specific reasons. A couple of the group were interested in improving their language skills as their children were now in school and they wanted to support them with their learning.

As Wessendorf (2019) also discusses, some of the very new arrivals viewed the classes as network building. Pioneer migrants with few friend s in the UK used the classes to engage with others in similar situations (p.30). This was echoed in the WEA group where some of the people had only arrived in the UK in the last 5 years. The other groups had a larger number of people from well-established communities in Leicester who were learning to improve their employment prospects or support family.

In the WEA group it was used to get to know each other and share experiences. With the LASALS groups there was little time to find out about people, but some people opened up about their home life or backgrounds on the walks to the venues or in the museum. Many of the LASALS groups also knew each other from their other ESOL classes. Some level of trust was already there in the group. My role as a volunteer put me in a position of authority but with time, I was able to build relationships where this did not impact on the outcomes of the museum visits. It could be argued that being the "local expert" I was able to answer questions people had in the museum and about the history of Leicester. The relationships took on a reciprocal turn where we would share stories together.

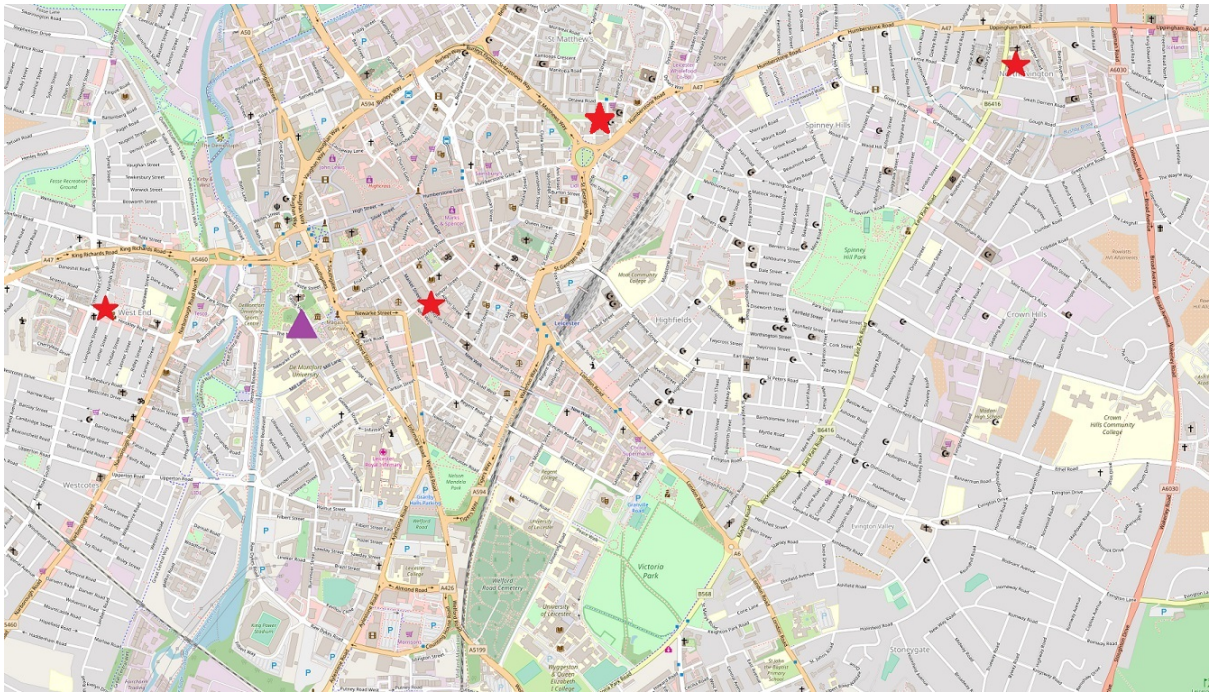


Figure 5 Map of Leicester showing the location of the educations centres (red stars) and the Newarke Houses Museum (purple triangle) Red Stars (left to right) WEA, Adult Education Centre, Salma Centre, St Barnabas Library

Demographics of the groups in relation to Leicester and their areas

There is a focus on the ethnicity of the people I was working with in this project, even though Vertovec (2007) cautions that super-diversity is not solely based on ethnicity. The data above goes into more detail on how local communities contribute towards the super-diverse nature of the city. The graph on page 36 compares ethnicity at a national level, at a Leicester level and at ward levels to the ethnicity of the groups. This shows how the ethnicities of the groups matched the variations across the wards and cities. Both groups together are representative of the ethnic makeup of the city and each group on its own mirrors the larger picture. From the table of members of the ESOL groups, you can see the variety of languages spoken by each person, and the length of time they have been in the UK. Comparing that data to the local area data, the groups again mirror the larger local picture.

This chapter has placed the project firmly in the city. Other areas of the UK have super-diverse qualities, such as Hackney in London. Leicester has the additional advantage of a long history of migration and settlement, with diverse representation

in local council and at governmental level. The city has achieved a level of co-operation and understanding between communities that allows for mutual respect and support. In situating my project here, I am looking at how local museums can reflect the stories of how the city came to be such a super-diverse community.

On page 45 there are comparisons between the UK Census data, local data and the ethnicities of the people in the ESOL groups. The following page has a list of the people in the groups who took part in the visits. I have abbreviated their names to the first two letters of their name or initials to anonymise them. I could have given each person a pseudonym, however I found it easier to keep track of who I was referring to by abbreviating names instead.

This chapter has introduced why the Leicester is an ideal location in which to place this project. The demographics of the local communities and where they are situated within the city plays an important part in how Leicester has grown into a super-diverse city. In the next chapter I will outline the theories that underpin my project. The combination of place and theory allowed me to create an ongoing plan.

Ethnicity (as determined by the Census)	In England and Wales 2011 (%)[6]	In England 2011(%)[7]	In Leicester 2011 (%)[8]	In Westcotes 2011 (%)[9]	In Spinney Hills 2011 (%)[10]	In North Evington (Coleman Ward) 2011 (%)[11]	In the WEA ESOL Class	In the LASALS ESOL Class
White British	80.4885	79.7534	45.0611	52.6881	4.6576	16.338		
White Irish	0.9471	0.9752	0.7652	0.9018	0.2659	0.5795		
Gipsy or Irish Traveller	0.1029	0.1036	0.1264	0.1374	0.0899	0.0818		
Other White	4.332	4.5838	4.5677	12.5988	1.8341	2.6655	Polish, Venezuelan, Bulgarian	Bulgarian, Lithuanian, Polish, Turkish, Macedonian
White & Black Caribbean	0.761	0.784	1.4222	1.855	0.4732	1.1998		
White & Asian	0.761	0.6276	1.0272	1.0821	0.79	1.2816		
White & Black African	0.296	0.3047	0.352	0.7128	0.3832	0.3545		
Other Mixed	0.5171	0.5338	0.7094	0.9962	0.567	0.7635		
Indian	2.5197	2.6328	28.297	11.2676	60.1932	54.4141	Indian	Indian
Pakistani	2.0053	2.0982	2.4457	1.417	5.999	4.5606		Pakistani
Bangladeshi	0.7975	0.8234	1.1042	0.2662	3.2615	1.3566		Bangladeshi
Chinese	0.7011	0.7159	1.287	2.4047	0.3793	0.2318		
Other Asian	1.4903	1.5457	3.9962	3.315	5.9169	5.7741		
African	1.7648	1.8444	3.7837	4.1824	6.785	3.3404	Eritrean, Sudanese	Somalian
Caribbean	1.0607	1.1149	1.4522	1.3655	2.0026	2.3723		
Other Black	0.5001	0.5241	1.005	0.6613	3.3045	0.9885		
Arab	0.4112	0.4169	1.0038	2.5936	1.1145	1.0498	Kurdistani, Iranian, Iraqi	Iraqi, Afghanistani
Any other ethnic group	0.594	0.6177	1.5938	1.5544	1.9827	2.9518		

Table 1: Ethnicity by area

[6] UK Census Data (2012b)
[7] UK Census Data (2012a)
[8]UK Census Data (2012d)
[9] UK Census Data (2012f)
[10] UK Census Data (2012e)
[11] UK Census Data (2012c)

List of people who attended the ESOL classes

Name	Country of birth	Time in the UK	Languages spoken	ESOL group
Ma	Iran	1.5 years	Farsi	WEA
Ka	Poland	5 years	Polish	WEA
Jn	Poland	3 years	Polish	WEA
Lu	Venezuela	6 years	Spanish	WEA
Mn	India	8 years	Guajarati, Hindi	WEA
Ba	Sudan	Under 1 year	Zaghawa, Arabic	WEA
Fa	Iran	1 year	Farsi	WEA
Da	Bulgaria	1 year	Bulgarian	WEA
Ta	Kurdistan	18 years	Kurdish	WEA
Si	Kurdistan	15 years	Kurdish, Arabic	WEA
De	Eritrea	2 years	Tigrena	WEA
Na	Eritrea		Tigrena	WEA
RJ	Somalia	8 years	Somali	June REIA
AS	Bangladesh	3 years	Bangla	June REIA
HA	Somalia	7 years	Somali	June REIA
HB	Bangladesh	1 year	Bangla & Italian	June REIA
SB	Bangladesh	26 years	Bangla	June REIA
SO	Iraq	2 years	Kurdish	June REIA
IJ	Bangladesh	3 years	Bangoli & Italian	June REIA
Sm	Pakistan	8 years	Urdu	June REIA
RA	Pakistan	5 years	Urdu & Punjabi	June REIA
SH	Pakistan	12 years	Urdu	June REIA
FT	India	8 years	Guajarati & Hindi	June REIA
MAJ	Bangladeshi	2 years	Bangla	June REIA
FP	Bangladeshi	2 years	Bangla	June REIA
RS	Bangladeshi	3 years	Bangla	June REIA
JF	Somali	5 years	Somali	June REIA
KKB	Poland	6 years	Polish	June REIA
AS	Turkey	6 months	Turkish	June REIA
Ln	Iraq	2 years	Kurdish	June REIA
MM	Congo	4 years	French	June REIA
RK	India (Italy)	2 years 6 months	Hindi & Punjabi	March REIA
SKH	India	2 years	Urdu & Italian	March REIA
SKB	India	4 years	Punjabi, Hindi & Italian	March REIA
Pa	India	8 years	Gujurati & Hindi	March REIA
SaH	Kenya	7 months	Somali & Kisawahili	March REIA
NI	Bulgaria	1 year	Bulgarian & German	March REIA
Sh	Somalia	12 years	Somali	March REIA
RS	Afghanistan	11 years	Farsi	March REIA
NH	Pakistan	9 years	Urdu	March REIA
Sk	Pakistan	30 years	Urdu	March REIA
Ju	Macedonia	2 years	Macedonian	March REIA
Ag	Lithuania	1 year	Lithuanian, Spanish & Russian	March REIA
NB	Bangladesh	7 years	Bengali	Nov REIA
SC	India	13 years	Guajarati & Hindi	Nov REIA
AS	Poland	6 years	Polish	Nov REIA
Ra	Spain	2 years	Spanish	Nov REIA
Ba	India	20 years	Gujarati	Nov REIA
Di	India	6 years	Gujarati	Nov REIA
Ro	Bulgaria	3 years	Bulgarian & Russian	Nov REIA
Su	Somalia	3 years	Swiidhi (sic)	Nov REIA
ZA	Somalia	18 years	Kiswahili	Nov REIA
SS	India	6 years	Guajarati & Hindi	Nov REIA
GW	India	10 years	Guajarati & Hindi	Nov REIA
MK	India	5 years	Punjabi, Hindi & Italian	Nov REIA
NS	Bangladesh	15 years	Bangli	Nov REIA

Chapter 3: The Theories behind the thoughts

Introduction

In my journey to find out what visitors from diverse backgrounds experience in a local social history museum I needed to find methods that would meet the requirements of my questions and also be accessible to different age groups and language abilities. Within this context the three questions I am addressing are:

1. How do the senses impact on the museum visiting experience?
2. What do visitors feel when they go round the museum?
3. How does local museum visiting make a difference to local super-diverse communities?

In this chapter I will outline studies that influenced my choices of methods and approach that match with collecting data around my questions. As described in the previous chapter, Leicester is a super-diverse community which I wanted to consider as Meissner & Vertovec explain:

> "…a super-diversity approach holds the potential for novel insights in: rethinking patterns of inequality, prejudice and segregation; gaining a more nuanced understanding of social interactions, cosmopolitanism and creolisation; elaborating theories of mobility; obfuscating the spurious dualism of transnationalism versus integration." (2015, p.534)

Wessendorf (2013) in describing another super-diverse community in Hackney, focuses on how the differences in "migration histories, educational back grounds, legal statuses, length of residence and economic backgrounds, both among ethnic minorities and migrants as well as the white British population" (p.407) contribute to the community. I wanted to ensure that I recognise these demographics within the people I was working with and take into consideration how my approach might bias my findings and data.

The example studies on methods and approach will include working with communities, museum visiting, studies of emotions and studies of experiences. In addition to this, I will discuss the ethical implications of working with family groups, people who have

English as an additional language and the power imbalances of researchers and volunteers in community groups and how I approached mitigating these issues. On a practical level, I wanted to keep the methods creative and qualitative. This was to cover the multimodal, emotional and sensory experiences of the visits to the museum. I wanted to make sure that there was a balance between the experiences of adults and children within the groups visiting the museum. I wanted to keep the group interested, invested and collaborating on the project. Below I explore the options for gathering data, how it was planned and the reality of data collection.

My proposed methods used photography, observation, discussion, film, drawing and writing from both myself and the group. I will also describe the actual methods used, how they were approached by the group and realities of visiting museums with different groups of people. All of the methods below are presented as an ideal, described as if perfectly constructed and executed. However the reality of working with people (generally, not just those outside of the institution) is that the most perfectly designed method does not necessarily constitute a perfectly engaged with method.

Qualitative versus Quantitative

When considering methods for this project I needed to consider the factors of the group, any language differences and how to identify emotional and sensory engagements within the museum space. I also wanted the group to be as involved in as much of the data collection and analysis as possible and to have agency within the project. As such, quantitative methodologies did not allow for collecting a broad depth of rich data that I would be hoping for from the visits and discussions during the project. Using questioning that would give the group choices of how they were feeling would impose my westernised method of describing experience as well as restricting answers to a fixed set of emotions. As we were visiting a museum, I also wanted to capture moments in real time with photographs or film so that they could be reflected back on at a later point. In structured interviews there would not be that stimuli that captured the moment. More often quantitative methods, surveys and structured interviews are used to collect demographics and visitor feedback. These are usually conducted by museum employees and involve accosting visitors at the end of their

visit. Having observed who stops to complete surveys and spent some time myself waiting in museum foyers trying to attract participants, this is an ineffectual method of collecting unbiased data. As more effective examples of using quantitative methods to measure emotional responses, Binnie (2010) and Thompson & Chatterjee (2014) developed quantitative frameworks. Happiness, contentment and feelings of wellbeing have been measured before and after museum visiting.

Binnie (2010) conducted a study into whether viewing art in an art gallery reduced feelings of anxiety and improved feelings of wellbeing. She approached a number of visitors who were willing to answer questions in a short structured interview, a mental wellbeing survey and a State-Trait Anxiety Inventory (STAI) (p. 195). The STAI was used before and after the visit to determine the visitors' anxiety levels at these stages. Binnie (ibid) approached the study from a museum studies and psychology stand point and concluded that viewing art did increase feelings of wellbeing and lowered anxiety levels in the visitors. Although her quantitative data did come with a disclaimer, as it was not clear whether the space or the viewing of the art contributed to the results:

> "While it cannot be extrapolated from this data alone whether it is the museum environment, the artwork view, or, as is more likely, the combination of both, which is provoking this calming and relaxing effect, this data shows that by simply asking participants to rate how they feel upon a recognised scale we can begin to quantify the impact." (p.198-199)

Thomson & Chatterjee (2014) developed a method of assessing well-being with museum visitors that quantifies emotional responses into scales of defined positive and negative responses. Their approach combines a psychological assessment process that rates twenty different emotional states (both positive and negative) on a one to five Likert Scale (p.31). However, while this method builds a snapshot of the mental states of the participants it would not provide the depth of emotion or discussion on visits that I would be looking for.

In the following sections there are examples of a range of methods used in the four focus areas. These methods include artistic based methods (Bland, 2018; Literat, 2013; Goldschmidt, 2003; Koski et al, 2016; Rippin, 2012; Tay-Lim & Lim, 2013; Ward &

Shortt, 2013; Williams, Carawan & Nalavany, 2010), photography based methods (Clarke-Ibanez, 2004; Pink, 2011; Zartler et al, 2014; Hall, 2015; Parke et al, 2015) and collaborative working (Campbell & Lassiter, 2010; Lassiter & Campbell, 2010; Ponzoni, 2016). From these I developed my plan for how I might explore the experiences of the ESOL group in the local museum and answer my three research questions.

Community focused methodologies

The foundation of my approach to working with groups of people in communities are from the work of Jephcott (1964, 1971), Frankenberg (1967), Pahl (2005) and Werbner (2005). I will cover this in brief here, but in detail in the chapter Communities and ESOL. Each of the studies they conducted advocated the building of relationships with people over time. Many of them moved into the area of the people they were working with and became part of the community. While I have lived in Leicester for most of my life, I was a relative outsider in the communities I was working with. However, I did manage to build a solid relationship as part of one group and gain trust over the course of the sessions with the others. My methods had a foundation in building relationships, which meant I was then able to use further methods to collect the data.

Arts based methodologies

One of the areas I wanted to explore was how to incorporate art into my project. From exploring the literature around using art in research – I am defining art in this context as drawing, painting or creating an artwork – I found that this subject is split into two broad areas. The first is to use art as a communication tool in interview or focus groups, and the second is using art as an alternative interpretation tool. I have purposefully excluded photography in this section as photographs and photographic elicitation methods are discussed elsewhere in this chapter. In many of the examples of art being used to elaborate on answering questions or eliciting responses, the participants are groups that are deemed to find expressing themselves difficult. Using drawing as a method to engage children with different topics is popular “because of its playful nature and its lack of dependence on linguistic proficiency” (Literat, 2013. p.85). It is used to elicit information, as a distraction or to create something that can be interpreted (Bland, 2018; Goldschmidt, 2003; Tay-Lim & Lim, 2013). These methods have also been tried with adults with dyslexia (Williams, Carawan & Nalavany, 2010),

in health care contexts (Koski et al, 2016) and organisational studies (Rippin, 2012; Ward & Shortt, 2013). Rainford (2020) discusses the hesitation that adults have when being asked to draw something, in his research about raising aspirations in higher education, the adults who described themselves as creative still demonstrated a lack of confidence when asked to draw their responses (p.116).

Jephcott (1967) in her study of adolescent life in Glasgow employed an artist to draw some of the scenes she encountered in her visits to different spaces that were being used by the participants. The theory using drawings made by artists was that: “The technique was used on the assumption that the artist sees much deeper than the man in the street.” (p.9)

She also asked some of the local 14 and 15 year olds to join in and also draw some of the places and activities that they took part in. These images are scattered about the text as the text explains what is going on. Jephcott (ibid) used these images as illustrations to support her findings rather than data themselves. She devoted one paragraph in the book to the importance of the illustrations even though the point of seeing more through them was made.

Creative methods are often used to open up conversation with all ages, backgrounds and abilities. With children, drawing is used to help articulate concepts and thought processes that may be more complex for them to verbalise. More often than not, the drawing process is accompanied by a verbal explanation of the picture either during or following its creation. In these areas, the act of drawing is a guide for the researcher to help articulate answers from the participants. Goldschmidt (2003) suggests that “they produce the sketch in order to have a dialogue with it” (p.87-88). Others rely on drawing to create a relaxed atmosphere and develop a rapport with the participants (Bland, 2018; Literat, 2013).

Drawing in research does not have a large body of literature behind it. Garner (2008) queries the data that a drawing researcher might create. What is counted, the drawings or the writing or both (p.17)? As described above, the act of drawing usually includes a verbal aspect that becomes the data – the drawing is a tool within which to elicit that data. Garner (2008) highlights that:

> "…the danger lies in consolidating the belief that to be drawing research, a drawing only activity or drawing output has to be converted into, or accompanied by some form of verbal or written explanation." (p.17)

Garner also questions what purpose drawings within research might achieve in the sense of solving problems. Mannay (2010) states that there is a need for detailed analysis of visual data or they only serves as illustrations rather than data (p.99).

My original intention was to use photographs taken at our museum visit, transpose them into drawings and then ask the groups to build on these artworks with me. Due to time and a reluctance of the group to amend my work, this did not take place as planned. I did find that in choosing particular images to work with and taking time to create artworks from them, I was able to read the images with a fresh perspective. I was using a different way of looking and could draw out more nuanced semiotic meanings. My ways of looking at these images changed during the process of writing this thesis. The changes are explained in more detail in the chapter including my drawings called Drawing (on) my Data.

Experience focused methodologies

In order to capture the multi-sensory experiences in the museum, I proposed to use a range of methods to capture the modes of experiencing the visit. Kress (2011) has been at the forefront of theorising how people create meaning from different experiences.

> "Multimodality includes all modes as socially shaped resources for making meaning: *action, movement; three-dimensional objects, such as instruments, tools, sculptures; space*, socially shaped." (Italics in original, p. 255)

His exploration of multimodal communication and experiences includes projects in classrooms and operating theatres. Dicks (2014) agrees with Kress (2001) and advocates the use of digital technology to record the vast number of possible types of data from encounters and experiences within the museum. As such I planned to collect film, photos, voice recordings, drawings, images supplied by the group and field notes to inform my analysis.

Including photography, drawing and film as part of the options for collecting data, creates an option for members of the group to take their time considering their sensory, emotional experiences and recalling memories from museum visits. Using photography allows participants to record ideas and complex abstract moments as they happen. Use of visual methods also creates an equal platform from which all members of a group can have an equal opinion; their images are *their* work and *their* experiences without others being able to influence the process to a large degree. From working with the group, I found that all the members of the group had a phone that they were able to take photographs with, and would also use drawn diagrams, photographs from the internet and other found images to help illustrate points they were making during the sessions. In many projects before, these methods have been used but rarely in conjunction with each other.

Photography has been used in a number of ways to elicit information during interviews. Carawan & Nalavany (2010) use it with adults with dyslexia, Mannay (2010) with working class mothers and their daughters, Park et al. (2012) to explore experiences of the elderly in an emergency room, and within libraries (Bedi & Webb, 2017) for example. Pre-selected images can be used to prompt a participant during questioning, however in cases where experience or emotions are concerned, allowing the participant to take their own photographs allows for more natural and un-influenced answers. As an example of how this approach can be effective (and not so effective), Samuels (2007) gave children who were growing up in a Buddhist monastery cameras to document their daily lives. In his initial round of interviews, he had given the children a list of situations that he wanted them to photograph. His list emulated his westernised thinking of what their lives would be like. The resulting images and answers to his questions relating to the images were lacking any depth, as the children were not interested in his themes. In his second attempt, he allowed the children to choose what they photographed. This resulted in more natural situations and objects that the children could relate to during the interviews. Pink raises the issues of imposing a westernised approach to describing the senses when working with diverse groups (2011, p.265). In the work of Bagnoli (2009), they found that

photographic elicitation interviews encouraged much more emotional language and sharing (Rose, 2016. p.315).

Drawing on the work of Kress and van Leeuwen (2001), Pink (2011, 2012, 2012b, 2015) utilises photography and film in a multimodal approach to exploring experience. While she argues that using photography and film does not necessarily encompass the full range of senses in one image, this is a starting point for recalling bodily and sensory experience (2011, p.266). Rose (2016) adds to this argument around photography and multimodality, stating:

> "Photographs can thus capture something of the sensory richness and human inhabitation of urban environments (though not all, of course: they cannot convey sounds and only suggest touch)." (p.308)

I would argue that while photography does not recreate the sound that was heard or the texture of the object being touched, it can show how someone listened or reacted to the feel or sound of something. This is an aspect of photography that I explore further in the chapter Drawing (on) my Data.

Now as accessible as photography, film provides additional visual information about movement, sounds and reactions during experiences. Examples of Pink's projects include explorations of uses of energy in the home (2013) by filming people during key moments during the day performing their usual 'coming home' or 'going to bed' habits, and filming people doing domestic housework such as cleaning the bathroom or washing up in order to capture abstract moments such as squeezing the washing up bottle (2012b).

Building on this body of work, Mannay (2010) uses photography and mapping to defamiliarise herself with familiar people and spaces. In her project, it was key that she allow the people she was working with to describe their experiences in relation to the photographs. To assist with this she included mapping and collage making to add distance between her knowledge and the experiences of others. In a similar fashion, I was overly familiar with the museum space and would need to make sure my ideas and opinions were not going to influence the visits.

> "The participants were not controlled by a pre-determined schedule and they entered the interview setting with their own ideas. This gave me the opportunity to observe and learn about elements of our shared environment and aspects of the participants themselves that I would not necessarily have enquired about." (Mannay, 2010. p. 100)

In the same way that Mannay (ibid) allowed space for people to explore their own ideas through a variety of methods, including creative methods, I also needed to make sure I allowed my groups space to explore. The collages were accompanied by interviews to back up the meanings behind the visual data. Similarly to Samuels (2007) findings, allowing people to direct their own images was key to allowing them to have control over their experiences. Kaomea (2003) uses drawing in a similar way, to explore experiences of children who are being taught in Hawai'i and then analysing the conversations around their drawings from a postcolonial standpoint.

Multimodal exploration of museum visiting has been undertaken in relation to spectatorship. Christidou and Diamantopoulou (2016) used film with audio to record visitors in the museum. They used movement, conversation and gaze to analyse the visitors embodied experiences in the space. Their project viewed the visitors as both spectator and spectacle (p.13). They collected data from visitors in selected galleries of the Museum of London and the Wellcome Collection (London) and their approach was to analyse video excerpts in short bursts of a few seconds at a time.

> "Such documenting can also be used to explore the ways in which visitors connect with each other and the collection as they 'see' the exhibits and the other co-present visitors, while in return being seen by those happening to share the same space at the same time." (p. 28)

The above examples of uses of creative methodology capture embodied experiences and moments well for the purposes of these projects. While this will provide evidence of sensory experiences within the museum, it may not always reveal the actual experiences that the visitor is having or their emotional responses. In an effort to understand both the emotional, embodied and sensory aspects of the visit I used an array of visual methods and subsequent interviewing and conversations to uncover

the story of the visit. Dicks (2014) cites Pink (2009) to highlight her efforts to access experience through these methods, “not through observations, as this would miss its very subjectivity, but through activities of ‘sharing’ and ‘empathy’ in which ethnographers’ own sensory experiences must enter into reflection” (Dicks, 2014. p. 664).

Emotion focused methodologies

Creative methodologies have been used specifically to look at the sensory and multimodal aspects of experience; some of these methods can also be used for exploring the emotional aspect of experiences. From reviewing previous emotion focused studies, using drawing as a catalyst for conversation is relatively common. Participant produced drawings have also been used in management, health and educational settings to elicit more detailed information about experiences or emotional responses. Ward & Short (2012) used this method to evaluate a module on a management degree at university. They asked a small group of students to draw images that reflected their experiences and thoughts during the teaching of that module (ibid, p. 439). In much the same way as photographic elicitation interviewing, the drawings generated discussion within the group that then uncovered the meanings and emotions connected to the drawings. Using participant created images, such as paintings, drawings or doodles, can help “participants to articulate the often ‘intangible’ parts of everyday life and encourages a different perspective on what is experienced” (ibid, p. 439). As with any elicitation interviewing, the images created and discussed should not be considered individually (ibid, p.441) but as a narrative of thought throughout the experience being explored.

From health studies, Benza & Liamputtong (2017) use a combination of drawing and photo elicitation interviewing in their study with Zimbabwean women’s experiences of motherhood in Australia. Their approach to uncovering aspects of their experiences that may not ordinarily be discussed in interviews combined researcher led photographic elicitation interviewing with an option to draw images relevant to the research questions (ibid, p.73). The participants were shown 12 photographs and asked to choose five that reflected their experience of motherhood. While, Benza & Liamputtong (2017) had an option for expanding the discussion through drawing, their

use of selected images in the photographic elicitation interviewing restricts the options for the women taking part by including the researchers' pre-conceived ideas of motherhood through the pre-selected images. As Samuels (2007) discovered, this restricts the conversation or discussion that results from the introduction of the images.

In a study that directly explores the use of drawing as a research method, Kearney & Hyle (2004) come to a number of conclusions about including drawing as a method of exploring emotional responses to (in their example) organisational change. Their process matched those of other projects mentioned in this section. The participants were asked to draw a picture of how they felt about the changes that had taken place in their organisation and this was followed by an immediate interview and then an interview a few weeks later. In the second interview, the participants were asked questions about the first process rather than the drawings. From the interviews, Kearney & Hyle (2004) made a series of statements about using this method. They concluded that using drawings allowed participants to discuss their feelings. The drawings helped the participants to order their emotions and the interviews were essential for making meaning of the drawings. Researcher bias is reduced with this method but also identify two disadvantages to the method that I will discuss below in the limitations section (2004, pp.376-379).

When exploring emotional and sensory experiences care must be taken with how to approach potentially sensitive topics or situations. In relation to consent there should always be an option to opt out of the project or part of the project at any point. While my methods aim to open up a dialogue about experiences, which in turn may evoke emotional responses, there may be instances where these emotions may have the potential to cause harm. For example, one member of the group did not want to speak about the past during the presentations in the ESOL class. Without judgement or prying, it was agreed as a group that while many museums look to the past this does not define a museum. It did also lead on to a longer discussion about what a museum was and what objects it might contain. As the task was to speak about 'the Museum of You' it could be filled with objects that you can relate to, and this does not necessarily have to be from the past or reflecting on past events.

In the Newarke Houses Museum, a museum of local social history, there is the potential for reflection on childhood, the military and migration. For the ESOL group some of these subjects could lead to potentially upsetting or unwelcome memories. From the beginning of the project, it was agreed that no one should have to discuss anything they felt uncomfortable with and if there was a situation where extra help was required, a referral to support within the WEA was available.

In their work with language students at the National Art Gallery of Canada, Cloutier et al. (2016) as described above, found that one student they worked with had reservations about expressing some emotions.

> "It became clear, first, that Nahid avoided writing and talking about works she felt were too political and/or personal." (p.143)

In their instance, rather than avoiding taking part at all, Nahid approached the task from a different viewpoint. They also comment on her choices of artwork in that she avoided works of art with figurative representation. In their discussion she said that they were culturally inappropriate for her to comment on. This helped her to avoid subjects she was uncomfortable with. This approach has also been taken with my project.

Working with speakers of English as an additional language

The group I was working with had a limited, but not restrictive level of English language vocabulary. As we worked together in the ESOL classes, it became apparent that we often shared words and discussed etymology by comparing words from different languages. From the beginning, I expressed a desire that language should not restrict how we discussed our experiences.

> "…super-diversity exposes the limits of ethnography. As parallel perspectives, often utterly incommensurate, multiply, how can we see from all these vantage points? If over a hundred languages are spoken, which language should the ethnographer speak?" (Gidley, 2013. p. 368)

Each ESOL group had rules that we would speak only English in class and on visits, so the language of discussions and conversations was English. There were moments of

translation, sometimes using phone apps and in some cases with the help of the museum assistants, of which many are multilingual. In the WEA ESOL group, English was almost solely spoken during the classes and on the visits. Even on breaks, the conversation was predominantly English as very few people shared another language. With the groups from LASALS it was more common for people to fall into a familiar language with someone else where it was shared. Peterson (2017) observed this in their work with community centres in Rotterdam:

> "Carla, who attends a language group, explains that her contact with other participants remains distant and superficial as '[during breaks] the Turkish women talk with each other in Turkish [which] I don't speak … and the Moroccan women do the same'." (p.1077)

I did find that in groups where there was a shared language that it was more difficult for me to build relationships or begin conversations. I would put this down to shyness and a lack of confidence in language ability. The longer I spent with the groups the less this became a hurdle. In building relationships with the people in the groups as far as was possible, we were able to communicate and demonstrate our emotions, experiences and interests with each other.

In her thesis, Helen Whitty (2017) explored object interactions with migrant families in Australia. She requested that all the families communicate in English as a shared language although for some this was more difficult than others. With one particular family, the adults in the group struggled with using English and she describes them as quiet, "[T]he adults keep me close and do not engage verbally with their children. This is possibly because of the restriction to speak in English" (p.222). With this in mind and also the nature of the ESOL classes, I remained open to us learning language together as a group whether that be us learning new English vocabulary or me learning new phrases and vocabulary in a variety of languages.

In other projects where English was an additional language, Pink & Postill (2017) observe that, in relation to being a student migrant:

> "…the issue is not just a need to improve language skills, or access to social networks or better housing situations, but rather to understand how moving

> temporarily for two years to another country means learning to feels one's way around a very different world, and that in these elements of everyday worlds are not necessarily documented or documentable as aspects of the experience of being a student." (p. 25)

In this case, the documentation of laundry practices uncovers a range of additional circumstances not entirely related to the act of doing the laundry for international students in Melbourne, Australia. In this project, it is hoped that visiting the museum will show how museums can work with visitors from other countries who have moved to the area and would like to explore the local and social history of the area. However, it is understood that this may also raise questions about subjects, emotions or help required outside of the scope of the original questions. For example, as part of my working role, I advise mature students on getting into university. Due to the group knowing my background, I helped with questions on courses, entry requirements and also with consent forms for school trips to help understand the information required and why it might be collected.

In introducing a special edition of articles around ethnography and diversity, Berg & Sigona (2013) highlight some of the challenges that researchers face when working with migrant communities, their observations assume that migrant communities are all grouped together when they relocate.

> "For ethnographers specifically, the challenge is how to acquire the requisite language skills and appreciation of so many home country contexts, the different conditions and trajectories of different groups, including legal status, life stage, gender and generational dynamic and so on, when residents in a single neighbourhood…originate in many different societies and represent different diasporic generations (Berg 2011), each with their own specific contexts for migration and settlement. (p.354)

There is also an assumption that studies do not look into individuals or the experiences of a group from a particular place in the world, but as the idea of a there being one migrant community.

Benza & Liamputtong's (2017) study with Zimbabwean mothers, focused on their lived experiences in becoming mothers in Australia. In spending time with the new mothers and looking at their experiences they used photo elicitation interviewing, drawing and interviews with a choice of language, as one of the researchers was able to speak English (p.73). In much the same way as using creative methods to bridge communication gaps with children, using a creative elicitation method is used here to bridge a language gap as well as explain emotional experiences.

In applying creative methods, western assumptions of the interviewer can be mitigated. As described above, Samuels (2007) found that his directions on what he thought his participants should be photographing, were different to the reality of their experiences. In a project with family groups in Austria, Zartler & Richter (2014) warn that "age and cultural specificities need to be considered as well as visual literacy or class related differences in the ways of dealing with pictures" (p.51). When considering sensory experiences with people from around the world, it is easy to fall into thinking that descriptions of sensory engagement will be the same for everyone. I will elaborate on this when discussing the senses in the museum in Chapter 9).

Children and Multigenerational Groups

When working with groups of children, multi-generational groups or those from diverse backgrounds, visual methodologies can be used to provide conversation or interview stimuli. From my own experiences of working with family groups, I found that children gained their own voice through discussing images they had created. For my project, I asked family groups in a number of museums in the UK to take photographs of their visit and then used these images as prompts in photographic elicitation interviewing. Each member of the family group had a separate camera allowing each person to have an independent set of 'questions'. By distancing the parents from the children by one step (in the creation of the image), it allowed the children to discuss their experiences without being led by the adults in the group.

Using "auto-driven" visual methods with the participants means that they are providing a "clear tangible prompt" (Clark-Ibanez, 2004. p.1512). Clark-Ibanez (ibid) in her work with inner city school children, found that allowing the children to take their own photographs, in a project to explore how their home life may impact their school

life, provided a method of empowering the children during the project. Additionally, the images were polysemic, and using them in the interviews meant that the multiple meanings unravelled from the natural conversations that occurred (p.1515). This agrees with Samuel's (2007) experience of working with the children in a Buddhist monastery described on page 53.

Drawing on Clark-Ibanez's (2004) work with auto-driven photographic elicitation interviewing, Zartler & Richter (2014) use the method to explore sensitive aspects of family life with children. They found that "talking about issues and persons that were present on the photographs encouraged children to bring up critical views towards their families and made it easier to share them with the adult interviewer" (ibid, p. 45). They also interviewed the parents about the images to get an alternative narrative. The outcomes of the interviews highlighted how children viewed health, gender roles and infighting between siblings. Zartler and Richter (2014) also advocate visual methods with children as a support mechanism to aid in verbalising thoughts (p. 42).

In expanding the methods used with children, younger age groups or mixed generational groups, Bagnoli (2009) has used drawing in the form of self-portraits, timelines and relational maps. In each of the studies she conducted she found different advantages to using these methods that benefited the participants and expanded the findings.

> "My focus was on how visual methods could be used within the context of an interview in order to enhance participants' reflexivity and to gather a holistic picture of the topics under investigation that could take into account also their different needs and expressive styles." (ibid, p. 549)

While the timelines and relational maps were used with younger age groups, Bagnoli used the self-portrait with a range of age groups and while the older participants showed some resistance to the method only one person declined to take part in this part of the study (p.552).

Many of the examples of working with groups are limited to just children, or just adults. It seems apparent that using visual methods where the participants are

producing their own images is often restricted to the younger age groups in order to allow the researcher to gain a better understanding of the people they are working with, in conditions where language or expression could be limited. With this in mind, including visual methodologies as well as more 'traditional' approaches to sharing experience with both the ESOL group and then with their intergenerational groups will allow for a range of expression.

Limitations and ethical considerations to this study

As with any methodology and project there are limitations to what can be achieved and discovered. In this case there were a number of factors to collaborative working that appeared during the project. These limitations involved working in the classroom, in data collection, and analysis. It could be said that working with a group whose first language is not English is a limitation in itself. However as this project was based on mutual support in learning and sharing, for everyone in the group to be fluent in English would be a privilege. As with working with people on any study there were also ethical matters to be considered. In this section, I will outline the limitations and ethical considerations to my chosen methods and explain how they were mitigated or how adjustments were made. Copies of the ethical approvals, information sheets and consent forms used in the project are in the appendix.

In the classroom the strengths of the collaboration with the tutor and the responsiveness of the group outweighed the limitations. However, due to working with an organisation, some of the interactions were limited to the time we had during class and remaining within the broad umbrella of English Language learning. While I would have been happy to focus on museum visiting and discussing experiences with the group in every lesson, there had to be some structure to the lessons. Additionally I was only able to attend the lessons once per week, the class had two a week, and this meant that my influence on the lesson plans diminished during the other lesson. In these lessons, the tutor focused more closely on grammar while we would be a little more freeform with discussions and preparations for presentations during the lessons I attended. Some of these limitations were because I was an official volunteer for the organisation and not entering the lessons as a researcher. The focus of my role had to be supporting the tutor and group rather than focusing on my goals for collaborative

working. I feel that I was lucky that the tutor was on board with my project, encouraged discussions about culture, and welcomed my suggestions for themes and the trip to the museum. In the second term, while the class focus was on working towards exams, the tutor organised extra-curricular trips to the local library. This allowed me to introduce the family visits to the group as an extra-curricular trip. The limitations with this class were outweighed by the length of time I was able to spend with them and build relationships. This led to further museum visits outside of the classes.

My position as a teaching assistant also put me in a position of authority leading me to suspect that some of the group may be reluctant to be recorded. All of the group took part in the presentations at the end of the first term and every member of the group agreed to be recorded in some way. With the LASALS groups, I had less time to get to know everyone. In these groups, there was more of a mix of responses to the consent forms. While everyone was happy to take part there were more cases where individuals did not want their photograph taken or to be recorded. Everyone was happy to be included in writing. This has lead me to conclude that the WEA group, who I had more time to get to know, were happy with being recorded. Their concern may have been more focused on them concentrating on getting their presentation right.

One of the additional issues as a teaching assistant to the groups is that I became a tour guide for some of the museum visits. I took great care, when I was asked which direction we should go in, to outline what the options were. I was conscious of activities that other groups had been interested in and did not want to lead a group directly to those activities. I was happy to elaborate on stories in the museum or explain objects and narratives. This was part of my role in supporting the ESOL groups and was welcomed by many of them who had questions while they were there.

By allowing a free form method of data collection, I opened up the variety of data I would collect but also lost some ability to directly compare each person's experiences to another's through direct comparison. However it did open up the freedom for the group to express their experiences in a way that they felt communicated their emotions and sensory encounters.

> "Multimodality is built on the premises that meaning is made with different semiotic resources each of which offers distinct potentials and limitations, the production of multimodal wholes, and that to study meaning, we need to attend to all of these resources." (Jewitt et al., 2016 in Jewitt et al. 2017 p.41).

As observed by Ward & Short (2012) the involvement of the researcher can be restricted in the image elicitation interviews. The role of the interviewer is to provide encouragement during the discussions and tease the emotional experiences out of the participants (p.440). While this could be seen as a limitation, it can also be an advantage to the process. A more significant limitation and advantage is the lack of control the researcher has over the data creation process. This leaves the group open to collecting data that is not necessarily in line with the questions I am posing about the visits to the museum. In contrast it also opens up conversation into topics I had not considered. I found, similarly to Kearney & Hyle (2004), that while everyone was happy to take part, have photographs taken and chat while in the museum, arranging to meet again to talk through the photographs was not something anyone was interested in.

I had intended to have more structure to my data collection, but as I was a guest in the classes (even if I was supporting as a teaching assistant) I did not want to outstay my welcome or impose any undue stress onto anyone. I adapted my data requirements and data collection to fit with the needs of the groups. What I eventually collected was a series of photographs, some short films, a few pieces of writing and my observed field notes. I could have gone further and recorded some of the conversations I had, but the visits became a natural process and to have asked to record conversations would have impacted on the content. I used the data for analysis, but have not included a lot of the images in this thesis. While many people were happy to have their photographs taken and agreed for them to be used in my project, this thesis may be available publicly online, consent can be withdrawn at any time and children are included. It was decided that no photographs that allow for easy identification of the people in them would be included.

Conclusion

In reviewing the methods that others have used in their studies, I was able to formulate an idea of how I wanted to approach my questions and what kind of data it was possible to collect. Many of the studies do not explain how their methods change when they come into contact with people. The people that I wanted to work with were busy people, who had put time aside for ESOL classes, but there was not always time outside of those classes for interviews or additional visits. My initial intentions on the data I wanted to collect were changed, based on building relationships with the people I met and not wanting to push their good will. I adapted as we went along to maintain relationships, maintaining my own data collection and keeping the visits as natural as possible.

My choice of methods took into account the range of emotions and sensory experiences I wanted to explore, language differences and working with families as well as just adults. I wanted to make sure I was not influencing the conversations we were having or the routes and exhibits we explored. Having some experience in using photography in working with families and interviews, I imagined that I would be able to replicate part of the collaboration I had with those families. In that study, the families I recruited signed up to take part knowing there would be an interview at the end and had visited the museum of their own volition. The families were not from a range of backgrounds and had time to spend with me. This time I was borrowing time from the ESOL classes for the most part. In the end, my adapted methods led to the collection of photographs, film, field notes and my own drawings. In the next chapter I will discuss data collection and how the timeline, people and visits took place.

Chapter 4: The People and our Purpose

Introduction

This chapter looks at the overall plan for engagement with groups with which I wanted to visit the museum. In the previous chapter, I explored ways in which I could gather data with the groups; this chapter looks at how the initial engagement plans, data collection and analysis actually took place. I will begin with my plans for working with one group, and expand into how this resulted in working with three additional groups due to unexpected circumstances. I will also review methods of data analysis that are appropriate to the data I collected and how I deciphered the information I collected in order to answer the questions I set:

1. How do the senses impact on the museum visiting experience?
2. What do visitors feel when they go around the museum?
3. How does local museum visiting make a difference to local super-diverse communities?

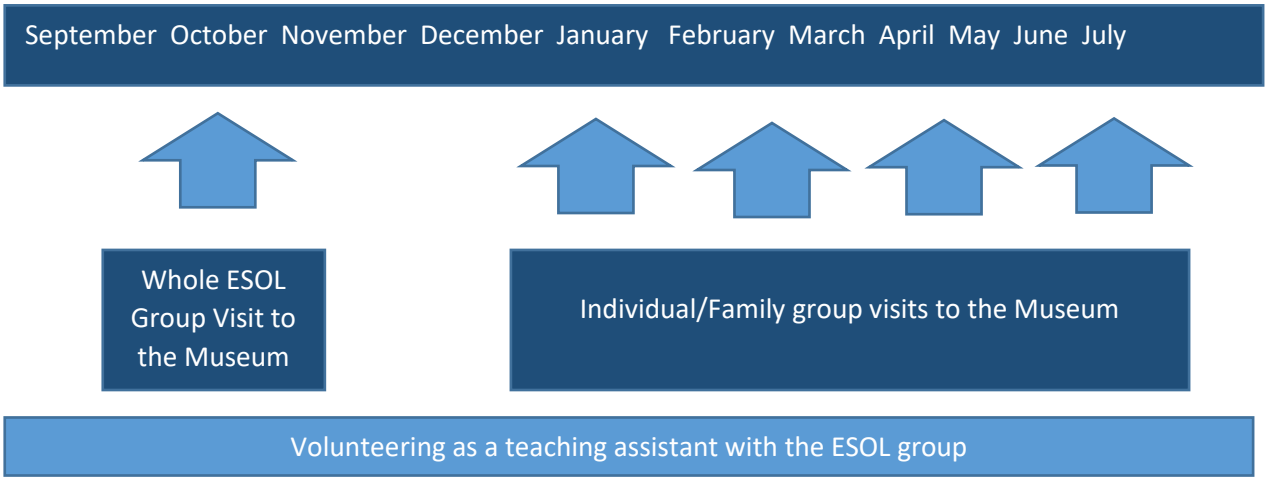
This chapter is presented chronologically. I will explain the visits with the WEA group first and then the LASALS groups.

Workers' Education Association English Spoken as an Other Language Group

My aim for the year was to work with the group in the classroom as a volunteer teaching assistant in order to build a relationship with the group and to give something back in the process. Mepschen (2019) used a similar method of volunteering in the museum, giving tours and generally being of assistance (p.75). I registered with the WEA as a volunteer in the summer holidays and helped with registration on to the courses for the new academic year. As described in a previous chapter, this gave me the opportunity to meet more than one group and to learn a little more about the people who come to the WEA on a regular basis. I began regular volunteering sessions at the beginning of the autumn term in September once a week. The ESOL group met twice a week for two, two hour classes.

The intention was to follow the group through an academic year and collect data throughout this time. There were a number of instances where it was appropriate to

collect and include data collected in the classroom, as I will describe below. The main bulk of the data was collected from the museum visits, one with the ESOL group as a whole and the rest from the individual visits. At the beginning of the year I did not want to limit the data I was collecting and so explained that we could collect images, drawing, film and photographs as well as audio or written documents. As the first term progressed, it became apparent that different people had different preferences for what they would like to pass on and discuss. All of the group had smart phones that they could take photographs and make short films on and these were used frequently during visits. In the classroom, phones were often used to check vocabulary or to find images of concepts or cultural phenomena that were being discussed. I also took extensive field notes during my time in the classroom and immediately following the family group visits.



Ideally, I would have liked to collect as much varied data as possible across all of the visits to the museum and in the discussions within the classroom. As with many methodology plans, this did not quite go to plan in the field. Initially, and for reliability and rigor, I would have liked to collect the same type of data on each visit to be able to create a comparison across all of the visits determined by this data. However, due to the nature of the visits this was not possible. I did not want to force any of the groups into changing their visit specifically to meet my data requirements. Below is a table of the intended data collection with the actual data collected listed.

WEA Group/Name of family	Intended method of data collection and data collected	Actual method of data collection and data collected	Type and quantity of data
In the classroom	Photographs, drawings, audio recordings, discussion, written work, field notes and video.	Photographs, drawings, audio recordings, discussion, written work, field notes and video.	1 film, 8 photos
ESOL group visit to the museum	Photographs, drawings, audio recordings, discussion, written work, field notes and video.	Photographs, audio recordings of presentations, video recording of a presentation, general discussion and field notes.	11 photos, 1 film and 1 photo from Mn.
Lu family visit to the museum	Photographs, film, field notes and discussion at a later date at another museum at the request of the group.	Photographs taken by the adults in the group and by myself, film taken by myself, and field notes.	2 films, 51 photos
Mn family visit to the museum	Photographs, film, field notes and discussion	Photographs and field notes. I was the only person who took photographs on this visit.	18 photos
Ma family visit to the museum	Photographs, film, field notes and discussion	Photographs and field notes. I was the only person who took photographs on this visit.	16 photos

The differences between my intended methods and the reality of the data collecting were entirely practical. In some cases wrangling three children under the age of six meant that the family did not take any photographs on the visit, even though the adult from the ESOL group quite often recorded and photographed during the ESOL group visit. Discussions following visits did not take place directly after the visits, due to availability, tiredness of the group or lack of suitable space to have the discussion.

During the process of fieldwork, I resigned myself to collecting as much data as I could within the willingness of the family and respecting their comfort zones. At the end of Ma's visit with her child, she expressed a sentiment that she would have liked to have spent more time in the museum and explored further, however the timescales are dictated by the attention span of the child. In this case, they were moving on to another museum to look at the dinosaurs, which were a particular favourite. She also mentioned that they would not spend long in the other museum and only look at the dinosaurs and the ground floor exhibits as upstairs was mostly art and ceramics and it did not interest her child.

I did find that as the visits highlighted areas of interest, this was not impacted by the type of data collected around these areas. Visitors to museums take photographs (where they are permitted) of objects and each other near objects that are of interest to them. My own photographic record of the visits became prompts for me to ask further questions or to document areas where the group showed a distinct emotion or interacted with a sensory aspect.

In addition to the data collected I decided to use my own images to enhance the data collection and not solely as described above. From my photographs I sketched some of the moments in the museum that I felt meant something to me. From those sketches, I invited the group to comment and add to the image reflecting on what they could remember about the moment. I then created a montage of the sketch and the comments. I chose to add this as I am also part of the group visiting and not solely an observer. I decided to add my perspective but include the voices of the group in that process. The intentions and act of sketching and drawing this data changed throughout the timescale. I will elaborate on this in the chapter about the drawings.

In the classroom

Usually the focus of the lessons would be solely on skills towards passing the ESOL assessments, and improving vocabulary, however the tutor proposed that we spend a term looking at reading, writing, speaking and listening skills in the context of culture and the museum. Part of this decision was because students did not necessarily do well in assessments at the end of the first term and he wanted to give them more time to build their skills. This new plan included a visit to the Newark Houses Museum

during one lesson following discussions with me about what I would like to get out of my volunteering role. Conversations and discussions with the tutor led to the data collection process being very fluid and reactive to group's preferences and to fit with the tutor's idea for lesson plans. During the lessons, with permission, I would make notes and take photographs of drawings and objects that were relevant to the project. The group emailed me images from the museum visit and a couple of them wanted to write a report for me about their experiences to add to my data and to practise their writing.

The tutor was keen to have my opinions on how best we could create an engaging and interesting term while still including grammar and vocabulary instructions. We decided on creating an imagined museum of the class with each individual creating an exhibition or object that describes themselves. At the end of the term each member of the group created a short verbal presentation, as practice for their assessments later in the year, on the subject of 'the museum of you'. With permission I recorded the presentations, took photographs of objects mentioned and made field notes. All of the group who gave a presentation agreed to have the audio recorded and one person was keen to be filmed. I took photographs of the objects that were described if they had been bought in and of drawings made by one person who used the image to explain a scene from his childhood.

Following the Christmas break, I returned to the class as a volunteer again to continue the relationship that we had built in the previous term. The spring and summer terms were devoted to preparation for exams, but in that preparation there was a focus for improving the group's reading activities. The tutor proposed short trips outside of lessons to the local library to choose suitable books for the group to read and improve their ability to read narrative. As previously agreed, I also reminded the group that I would be happy to go to the museum with a family and/or friends group with them at a weekend.

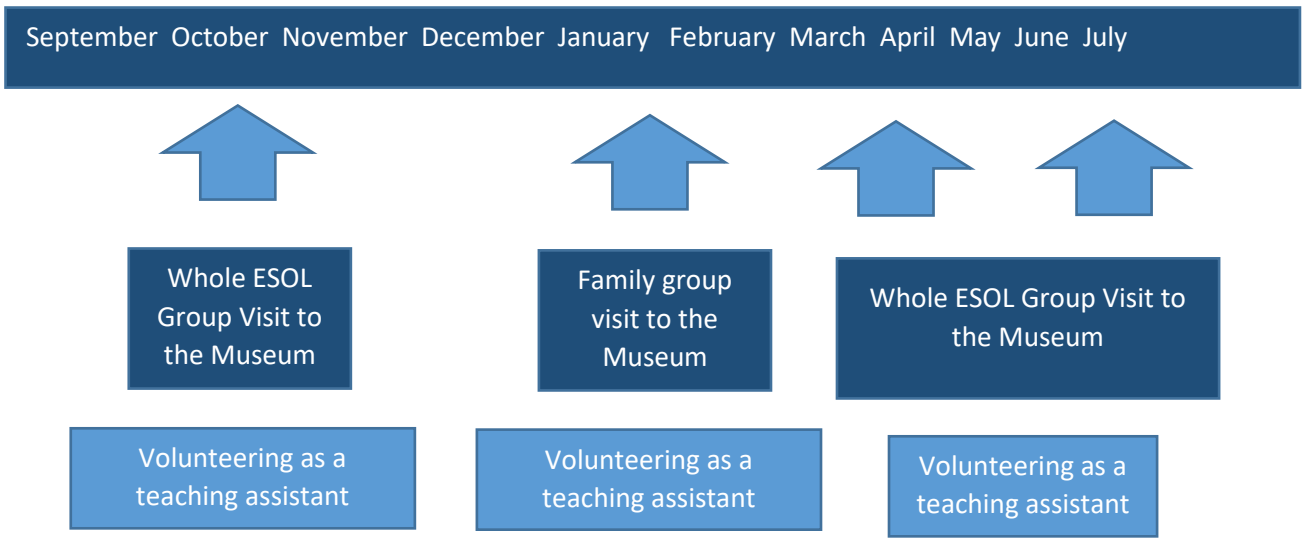
Story of the visits

Our first visit to the museum was as a whole class. Most of the class met outside of the museum just before opening time and we visited together. We took advice from the museum assistants on where to start and which way to move around the museum.

During this time, I took some photographs of the group looking at different parts of the exhibitions, made field notes on movements, displays of interests and conversations we had. Often I would be asked questions about the history of Leicester, why something was as it was or if there was another example of something elsewhere. During the visit, the group were mainly taking photographs, although there were some instances where exhibits were filmed for the sound rather than the images. I also had my mobile phone for taking photos and film and a digital SLR camera for more documentary style photographs.

Leicester Adult Skills and Learning Service (LASALS) ESOL Groups

The format of the LASALS group sessions were different from the WEA. Their learning outcomes were entirely based upon using language in real world situations. While everyone in the Real English in Action classes were attending other ESOL lessons, this class was not focusing on development of written skills specifically but on giving the pupils confidence to use their language abilities outside of the classroom. The courses were run over six weeks with a visit to a different place each week. The museum visit was planned for week four and I had to organise my availability around my working hours and classes. For the summer term class the museum visit fell into week two of the sessions as they course was cut to three weeks due to availability and Ramadan. Classroom time was used to complete worksheets and so there was no flexibility to collect data from this time.



As I had spent the previous academic year with one group, I could use my experience to assess how much data I would be able to collect with the new groups. I had considerably less time to get to know each group and this made a difference to my data collection proposals and to the data I collected relating to the people I was working with.

LASALS Group	**Intended method of data collection and data collected**	**Actual method of data collection and data collected**	**Type and quantity of data**
ESOL group visit to the museum - Autumn	Photographs, field notes and video.	Photographs, field notes and video. I was the only person who took photographs on this visit.	13 photos
ESOL group visit to the museum - Spring	Photographs, field notes and video.	Photographs and field notes. I was the only person who took photographs on this visit.	21 photos
ESOL group visit to the museum - Summer	Photographs, field notes and video.	Photographs and field notes. I was the only person who took photographs on this visit.	8 photos
Rs family visit to the museum	Photographs, field notes and video.	Photographs and field notes. I was the only person who took photographs on this visit.	5 photographs

With the autumn group, I was able to meet them in week one of their course and get to know them. By week four, they were familiar with me and me with them. I had connected with the other volunteers quite early on with this group. They were both ESOL level 2 learners, much like the WEA class, and were coming along to help and improve their language skills. Both of them had children and in conversation asked why I was volunteering. They both seemed keen to visit the museum with me at a later date. On the week of the museum visit, I introduced my project to the group in the

classroom session beforehand. We talked through the consent form, what might happen and what I wanted to find out about. The main questions were about how my findings might change the museum in the future. Almost everyone was happy to have their photograph taken, be filmed and everyone was content with being included in writing. During the visit we were guided by one of the museum assistants. He spoke about some of the areas in the museum to the group and guided us towards many of the audio-visual exhibits. While this influenced some of the experiences we had in the museum, it did not prevent people splitting off to explore further or look at some of the areas that had come to my attention in previous visits. The group were comfortable asking me questions about Leicester and the museum. The conversations were natural and inquisitive. Following the full course, Rs asked if we could visit the museum again with her son. The visit with Rs and her son took place just before the next series of Real English in Action sessions.

The spring Real English in Action sessions were based on the same format as the autumn ones. With this group, I was only going to spend two weeks with them before we visited the museum due to my work schedule. This meant less time to build relationships. Again, everyone was happy with being included in the project. On the visit itself, we did not have the museum assistant to guide us around the exhibitions and so the routes were more organic. I was asked as many questions or included in as many conversations as on the previous visit. This was due to the shorter amount of time I had to get to know the group. I did not get to know the other volunteers in the same way as I connected with Rs on the previous course. Both of the other ESOL level 2 volunteers knew each other and so spent their time together.

The final Real English in Action group met in the early summer. Due to the timing, it being a shorter term, and Ramadan, the course was cut to four weeks. The museum visit was moved into week two of the programme. Recruitment for this programme was late and a little haphazard. LASALS did not have a large number of people register on week one and so asked more people if they wanted to join in week two. This meant that I met a few of the group in week one and then more new people arrived on the day we were to visit the museum. As a result of this, fewer people wanted to have their photographs taken, or be filmed in the museum, but everyone was happy to be

included in the written aspect. I did connect with the other ESOL level 2 volunteer on this programme, but she did not have time to visit the museum again. The data I collected from this visit was based mostly on my field notes and a few reference photographs due to this.

Data analysis

The data collected varied from field-notes to film. Some of this data was collected by me and other data was collected by the group. These methods of collection left me with a varied dataset. Bagnoli (2009) supports different varieties of data leading to creative ways of analysing the data.

> "Mixing methods allows one to see things from different perspectives and to look at data in creative ways. Throughout the analysis, I made an effort to establish links between documents of different types, so as to test and to validate any emerging interpretation through recurrence across multiple sources."(p.568)

Using this varied data set I needed to use more creative methods of analysis, while also keeping the group involved in this process. In this section I will explore the options for analysing mixed, visual, qualitative data and outline my final methods of analysis. Due to the varied nature of the data collected I chose to use NVIVO as a data management system. All the data was coded thematically and manually through this programme.

The data we collected included film which required an alternative method of analysis to take into account the multimodal aspect of the experiences. For voice recordings, transcription then coding is a common method to draw themes from the transcribed text. With multimodal transcription gesture, movement and gaze can all be transcribed and can be drawn out of the film to help to uncover the social semiotic aspects of the experience. Bezemer & Mavers (2011) discuss multimodal transcription as an effective method of analysis of film but also outline reservations on how the process should take place. In many cases, transcription of film focuses on a section of a few seconds of footage that is then transcribed into a script of movement and sound. In deciding on which section of footage the researcher will often choose moments that

support their hypothesis, and then the transcription hones in on the appropriate evidence (ibid, p195). They also explain that this process begins in the making of the film:

> "For instance the focus of the video camera is selective, because it highlights certain things and frames what goes on in particular ways." (ibid, p.196)

This method of data collection has also been used in the museum setting by Christidou & Diamantopoulou (2016) as described above, and by vom Lehn & Heath (2016) in their research around how museum visitors negotiate space on the exhibition floor. Christidou & Diamantopoulou (2016) take distinct moments in the visit and break down the interactions following Kress's multimodal and social semiotic theory of representation and communication, deeming every action is meaningful and significant (p.17). As their project only focused on the physical movement through the gallery, their analysis was limited to the film footage they had and did not include visitor discussion about why they may have moved in that way. Vom Lehn & Heath (2016) also review their film in the same way but have a marketing approach to their findings. They ascertain that:

> "First and foremost, social action is 'situated', it arises in and is bound by the context in which it occurs, and action is both sensitive to and contributes to the context in which it arises. Second, social action contingently emerges in and through social interaction; it is sensitive to the contributions of others and in turn provides the resources and framework to which the actions of others are oriented." (ibid, p. 5)

By capturing the social interactions on film (or in a photograph) these moments can be used to draw out further information on that context and on how other people in the moment contributed to the experience. However just as Christidou & Diamantopoulou (2016) did not discuss the interactions in their projects with the participants, neither did vom Lehn & Heath (2016).

In the case of the data collected in this project, the majority of the film was taken by the group. This selective filming of moments is mitigated by the group choosing what they are focusing on and deciding to use film rather than photography to capture that

moment. In most cases film is chosen to capture a sensory moment that photography would not be able to convey. In order to mitigate the bias towards picking moments that are relevant to the project from my point of view, I broke each piece of film down into short frames. The frames were then shown to the group who chose which moments were most relevant to their experiences and these were then analysed further. Bezemer (2008) uses drawn images of frames to highlight position or gesture during an experience, allowing him to maintain anonymity for participants when using film. His analysis of students' interactions with their teacher in English literature lessons includes line drawings of the positions and body language of the participants during the course of the lesson. These frames are then used to describe the particular movements and their relation to the significant moments during the lesson. The frames were used in conjunction with a multimodal transcription and transduction of the lesson.

As described above I used the frames to determine which moments were most significant to the group and focused on completing a transduction and transcription of these moments. The resulting transcript was then analysed and discussed with the group to confirm the findings. Any audio recordings were also transcribed for the purpose of analysis. Photographs and drawings were discussed, where appropriate, during recorded conversations, which were also transcribed.

From an organisational position, Shortt & Warren (2017) support the use of photographs as a tool from which to draw further information and promote reflection on the part of the researcher or participant (p.3). This dialogic approach has been referred to as photo-voice or photo elicitation interviewing. It results in a transcript of the discussion that can be analysed in the same way as any interview. They propose to combine a dialogical approach with analysis of the content of the images from a literal and subjective point of view. This involves four stages: grouping the photographs according to content, qualitative analysis of the linked narratives, recognition that the images are of social significance and grouping the images into sets to provide alternative meanings (p.5). They term this as grounded visual pattern analysis (GVPA). This process of analysis can be applied to the visual data collected from this project.

The overall data set was analysed using a thematic analysis method. This method was used by Benza et al. (2017) in their work described above, alongside the data collection process as well as once all the data was collected. To ensure some reliability this method can involve the data being reviewed by a second person. In the project described, Benza et al. (2017) took it in turns to analyse the data and this validated their themes and ensured rigour during their processing. As I do not have a co-author/researcher, the group or individuals were involved in the identification of themes to provide my findings with some rigour and to confirm that I was current in my understanding of the meanings generated from the data.

Permissions and ethics

Ethical approval for this project was obtained through the University of Sheffield approval process. I completed the first three years of my part-time PhD at the University of Sheffield and the ethical approval process was completed through their system. The main concerns for the project were ensuring that the group gave informed consent, participant anonymisation and preventing any harm coming to the group. However, my ethical considerations for this project stemmed further than the University ethical approval process required. As well as taking into account working with children, I was also working with people who did not speak English as their first language, and wanted to use visual methods in collecting and discussing data. In addition to this I was also volunteering in an institution that placed me in a position of power in relation to the group I wanted to work with. These issues are addressed below with examples from other projects where this has been addressed.

In volunteering at the WEA to gain access to a suitable group to work with I moved from one position of authority to another. One of my aims was to work collaboratively with a group and to remove or reduce the researcher-participant imbalance. By becoming a teaching assistant in the ESOL class, I mitigated the outsider researcher relationship but was presented with a teacher-student imbalance. I will discuss this further in the section below. I saw my role in the classroom as a general helper, providing support with language, vocabulary and grammar. I also provided information for more practical problems within the group such as filling in forms, educational choices and where to find things in Leicester. During classes I would place myself

amongst the group rather than apart or at the front and would join in where appropriate with the encouragement of the tutor.

To approach consent for the purpose of the project, every participant received an information sheet and signed a consent form. Before signing the forms we discussed the project as a group with the tutor. Everyone was advised that they did not have to take part in any of the project, but I would still help at the classes regardless of their decisions. The consent form included an option to determine where their data is used, such as in my thesis, in presentations or articles. This box was completed following a discussion about where I might use the data and what that meant, and that I would also gain permission before further uses of the data later. Everyone agreed to allow me to use their anonymised data in my thesis, while a few of the group were more specific about other uses in the future. As in Brady & Brown (2013):

> "In hindsight, we recognise that we could have been clearer about how such resources might survive beyond the life of the particular project but we had not considered this ourselves at the time…"(p.105)

Photographic images of adults, families and children were collected as part of this project with the intention to include them in this thesis. Following further discussion, there were removed as this thesis will be available online as a public resource. The people I worked with were not explicitly aware of this when they signed the consent forms and therefore any photographs where they are easily identified are not included.

The Power and Privilege Problem

In undertaking this project, I sought to develop a relationship with the group I wanted to work with. In the previous year I had arranged meetings and discussion with the tutors and administrator at the WEA in order to work out an approach to gaining access to the group. My original plan involved dropping into the group and asking if they would like to work with me on my project and then continuing on this path separately to the ESOL classes. This was unsuccessful. The WEA are a busy not-for-profit organisation and with the support I required we would have different priorities. To put myself into the organisation's position, I volunteered as a teaching assistant for

the ESOL group. In doing so, I put myself into a position of power and privilege in relation to the group but at the same time gained regular access. I became part of the institution. I had a two-fold position of power, one as an authority figure at the WEA and the second as researcher from the university. Below I will discuss the concerns regarding both positions. In order to mitigate the effects of being in a position of authority with the group, I needed to be aware of issues around power relations in research projects.

Beginning a relationship with a group of people in order to build a research project together raises a number of questions about how to go about this. The topic of power relations was raised by Janes (2016). While Janes is not the first to explore power relations in these relationships (Muhammed et al. 2015) she brings to light three points when addressing the need to be transparent in understanding privileges and differences between researcher and community. “Eurocentric narrative constructs” (Stanton, 2013. p. 577) are embedded in the ways in which research and collaborative projects are undertaken with indigenous and ethnic communities across Europe, the US and Australasia. The structures that form the theoretical, methodological and practical underpinnings are essentially biased towards the academic institution. Stanton (2013) explains how restrictive timings, funding requirements and methodological requirements (advised by the funding or academic body) are when working with a Native community in the US. In undertaking a community-based participatory approach to her project, she found that participants were short of time to take part and understood some of the terminology differently, which warranted more time and a different approach to collecting, analysing and interpreting the data from originally intended (p. 577).

Janes (2016) outlines falling into the trap of using research terminology and speaking for others, language used by researchers and how people may change their own language while working with a researcher to fulfil what they think the researcher wants to hear. All of these issues stem from the hierarchy of academic researcher *apparently* knowing more and their knowledge carrying more weight than the communities that sit *outside* of academia. Muhammed et al. (2015) explore these issues from a healthcare research perspective. They found that their positionality

could have a great influence on the willingness and outcomes of communities taking part in their research projects. They address two questions – how do socio-cultural identities impact on community based participatory research and how do the realities of power and privilege relations due to our identities affect our capacity to successfully co-create a project (p.1047). Both articles agree that there are techniques that can be used to mitigate the epistemic privilege that a researcher can hold over a community. It has to be understood that the difference between researcher and community experts should be recognised and addressed as part of the process. Their recommendations to mitigate 'us and them' hierarchies is to include researchers from the same communities as those being included in the project. However the authors are speaking from the position of having a vast number of researchers working for their organisation from a variety of backgrounds. In my case I was not from the same background as the group, who also did not share a common background, but we did all share an ESOL group.

From my own example of communities being drawn to or being more comfortable with working with those they believe they can relate to, I observed this behaviour during the fieldwork for a previous project (Barratt, 2014). My project was exploring family experiences in a number of museums across the UK using photographic elicitation interviewing. My recruitment method was to stand in the foyer of the museum and approach family groups to ask if they would be interested in taking part. The process had a short time commitment outside of the museum visit to talk over the photographs taken. I made a conscious effort to approach as many families as possible and not just families that I felt comfortable approaching or who reflected my own demographics. However it was only families from white, middle class backgrounds who agreed to take part.

Cloutier et al. (2016) in their arts based research project with English language learners at the National Art Gallery of Canada worked with a similar group of people to my group. Their project followed a group of university level English language students on a course in Ontario. While their focus was on semi-structured interviews with the students, the works of art were viewed at the Gallery as part of the tutor's plan to visit. Following this the students were asked to present a reflective piece of written

work and a presentation (p.142). In this project the students were not asked to do anything outside of their language course, which made taking part in the project simple as it did not disrupt the benefits to the student.

Janes (2016) puts forward an argument that community based participatory action research (CBPAR) can be used effectively to remove issues of power imbalance between institution and community partners. Part of the case supporting her argument highlights that academic literature on the theory of CBPAR is lacking and so when the methodology is approached the benefits are not given as much consideration by the academic community. By approaching the methodologies with a post-colonial standpoint the literature could be created and supported. Janes (ibid) also mentions applying feminist theory to this area but does not take this discussion further at this time. She finalises her paper by making two proposals to move forward with producing an epistemology of CBPAR and related methodologies: increasing transparency while working with communities to better understand the privileges and differences between researcher and community to create a better understanding of how knowledge flows in both directions between partners within research.

Smith (1999) poses a number of questions that need to be addressed in relation to balancing input and findings from projects that include a researcher from a position of privilege and a community group:

> "Whose research is it? Who owns it? Whose interests does it serve? Who will benefit from it? Who has designed its questions and framed its scope? Who will carry it out? Who will write it up? How will its results be disseminated?" (p. 10)

Linda Tuhiwai Smith writes from the position of academic and Maori. From this position she addresses the inequalities in power relations between researcher/institution and researches within the context of historical and contemporary research conducted in New Zealand. She highlights the conscious and unconscious bias of projects that work with indigenous communities. An overarching theme within this area is summarised here:

> "Many researchers, academics and project workers may see the benefits of their particular research projects as serving a greater good 'for mankind', or serving a specific emancipatory goal for an oppressed community". (ibid, p. 2)

This comes from what I would describe as researchers or activists who are aiming to 'change the world' with their findings or help communities that they feel *need* their help. This puts "…the privilege of the looker (sometimes onlooker) over the looked at and the researcher over the object of research." (Leonardo, 2013. p. 603). This manifests itself in not only the projects outcomes and methods but also in the language used to describe participants for example. Phrases that appear to be innocuous such as learner, put participants in a deficit position by implying less knowledge than the researcher.

> "…the entire epistemological preference becomes the common currency of a dominant discourse."(Staller, 2012 p. 397)

Staller, is a Professor of Social Work in Michigan and highlights the pitfalls of epistemological unconscious including examples with qualitative research methods and ethics where the institutional requirements of pre-determining ethical issues can cause delays and complications with gaining ethical approval. The institutional privilege can interfere with gaining ethical or general permission to conduct projects that may include methods that move away from the empirical.

"Eurocentric narrative constructs" (Stanton, 2013. p. 577) are embedded in the ways in which research and collaborative projects are undertaken with indigenous and ethnic communities across Europe, the US and Australasia. The structures that form the theoretical, methodological and practical underpinnings are essentially biased towards the academic institution. Stanton (2013) explains how restrictive timings, funding requirements and methodological requirements (advised by the funding or academic body) are when working with a Native community in the US. In undertaking a community-based participatory approach to her project she found that participants were short of time to take part and understood some of the terminology differently, which warranted more time and a different approach to collecting, analysing and interpreting the data from originally intended (p. 577).

This changed my approach and understanding. Using the example of my project, I began by outlining what I wanted to get out of my participants. I framed my research plan based on my outcomes and had not considered that these outcomes do not take into account the interests or needs of the participants I aim to work with. I want to find out what my participants' experiences are in the museum. This is to allow me to understand this better so that I can explore possibilities where local authority museums may be able to improve their relations with their local communities. In this case, the local communities are one of the most diverse in the county. However, my project does not hold any direct benefit for the participants as it is written here. Assumptions could be made that the participants I am hoping to recruit do not visit the museum, have low educational attainment and will benefit from visiting the museum. To refer back to Smiths' (1999) questioning "Whose interests does it serve? Who will benefit from it?" (p.10). The implication is that I will be helping my participants improve their lives through their participation in the project and framing myself as the generous academic helping those who I have deemed in need of help.

My intention has not been to approach my project in this way and above is a brutal de-construction of what my project looked like. However, through my language, sub-conscious actions and reactions (with the often uncomfortable observations of my supervisor) it is apparent I need to address the areas mentioned in this paper. While my questions will not change, my approach to working with the participants will.

In working with community groups and people from communities that are involved in providing content for museum displays, Carnegie (2003) encountered two instances where consent was withdrawn after a time. In both cases the original contributions were felt to be inappropriate or to not represent the contributor in a way that they would wish. Both contributors had given full permission for their images and context to be put on display in the first instance and had withdrawn that consent after seeing the items on display. It raised the question of using memories in museum displays, and as such within research projects.

> "Meanings, including our understandings of mediated memories, are dependent on contexts. Museum collecting policies which govern matters of memory must respond to debates about whether memories can be collected in

> the same way as objects and can therefore be owned remains a subject for debate…" (ibid, p. 72)

In deciding what is appropriate to display or discuss, the concept of communities having autonomy in determining how they are represented can be at odds with the museum's priorities. While museums should be providing a framework in which local groups can create content to share, many museums find themselves at odds with the communities they are working with as their visions of the final product are at odds (ibid, p. 73).

Practical and ethical considerations when working with children

As described briefly above in the discussion on privilege and power, often adults will speak for children as their guardians. More recently, there has been an increase in literature on children's rights in relation to research projects and gaining consent. The general consensus is that in most cases children have a right and the ability to determine whether they would like to take part in a project or not. Christensen (2004) suggests that children should be treated in the same way as adults in respect to methods and ethical standards in any project. By using this approach, in the same way that I would ensure that other people in the group understand the project, I would need to make sure that I explained what we were doing, build an appropriate relationship and also gain consent and ongoing consent with them.

In the same way that there is often a power imbalance that needed to be addressed with the adults in the group, the children who took part can also belong to an imbalance in any relationship between researcher and participant. As described by Khoja (2016) in her work in a Saudi Arabian kindergarten, adults have more privilege than children as the main decision makers, but also that they "might have unintentionally encouraged the children to behave in a culturally acceptable manner" (p.316-317). In working with the children on a regular basis she was able to identify the moments when silence or a gentle avoidance of wanting to take part was happening. In one case this was a polite refusal to draw a picture with other children, while still discussing other children's pictures as part of the group (p.316). She recognised that this child was expressing her right not to take part in that particular activity. Khoja adopted a three tiered structure of consent, which I will also follow.

Firstly consent was obtained from the parent or guardian of the child, secondly the child was also asked if they wanted to take part in the project (2016, p.316) and finally any indication that the child did not want to take part was respected.

Christensen (ibid) reflects on her work with children in an ongoing healthcare setting in Denmark. Her observations included children responding better to her once she had built a relationship with them that included them having a certain degree of authority over the project. She demonstrates that the children needed to get to know her before they would open up:

> "…it was only in later interactions with children, when they knew and trusted me, that I learned that our first encounters had been conditioned by children's initial discomforts." (ibid, p.168)

In my project the adults in the family groups will be familiar with me and the project before introducing other family members in smaller groups. Graham et al (2015) in an effort to document best practice when working with children, outline their questions for consideration when obtaining informed consent. There questions include deciding if the children are capable of providing consent, if they are fully informed, if the consent is freely given and if there is an option for them to withdraw or not contribute if they should wish (p.338).

Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the data collection process of this project, from deciding what data I would have liked to collect based on my methods, to the final results of the data collection. It was important for me to make sure that what I collected was a fair representation of the visits, that I was not pushing any agendas or being an influence on the visits or the outcomes. I was also keen for museum visiting to be as natural as possible within the confines of a group visit and family visits. After planning to collect a range of data, the plans were adapted to fit the groups, the timescale and the practicalities of the project. This resulted in a broad selection of data, albeit not as wide a range creatively as initially planned.

I will be going into detail on the data I collected in the following chapters and linking the data to previous literature. After exploring the content of the visits from the films

and photographs, I will look at the drawings that also came out of the visits and how these build on my findings.

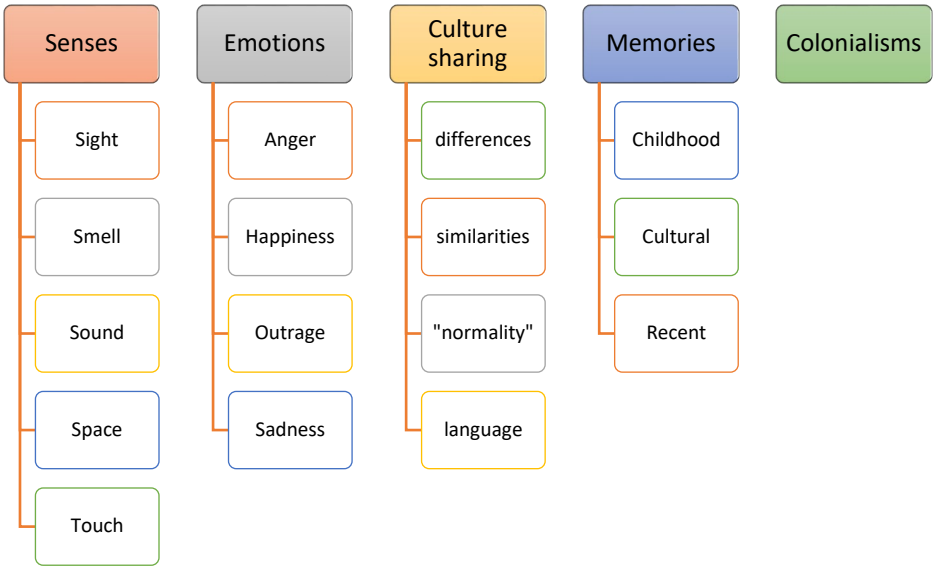
Chapter 5: Collecting our Thoughts

Introduction

At the beginning of the project, I posed myself three questions:

1. How do the senses impact on the museum visiting experience?
2. What do visitors feel when they go round the museum?
3. How does local museum visiting make a difference to local super-diverse communities?

I kept these in mind while I was visiting the museum with the different groups. The data from the visits were inputted into NVivo and coded around themes that emerged from the questions above. In this chapter and the next, I will detail the data that aligns with these themes. The themes that came from reconciling the data and the questions are listed in the diagram below.



The visits provided photographs, film and discussion around a variety of topics. I attempted to maintain a follower position throughout the visits in order to allow the groups to lead me around the spaces. Where appropriate I asked enquiring questions and follow up questions during conversations rather than leading ones. My aim was to create a relaxed visit, knowing that an entirely natural visit would not be possible with me in tow. Following inputting all the data into NVivo I worked through it methodically, coding the appropriate interactions and thoughts within the above

matrix. Additional sub-categories were added where needed to expand the five top level themes and explore them further.

The data developed during the visits as originally I took a DSLR camera, my phone and notebook. For the last few visits, I only took my phone and notebook. Short notes were made during the visit and the photos were used as writing prompts for when I was in a place where I could make more detailed field notes. This allowed me to be more engaged with the visit and the groups I was with. While I was there to observe I was also there as a companion. My role on the ESOL group visits was as an unofficial guide. Any questions about the museum, history or general wayfaring was directed at me. It bought me into the group rather than kept me as a distant observer. It also opened up the option for the conversations I had in the museum that has informed some of my findings.

My data collection methods, while well planned, developed into a messy creation of content. This content has given me a range of themes from which to explore how people from super-diverse communities engage with their local history museum. From here, I will take the themes and the theory and marry them together. This will allow me to take this one step further and develop further theories around super-diverse audiences. Having the three questions helped to focus my thinking and findings.

I had intentions to conducting post-visit interviews with groups, family groups and individuals as part of my data collection process. With the WEA ESOL group I spent time with them after the visit in their classes and we spoke about the visit in an informal fashion. They were also asked to complete a presentation to the class about objects they would put into a museum to represent themselves. With the other REIA ESOL groups, I spent at least one other session with them following the visit to Newarke Houses Museum. The following week was a visit to the Richard III Visitor Centre in Leicester. While I was not collecting data at the visitor centre, the groups seemed to be a little more engaged with the history. They also asked a wider range of questions. This could have been due to the sustained relationship of the group – it was week four or five of the programme, or could be the more specific focus of the visitor centre. With the family groups, there was a struggle to find the time to sit and chat following the visit.

The visits also gave the groups the opportunity to ask questions and practise their language skills. The visits with the Real English in Action (REIA) English as a Second Language (ESOL) classes had a worksheet of objects to locate and we spent 20 minutes at the beginning of the class practising questions related to museums such as – *do you have a gift shop?* – prior to visiting. The family visits were unstructured and as mentioned above aimed to be relaxed.

With the majority of the visits it was apparent that the people visiting relaxed into speaking in English with me. There was not the stress of trying to make sure the exact correct language was used which lead to natural conversations. Sometimes I was asked to help with vocabulary but for the most part we all understood each other with little stress. Many of the families involved saw the visits as additional opportunities to practise their language skills outside of the classroom with a familiar face. The REIA classes were designed to go out into local areas and use English language skills and so were prepared to ask questions and speak with each other in English. I stressed that while language was an important aspect of the visits and everyone who took part was learning English in a formal programme, there was no requirement to speak English on the family visits. In some cases some conversations between people in the family groups were in first languages but they then explained to me what they had been discussing.

In this chapter, I will outline my relationship with the groups and the individuals, ESOL learners in the museum, memories and colonialisms. In the next chapter I will look at the senses, emotions and ideas of sharing on the visits. In the following pages, I will explore these themes and the interactions around them. I will begin with the practicalities of working with the groups and people.

My relationship with the groups and individuals

Through the project, one of my aims was to encourage relationship building with the groups with which I was working. My initial attempts at meeting individuals to take part in my project was not successful. Some people were interested in what I was doing but I only met them once and had no other contact with them aside from the project. This meant that they did not know me and so their interest only lasted as long as I was with them. During my Master's degree fieldwork, I encountered a similar

issue. The project then involved taking photographs on disposable cameras around a museum. The point of where disinterest over took the project was during the wait for the photographs to be developed, even though this was only a couple of hours. We had no relationship apart from the meeting in the museum and if there was another pressing matter or the group was ready to leave, they did. I left with a number of sets of photographs without accompanying interviews.

In this project, I wanted to make sure I was giving something to the people as well as them helping me with my work. By volunteering, I was able to spend more time with each group and build relationships. At the Workers' Education Association (WEA), I discussed my work with the tutor prior to the beginning of the classes. He agreed to include the museum visit into the programme and he used the museum as a theme throughout. He was keen to make his level 2 ESOL classes a little more interesting and also encourage the learners to engage with their local heritage. In each class there was at least one volunteer, and a couple of times I met other volunteers who regularly came to other sessions that I could not attend.

I saw this group on a weekly basis for the first term, then this dropped to once a fortnight due to my own workload and availability from January to June when the class finished. We visited the museum as a class group in the first term. By that point everyone was aware of who I was, that I helped in class and that I was also completing a project. While the museum visit was part of their curriculum everyone agreed to their experiences being recorded. They were happy to chat informally about what interested them in the museum. In the subsequent classes we shared cultural experiences, festivals and traditions. Everyone was able to contribute and the atmosphere was friendly and supportive. From this experience I learnt a lot about the reasons behind people settling in Leicester. It was also a great experience on spending time in a learning environment with people who are learning English as an additional language.

I felt like I became part of the group. We shared food brought in by members of the group to show what they might eat at Christmas. This session led to conversations after Christmas about different calendars; we also talked about traditions and smaller family traditions of how time is spent during religious holidays. The conversations

stemmed from a comment made about Nowrus – Iranian New Year – that is celebrated around 20th March. By the Christmas break we had settled into a degree of familiarity and all shared Christmas cards. This made asking people to visit the museum again outside of class with their families a much easier task. I conducted two visits in the February half term of that academic year. I had one more tentative arrangement with a family in that time, but this was completed in March. From a class of 11, I visited the museum again with three family groups. Sadly, the group stopped meeting before the end of the summer term and we parted without any formal farewells. This was due to a lack of ESOL funding in the WEA centre.

In approaching a new group for the second academic year I decided to use the successful volunteering tactic. Leicester Adult Skills and Learning Service (LASALS) were keen to take me on as a volunteer and during my interviews and applications, they told me about the REIA course that they run as an supplementary course for Entry 1 and 2 ESOL students. The six weekly sessions go out into local sites to use English language in natural settings. I spent some time speaking with the tutors for this course and they also agreed that their museum visit could be at the Newarke Houses Museum rather than at the New Walk Museum as they had done in the year before. Again volunteering and spending time with the tutors and the group provided a mutually beneficial experience. I was the only native English speaking volunteer; there were at least two other ESOL level 2 students volunteering in the group as well.

With the first two groups for REIA I was able to spend time with the group visiting a theatre and shops before we went to the museum. All of the members of these two groups were happy to be included in the project in some way. A few declined to have their photos taken, but everyone was happy to have their experiences mentioned in this project. These visits had a reciprocal feel to them. I jotted down notes and took photos while they asked me questions about Leicester and museums.

With the third REIA group I had much less time to build a relationship. Due to Ramadan, the course had been reduced to four sessions and I was not available for all of them. We visited the museum on the second week so I had only met some of the learners the week before and some late joiners I met on the day. This had a pronounced effect on the consent given by the group. All were happy for me to ask

questions and make notes but almost all of the group declined to be photographed. This group were also not as forthcoming with questions about Leicester or the museum. On week four of the sessions we visited the Richard III Visitor Centre and by this time they were chatting and asking questions freely. While I did get some data on their experiences in the museum, it was not as detailed as the rest. Building relationships with a group even over a couple of weeks can make an enormous difference in data collection. I will explore building relationships with the groups further in the analysis chapter. The ESOL level of the learners impacted on the family visits following the group sessions. I organised one further family visit from these groups with one of the ESOL level 2 volunteers and her family.

ESOL Learners in the Museum

Gaining access to a group of people from diverse heritages was not a simple task. My first attempt at recruiting people from the WEA, before I began volunteering, did not work. I had the blessing of the centre and they helped me organise and communicate a meeting for people who might have been interested in taking part. I had a good relationship with the WEA due to work I had been doing on sharing information about mature students getting into higher education. This route did not allow for building relationships with the people who wanted to take part. The meeting left me with a couple of names and contact details but no firm plans. Following a rethink and discussion about community building, I decided to volunteer directly for the WEA. This bought me into discussions with one tutor who was happy to work with me on going to the museum and allowing me to help with his classes. I took this experience into my second organisation and approached them directly through the route of volunteering for them even though I had a previous relationship with them. I was clear and upfront about my reasons for wanting to volunteer; as covered above in the section about relationships.

The ESOL groups in the project were bought together through learning, but also through geographical location. Learners tend to attend an ESOL class that is close to home or easy to travel to. This was the case with the groups that I worked with. The WEA class all lived within easy travelling distance from the WEA centre. The WEA Centre is just off Narborough Road in Leicester. The REIA groups were invited from

different local authority run ESOL classes. The first group came from classes at the St Barnabas Centre, the second from the city centre classes and the final group were from a mix of classes. Each class reflected the demographics of the surrounding communities. In a previous chapter, I detail the demographics of Leicester and the particular figures for the areas concerned. The overview is that the WEA group represents the super-diverse area around Narborough Road. These are the smaller newer communities in Leicester. The REIA groups were more representative of the settled migrant communities in the city.

It was apparent from seeing the learners in the classroom and then spending time with them in the museum that there were some benefits to taking the learning outside. In the classroom the focus was on getting grammar and vocabulary correct with an emphasis through reading, writing and speaking. This was all based around a syllabus that was designed to get people through assessments at the end of the year and onto the next level. Most of the learners were attending to improve their language skills generally, a few were doing it to obtain work and a couple were looking at further education opportunities. However for most of the learners there were not a lot of places where they could practice their language skills outside of the classroom. The WEA classroom was the more diverse of the groups. There was not a great deal of cross over between languages except for English and so this was predominantly spoken in the classroom and on the visits. From working with the LASALS group it was more apparent that most of the learners did not have anyone to practise their English with outside of the classes. There were also smaller groups within the classes of people who spoke a common language. This meant that when learning was not taking place, they fell back into conversation in a more familiar language.

By taking the learners to the museum, it allowed them to use the skills they had from the classroom. The clearest view of this I had was with the WEA group. The confident language users began to be quite chatty in the museum. Thoughts of correct grammar were still there but the emphasis on being understood was stronger. Missing vocabulary was found from reading panels, asking questions or using translation websites on their phones. Ks and Jn, who both speak Polish used their phones to check vocabulary in the museum. While they did share some conversations in their first

language, the majority of their interactions in the museum and in class were in English. Here they were looking up the Polish words for hosiery.

The biggest contrast was in the quieter learners who may have been more hesitant in class to speak up or get it right. My most appropriate example of this is with Na, who was from Eritrea and incredibly quiet in the classroom. He stood in front of an exhibit of shoes made in Leicester. He was surprised that shoe making was a prominent industry in Leicester. He had been a cobbler before he moved to the UK and this exhibit reminded him of how much he loved shoes. He spent about five minutes telling me in an animated fashion how a good pair of shoes would last for years and be worth repairing. He was disappointed in how so many shoes were poor quality now and how we have a habit of throwing away broken things instead of repairing them. He pointed out the types of shoes he could make and repair that were in the display. He expressed detailed opinions about recycling and wastefulness. During this conversation, his carefully constructed classroom sentences became less careful. He was still making himself clearly understood and he was much more conversational and engaged with the topic. From that point onwards he was also more engaged in the museum visit.

With the Real English in Action groups there was a certain degree of falling into conversation in a more familiar language and only using English where it was required on the worksheet. The conversations were usually elicited by the tutor or myself as we were going around the museum. The WEA tutor would get involved in demonstrating some of the activities in the museum with some of the group. In one encounter they were exploring how semaphore worked. There was a set of semaphore flags in the exhibit and a set of instructions. The tutor picked up the flags and demonstrated a few of the signals for Fs. Throughout this encounter, Fs watched intently and asked questions.

In one of the classes there were two women who only had English as a shared language and so they spent time together away from the rest of the group. I could see them trying activities and sharing stories as they went around the spaces. Generally, there was some animation around visiting the museum where the understanding of the exhibits came through. In spaces where it was not clear what the message was or

what the learners were looking at, they became disinterested quite quickly. This was also impacted by the level of English the learners had during each visit.

There was a clear benefit to using the museums as an additional learning resource for these groups. The classroom provided the theory behind the language, but the focus was very much on being successful in the assessments. By removing the pressure, the learners gained confidence in their ability to be understood and that people in the real world do not need a perfectly constructed sentence. While this was not my focus on the visits I will discuss it further in later chapters. I will now describe the findings from my key questions on the sensory and emotional experiences of the groups in the museum.

Memories

From the data collected on the visits, memory recall is seeded throughout museum experiences with the groups and families. The objects and spaces provided a catalyst for conversation around an individual's memories or a prompt for shared memories in the family groups. Within the ESOL groups this was a chance to share and compare experiences. In the family groups this could be more reminiscent of childhoods or family relationships. Due to the variability of memory recall, different objects or spaces triggered different responses. In the next chapter, I have included some examples of how sensory and emotional experiences have triggered a memory; for example, in the sharing of how to play hopscotch. In this section, I will show how some of the objects or subject matter in the museum have done the same thing.

With the ESOL groups, there were a few objects or topics that prompted conversations about subjects 'back home'. I use the term 'back home' as this was often how the person's country of origin was referred to in the conversation by them. While their home was now Leicester, all of the people who took part were born abroad and they all referred to the country of their birth as home. In the My Leicester, My Home exhibition, the local Leicester industries are described and have examples of the products produced. This inspired a couple of conversations about industries 'back home'. As described above, Ne spoke about his shoe repair career, while Ka and Jn spent some time looking up words on their phones due to comparisons with industry in Poland. For people from India, the Bollywood poster drew some comments.

When I visited with Lu and her friends from South America there were a couple of moments where they discussed shared cultural memories. One of these was in the haberdashery (figure 8), they had stopped to look at the display. The children had moved into the next room quite quickly. Lu had stopped and asked the rest of the adults in Spanish about their grandmothers' sewing habits. Lu was always conscious that they were talking in Spanish and I did not understand, so when they had finished talking she explained that their grandmothers and elderly relatives would always be sewing something. The haberdashery had a similar effect on a couple of the members of the REIA March group who commented that they would often make clothes for their children. Clothes and sewing came up with Lu again in the My Leicester My Home gallery; Lu mentioned that the children's clothes in Venezuela were the same as the ones in the cabinet. I took an image of Lu's friends talking about the clothing in the cabinet and the similarities. They spoke mostly in Spanish, but I could tell that the memories they were recalling were fond ones from their tone and the emotion on their faces. Mn and his wife had a discussion in the childhood room about games they would play when they were children. After mentioning that snakes and ladders was played during monsoon season, Mn spent some time describing a game he played with other children. He used descriptions of the game to explain it to me as the name would probably not be the same in English. From his descriptions we agreed that the game was Jacks. Rather than playing with metal shapes they would play with Jacks. During this time one of the museum assistants came through and she heard Mn speaking Guajarati and she helped with the translation as she also spoke it. They also discussed the objects in the Kampala to Leicester exhibit as being the same as they had at home, in particular the teapot and fabrics. This was echoed in the November REIA group who spent quite some time looking in the cabinets and discussing the contents in shared languages. I captured this image in figure 7 (page 99).

In an adjacent area to the lullaby listening post are two rooms about childhood and toys in Leicester. This room has cabinets with vintage toys and more modern versions. There were only a couple of occasions where the toys in these cabinets were referred to. In those cases, one was Mx who was pointing out his favourite toys which prompted a conversation on his mother's favourite toy:

"…she only had one doll as a child and looked after it really well because it was her only one. She said nowadays there is pressure to have a lot of toys but was not sure that was the best thing." (Field notes, Saturday 2nd February 2019)

The toys also heavily relate to the childhoods of local people in the 1950s-1980s and also to toys made by Palitoy in Coalville.

Figure 6 The Haberdashery (Feb 2018)

Figure 7 Peering into the cabinet together (Nov 2018)

Evidence of colonialism

While visiting with people from different heritages, I found that colonial attitudes in the museum were more noticeable. The actual evidence was only commented on by myself, in my notes, and one of the ESOL tutors who was on the first visit. All of the conversations and colonialisms were in areas that linked to the Leicestershire Regiment and the World Wars. On the first visit with the WEA ESOL group, the tutor pointed out the differences in place names. India was labelled as Hindoostan. The tutor commented that many of the group have links with the countries in the history of the Regiment. However using such names as Mesopotamia and Hindoostan, means that they do not always recognise it. In fact, on the subsequent visits, people from the countries mentioned did take an interest in the history of the Regiment in their countries when they recognised them. As described above Pa was interested in coming back when she had learnt more English so she could understand the panels about India.

The language used to describe places and the involvement of the British Empire was apparent across many of the wall panels. The text was written with pride in the British Empire and no mention of the realities of the British colonisation. One panel states:

> "For much of the 19th and 20th centuries Britain ruled the largest Empire the world has ever seen, and dominated world trade even in regions which formed no part of the Empire."

On a family visit with Lu and her friends, we briefly touched on her family's involvement in World War 2. We had walked past a wall panel that detailed "The Empire goes to War" and described which countries took part. This panel describes "colonies and dominions" (see figure 8). When I asked her if there was much involvement in the war from Venezuela during World War 1, she said no, but they did take part in World War 2. This also prompted her to explain that her grandfather was a doctor in Italy during World War 2. He left as he disagreed with the regime and moved to South America where he met her grandmother in Mexico and they settled in Venezuela.

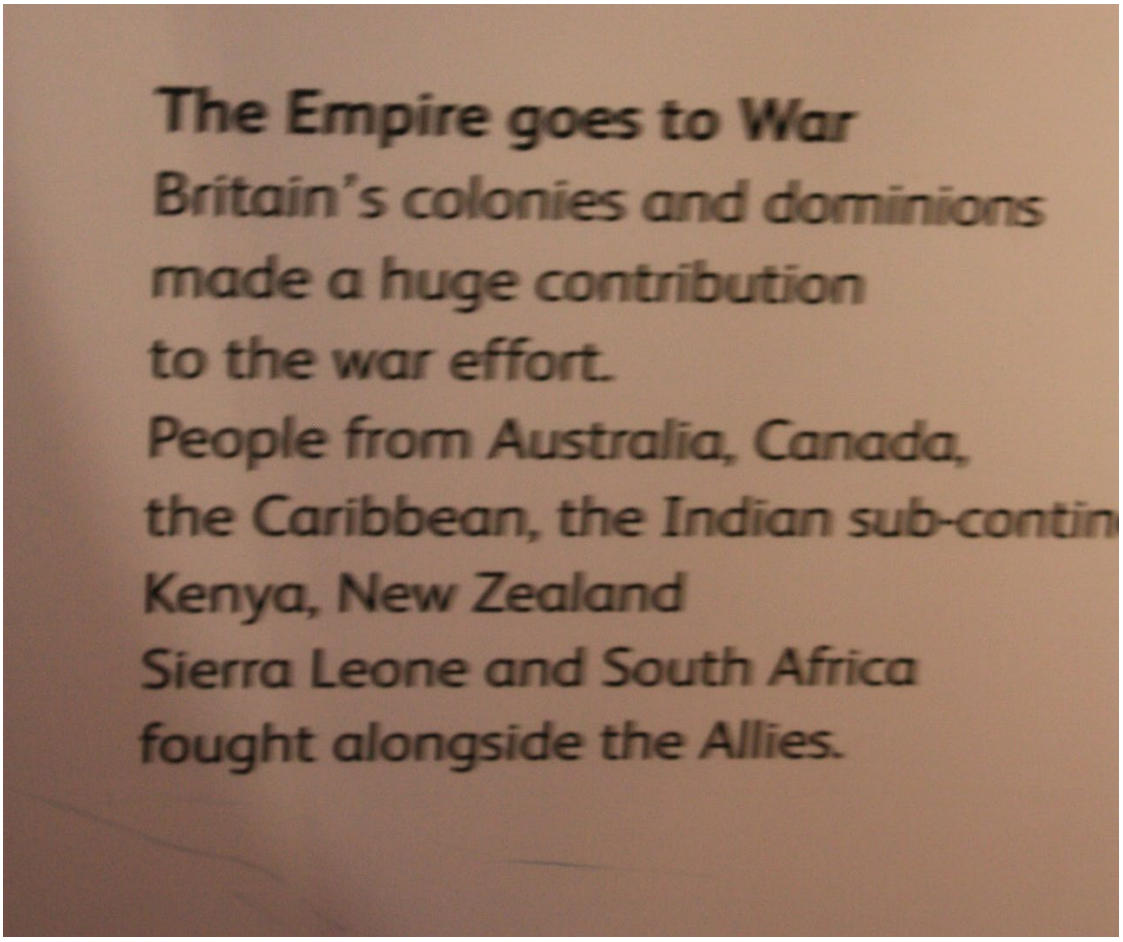


Figure 8 Detail from one of the text panels in the Regimental Gallery

During the visit with Lu and her friends, there was a lot of posing for photographs. One particular aspect of this stood out to me. This was when the children put on the military helmets. I took a number of photos as requested by the group of them all trying helmets on, in most of which the children are taking the dressing up quite seriously. They put on serious faces and posed as if they are the soldier or military person. At one point they all posed with the books on the table and with the lighting it resembled a wartime room with battle plans. The posing was not echoed by the adults in the group who all put on big smiles for the photos even while the children were being very serious.

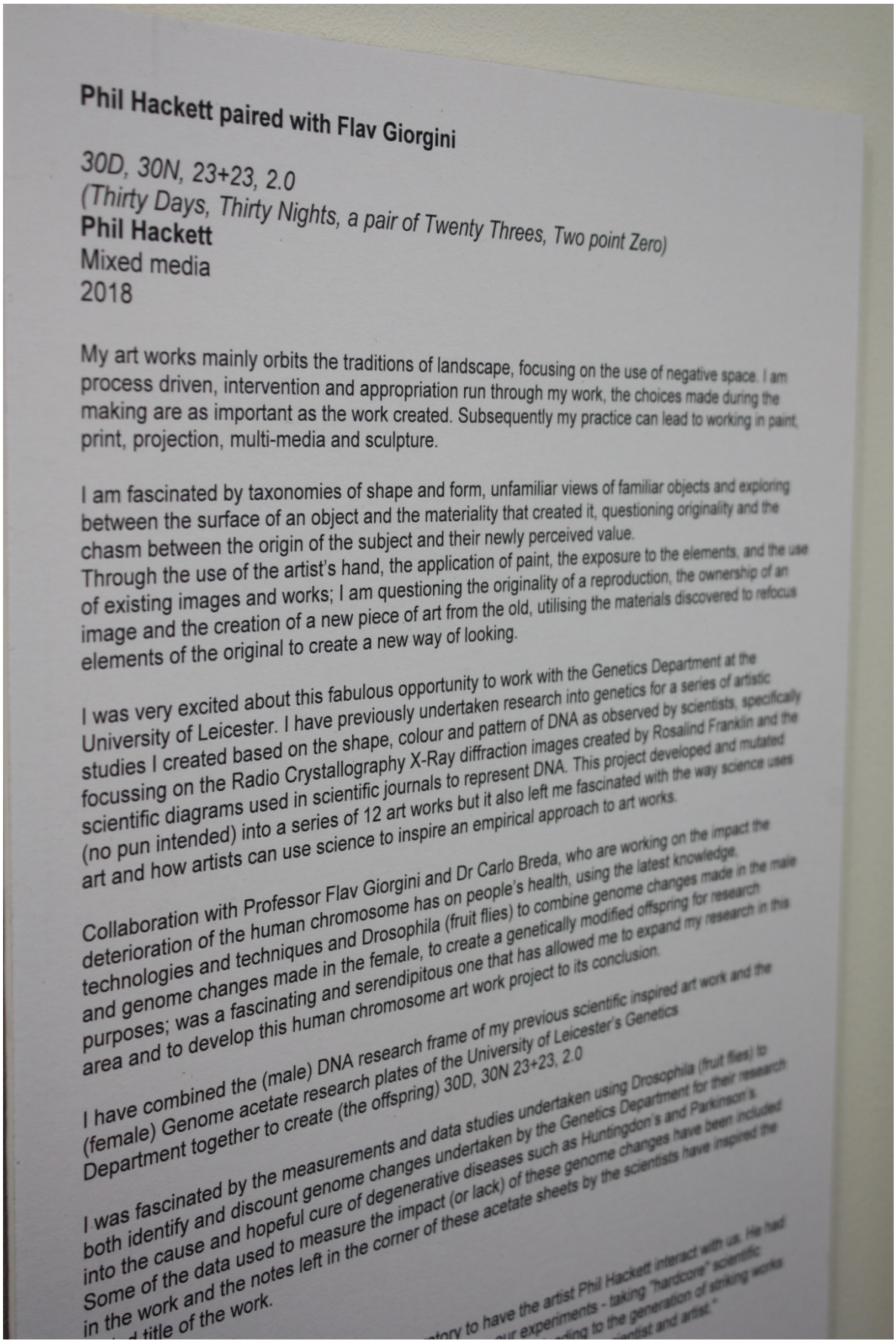
There were also numerous references to the Indian sub-continent where individual areas were not being referred to by their old colonial or historical names.

The language used on the panels in the museum was one of the reasons that people in the groups began to switch off. The lower galleries are simplistic in the text panel

language, where there are text panels. The Haberdashers shop is missing any explanation entirely (see figure 6 in the previous section). However, in one temporary exhibition that combined science with art, the language on the panels was scientific and full of jargon (see figure 9). Ma and Bd took a cursory glance and then moved out of the room. They were not interested in looking at the art if they could not read the panel.

On the visit with Ro and Mx, we had discussed what a bishop was, as Mx had seen it written on a text panel. That conversation grew into the differences between Catholicism, the Church of England and Orthodox Christianity (until Mk asked what pneumonia was). In the regimental gallery there was a doll and text panel about the Archbishop Makarios of Cyprus. Ro pointed this out to me as Orthodox Christianity does not have bishops or archbishops, which is what had prompted the initial conversation.

The content of the museum also prompted a conversation regarding wider discrimination. While we were in the temporary exhibition on a visit in November, I was discussing war memorials in Leicester with one of the group. She was interested in the Sikh soldiers' contributions and was telling me about the smaller war memorials in the park near Leicester's large memorial. The exhibition focused solely on the main Lutyen's War Memorial, and did not reference the smaller memorials to soldiers from across the world that are placed nearby. This prompted a questioning conversation as to why this exhibit did not include people from other countries and just people who were from Leicester. As an explanation for her interest, she told me that she had a Master's degree in History. The conversation went further into her wish to continue her education. She added, "It doesn't count here." This was in reference to higher educations' equivalents across countries. Her Master's degree from India is not considered as high a level of learning as one from the UK.



Phil Hackett paired with Flav Giorgini

30D, 30N, 23+23, 2.0
(Thirty Days, Thirty Nights, a pair of Twenty Threes, Two point Zero)
Phil Hackett
Mixed media
2018

My art works mainly orbits the traditions of landscape, focusing on the use of negative space. I am process driven, intervention and appropriation run through my work, the choices made during the making are as important as the work created. Subsequently my practice can lead to working in paint, print, projection, multi-media and sculpture.

I am fascinated by taxonomies of shape and form, unfamiliar views of familiar objects and exploring between the surface of an object and the materiality that created it, questioning originality and the chasm between the origin of the subject and their newly perceived value.
Through the use of the artist's hand, the application of paint, the exposure to the elements, and the use of existing images and works; I am questioning the originality of a reproduction, the ownership of an image and the creation of a new piece of art from the old, utilising the materials discovered to refocus elements of the original to create a new way of looking.

I was very excited about this fabulous opportunity to work with the Genetics Department at the University of Leicester. I have previously undertaken research into genetics for a series of artistic studies I created based on the shape, colour and pattern of DNA as observed by scientists, specifically focussing on the Radio Crystallography X-Ray diffraction images created by Rosalind Franklin and the scientific diagrams used in scientific journals to represent DNA. This project developed and mutated (no pun intended) into a series of 12 art works but it also left me fascinated with the way science uses art and how artists can use science to inspire an empirical approach to art works.

Collaboration with Professor Flav Giorgini and Dr Carlo Breda, who are working on the impact the deterioration of the human chromosome has on people's health, using the latest knowledge, technologies and techniques and Drosophila (fruit flies) to combine genome changes made in the male and genome changes made in the female, to create a genetically modified offspring for research purposes; was a fascinating and serendipitous one that has allowed me to expand my research in this area and to develop this human chromosome art work project to its conclusion.

I have combined the (male) DNA research frame of my previous scientific inspired art work and the (female) Genome acetate research plates of the University of Leicester's Genetics Department together to create (the offspring) 30D, 30N 23+23, 2.0

I was fascinated by the measurements and data studies undertaken using Drosophila (fruit flies) to both identify and discount genome changes undertaken by the Genetics Department for their research into the cause and hopeful cure of degenerative diseases such as Huntingdon's and Parkinson's.
Some of the data used to measure the impact (or lack) of these genome changes have been included in the work and the notes left in the corner of these acetate sheets by the scientists have inspired the title of the work.

tory to have the artist Phil Hackett interact with us. He had
ur experiments - taking "hardcore" scientific
ding to the generation of striking works
ientist and artist."

Figure 9 Text panel in the temporary exhibit

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined the findings from how the experiences of visiting the museum impacts on the visitor. The identity of the visitors as ESOL learners and having been born in different countries creates alternative meanings to come of the exhibits. The individuals are also permitted to explore and share their identities and memories through the nature of the exhibits and objects. This highlighted some of the colonial references in the exhibits and how culture is shared through conversation and demonstration. This initial analysis of the visits shows how the museum can improve on the language used around the museum, either by removing the colonial references or simplifying the language in exhibits, even if they are temporary to allow for additional language speakers to understand. In one case there is more explanation required, where any text panels are missing. I have also shown my own observations from visiting with people who have English as an additional language and who were born outside of the UK. The informal manner of the visits allowed us to chat and discuss topics without feeling like there was a pressure to create data. This broader outline of the visits begins to underpin the next chapters where I will go into more detail about some of the encounters that link to my questions. In the next chapter, I will be exploring some of the findings from the question – how do the visitors feel when they go around the museum?

Chapter 6: Collecting our Experiences

Introduction

In the last chapter, I explored the data relating to the questions of how people from diverse backgrounds experience the museum as speakers of English as an additional language, and how memories were an important part of experiencing the museum. The previous chapter also outlined my role as researcher with the groups and families on their visits and observations I made during the visits of my surroundings that I might not have done before. In this chapter, I look at the question of how the visitors feel when they are going around the museum. These findings fall into three topic areas – emotional experiences, sensory experiences and culture sharing.

The emotional experiences

Throughout the visits I paid attention to the emotions expressed by my co-visitors. In the data I narrowed this down to general emotional responses, such as positivity and dis-interest. I then went further into the details of these responses looking at areas that provoked anger, happiness and sadness. Generally, the class based groups were concentrating which meant that emotional responses were withheld to a certain extent, until something peaked someone's interest. The emotional and cultural backgrounds of the person visiting also had an impact. It could also be observed that the time of year or current affairs made a difference to the emotional experiences of the visitors. The temporary exhibitions reflected key points in history and also were relevant to the time of year.

Generally everyone was positive about visiting the museum. The WEA group had been building up to the visit and had been working on reading, writing and presentations about museums in the classroom. They had written about objects that they might put into a museum and presented the papers to the class. They had thought about who might visit museums and which other museums they had been to. The tutor had built this into his syllabus so that the visit sat in the middle of the term. This class group was the most enthusiastic about their visit having completed extended work around it. The other class groups did not have as much of a lead into the visits. At the beginning of each REIA class, there were 20 minutes of preparation time to practise questions and

phrases. The REIA classes had students at a lower ESOL level than at the WEA. As the whole course was geared around visiting shops, theatres and museums, the enthusiasm was not obvious with these groups, it was simply seen as part of the course. For the family groups visiting there was an obvious enthusiasm to visit again and to contribute to the project. There was a noticeable correlation between how long I had known a group and how much emotion they displayed in the museum. However, this could also be offset against what level of ESOL learner they were. The last group I visited with showed less emotion within the museum generally. Some of these learners I had only met on the day. For some this was also an opportunity to practise their English language with a native speaker in an informal setting as there was not always an opportunity to do so at home. I discussed the benefits of using museums in language practice with the ESOL tutors and also with some of the groups.

Figure 10 The cooking and tiffin pots and teapot.

Figure 11 Praying in front of Ganesh (Family Visit Feb 2018)

For the first group from WEA, there was a general enthusiasm as we entered the museum. One member of the group, who was usually one of the quieter ones in class, was keen to show me shoes in one of the cabinets. Na, who I described before regarding using English in the museum, showed a surprising amount of emotion when speaking about the boots and shoes. He was excited that he had a connection to Leicester and this greatly increased his confidence while in the museum.

On the same visit, Mn found a Bollywood poster that he recognised from when he was younger in India. He stopped other group members to show them that he knew about the actors and the movie. His enthusiasm rolled over into the next room with the listening post. This space had such an impact on many of the groups that I have gone into more detail below. In his second visit, Mn and his wife spent some time looking at the poster again. Mn was proud that the museum had something he could relate to and that linked to his childhood. Mn's wife who was not in any ESOL classes, I had only met that day, had been quiet throughout most of the visit and, pulled me close in the Kampala to Leicester exhibit. She had seen the cooking and tiffin pots in the cabinet and wanted to explain to me that they had those at her home in India (see figure 10). I took an image of the pots and tea pot in this exhibition as this was the spot where

Mn's wife had begun to open up to me about herself and her family. From there she also went on to explain that she knew businesses in the Rushey Mead area of Leicester and went to the Rushey Mead temple. She engaged the children in looking into the cabinet with the pots and explained to them in Guajarati what she had explained to me. She also pointed out a small statue of Ganesh to the children as it was similar to the one in the temple. On seeing this, the youngest child (aged 2) prayed in front of it (see figure 11). I took this image as it was a direct and spontaneous interaction by the child with the object. She was not concerned about what her parents were doing or what our conversation had been about before. She had moved around the room looking into the cabinets and placed herself in front of the small statue and clasped her hands together. This action was recognised by her parents who then laughed and pointed out that this is what they did at the temple. This lead onto a conversation about their attendance at the temple in Rushey Mead.

The Kampala to Leicester exhibit also evoked some emotions in two of the *Real English in Action* ESOL groups. The November group and March group found that they had strong connections to the story or the object in this room. For one member of the March group it was a very personal moment as her family had been split between returning to India and coming to the UK in 1972. They had decided depending on what passports everyone had. She had returned to India but had moved to the UK four years ago. She had moved to be with family who had settled in Leicester directly from Uganda. This room told a story that she had lived through. In that group there was a majority of people who had moved from India to Leicester. They all seemed interested in the objects in the cabinets and there was a lot of crowding around, pointing at objects and discussions in English, Guajarati and Hindi (see figure 7 in previous chapter). I took the photo to show how close they had all gathered around the cabinet, and that they were pointing and chatting in a variety of languages. Everyone has their heads down, but the impression of sharing stories and excitement. Most of the conversations were around the businesses they knew and interest in how they had come to be there. In this group many of the people lived in the area near St Barnabas Church where the ESOL group met. The businesses and places mentioned in the Kampala to Leicester exhibit were all local to their homes and places they frequented.

The March group were not all from the same area of Leicester but some individuals found connections with the objects. SaH recognised some of the household objects as being the same in Kenya where she had moved from 7 months ago. This made her excited and animated about the content of the room. She was keen to share that she recognised the objects and had a link to them. Some of the other members of the group thought that the newer objects in the cases could be for sale.

The Kampala to Leicester exhibition also prompted a conversation around safety and expectations in the city for new arrivals. A small group within the March *Real English in Action* group began to chat about their first impressions of Leicester when they arrived. This was Pa who moved from India, Ju who moved from Poland and their tutor who had moved from Poland. Pa had said that she felt much safer once she had moved to Leicester compared to where she had lived before. She did not want to elaborate on that more than expressing that she liked living in Leicester. Following the visit she asked about different festivals and activities she could get involved in. Ju said that she had been shocked at the number of Asian people in Leicester when she first moved from Poland. The exhibit had reminded her why people moved to Leicester from different places. Now the diversity of the city was normal for her and it would be strange to live in a place where there was not as much diversity.

The November REIA group's emotional responses had been influenced by the time of year. As the 100th anniversary of the Armistice had just passed there was a heightened awareness of loss, regret and sadness on their visit. At this time the museum had a temporary exhibit about the role of the people of Leicester in World War 1. One of the group took a great interest in the temporary exhibition. Many of the group were moving around it looking at the pictures and not taking time to read the text (this was common in areas where there was little interest in the subject). There was one exhibit that caught their attention as a group in the temporary exhibition; this was of a young girl's nurses uniform from the flu pandemic in 1918. We spent some time discussing why the uniform was so small and what had happened to the child who had worn it. The child had contracted flu herself and died. This made the group feel quite melancholy. Many of the women in the group were parents and so the age of the girl who had helped people with flu and also succumbed to it struck a chord.

On the visit with Ma and her son we spoke about the topic of war. In the group visit Ma had said that she would like to see an end to all war. On the family visit this came up again. While we were in the Trenches and Regimental galleries she said that "war is wasteful" and that she had experienced it personally. I enquired if that was why she was in Leicester but she answered me with a look that said she did not want to discuss it further. A few moments later she said that while she was in Iran aged 6, her school was bombed, her teacher had lead all of the pupils into tunnels under the school for safety. She relayed this in quite a matter of fact manner, I did not ask any probing questions due to the look she had given me previously. When we went into the Home Front room with the shelter and rationing table she re-iterated that wars were bad. In the exhibits we walked through while talking, Bd, her son, was still engaging with different parts of the exhibits. Ma was facilitating but with less enthusiasm.

The museum evoked a range of emotions within the groups and individuals that I had not expected when we initially visited. In most cases, the emotions come from recognition or having a link with an object or subjects within the museum.

The sensory experiences

Most museums are designed with the senses in mind in order to encourage a more immersive experience. Sensory experiences can also evoke memories. This links in with the emotional responses to certain exhibits or topics. Museums are generally sight orientated and as it would be expected use the senses in a westernised fashion. Below are some examples of the sensory experiences that I observed on the visits. In coding these references I split them into a westernised format of sight, smell, sounds, touch and replaced taste with space. In some of the examples, the space was an important factor in the response from the person.

Sight

Sight, being the dominant sense in all museums, meant that even the least confident English speakers could engage with the objects within the museum. With English being an additional language for the groups I visited with, reading the text panels was often a last resort to find out information about the objects or exhibits in the museum. With some of the large groups, I observed people taking photographs of the text panels so they could read and translate them later. In one of the Regimental Galleries the

interactive map drew some attention from individuals and couples. It was apparent that the people who used this map activity were looking at the maps as a visual guide and not reading the text that accompanied them in detail. Pa from the March REIA group spent some time looking at the exhibit about *Hindoostan* in the Regimental Galleries. She was interested in the content as it related to the country she was born in. However, she found the panel difficult to read and she explained how she wanted to be more confident in her ability to understand it. She pointed out the rifles and sabres in the cabinet next to the panel and said that people in India still had those. Her passion for learning more from this was apparent; she said she wanted to learn it at home and improve her language ability and come back again. Pa's lack of confidence in her language abilities was mirrored by the groups in general. The visual story telling within the galleries had to explain what it was about as the more detailed panels would not be read or understood fully by the people visiting.

Related to this was Ro's visit with her son. At the beginning of the visit she said that Mx's teachers said he rushed a lot of things and sometimes missed key information in the process. This means he ends up asking a lot of questions because he hasn't read the text properly. Mx demonstrated this a couple of times during the visit. In the temporary exhibition about WW1, he saw the image of the War Memorial and began to ask questions about it as he knew where it was. Most of the questions he asked were answered by reading the text. In the Regimental Galleries where he had an activity sheet had to complete, he was trying to read so fast he was missing the answers to the questions and we had to retrace our steps. In the Kampala to Leicester exhibit he brushed over the text heavy panels. I asked him what the room was about and he simply replied with "shops". Mx's speedy scanning and the under-confidence of the groups with reading the text panels highlights the need to review what we are putting on the walls of the museum and how many people are actually reading it.

Some of the films drew the attention of the groups. The November REIA group had an impromptu tour from one of the museum assistants who directed them to some of the films in the museum. In the My Leicester My Home exhibition, there is a film about Alice Hawkins and her history in Leicester. This was one of the first films they saw but arguably the one they connected with the most. Almost all the group watched the

whole film and some commented that they had seen the statue in the market (figure 12). I took the image of the group around the film as they fell into silence as it started. They watched patiently all the way through and then discussed the contents afterwards and pointed out they had seen the statue on one of our other sessions while in the market.

Figure 12 Watching the Alice Hawkins Video (REIA Nov 2018)

On the visit with Lu and her friends, they entered the cinema area halfway through the "Celebrating Leicester" and watched from the back until it had finished and other visitors had moved on. They then filled the seats, took it in turns to have photographs taken of them sitting smiling in the seats. They then watched the same film from the beginning. There was relative quiet during this time, once photographs had been taken of the group sitting in the seats. The film, in this case, seemed to be an opportunity to sit, pose and have a photo taken. There was not any discussion about the film following this room and we just moved into the next space. In contrast, my next visit with Ma and his family this room was empty when they entered. There was not a film playing on the screen and so they moved through without sitting down or activating

the screen. The REIA groups had a question on their worksheet asking them what the films were called so they were aware that they were available, however not every group stopped and watched.

In the My Leicester My Home exhibition there are a series of old maps on the window blinds. I had an interest in these maps and instigated a conversation with Bd about them. He was interested to see where the WEA was on the maps and also where his house was. Then proceeding to the next map and seeing how Leicester had changed and developed since the last one, using the WEA and his home as markers. We observed similarities and differences between times, such as the location of the market in the city. This conversation drew others in, who also tried to locate their houses throughout time. Most people who stopped to talk about this took photos of the maps to look at later on.

In this section I have not described every sight based interaction. Sight is the catalyst for many of the interactions within the museum due to its dominant nature. In the next sensory sections, some of the experiences observed were triggered by sight but then lead onto a different type of sensory encounter.

Smell

Smell is a sense that has been included in the Newarke Houses Museum in the past. The pub in the street scene used to have a smell canister of beer and “old pubs”, however, this has not been in the museum for some time. No one mentioned smell specifically when they visited, even though the museum itself has a background smell. This is simply from the buildings that it is housed in and the presence of old, conserved objects, but no one mentioned this smell specifically on the visits. There could also be an argument for the smells that may evoke memories for those who grew up in the UK would have been mentioned. Attempting to use smells to evoke memories of childhood may not have the same effect if the smell in the museum does not link to childhood experiences in different countries. For example, at the Abbey Pumping Station Museum they use a smell canister of washing powder in the laundry section. For people from countries that use the same type of detergent may recognise the aroma, however this would not be a universally recognised smell.

Sound

The Newarke Houses Museum, like many local history museums, includes a number of oral history based listening stations. Each handset is accompanied by a short description of the person and topic that is being discussed, and in some cases, there are option buttons to choose the audio. One particular listening post in the Museum captured the imaginations and memories of a number of the individuals and groups. That listening post played a number of lullabies in different languages from different countries. I will describe that listening post in more detail later in this chapter as an example of sharing; I will also refer to it here as a comparison to the other listening activities in the museum. There are also a couple of examples of "passive" sounds in the museum such as sound effects that play when you enter a space rather than requiring a button pushing or a handset picking up. These are in the Haberdasher's shop, in a couple of the shops in the Street and in the trenches reconstruction. In this section, I will look at how the passive sounds were received and also how much the interactive listening stations were used.

On many of the visits, the listening stations were largely ignored. In the *My Leicester, My Home* exhibition there are a couple of handsets and buttons that have monologues about working in Leicester in the last 50 years. They are accompanied by text panels that explain who the person speaking is and what they are speaking about. A couple of times on the group visits, I saw someone pick up the handset, press a button and listen for a short time then replace the handset. The time spent listening would not have been long enough to understand any of the content of the audio. In fact, with the family groups, these listening posts were only used by the children.

Ma and Ba, on their visit, spent some time exploring the audios in the Kampala to Leicester exhibit. At first, Ba was picking up the handset and listening and then putting it down before pressing the buttons. Ma then helped him with the handset and buttons so he could listen. She held the handset to his ear and showed him how to use the phone. He listened for a short time to the audio and then moved on. At the second listening station in the room, he picked up the handset and then pressed a button as had been demonstrated to him before. I took a series of photographs of Ma using the telephone style listening posts until Ba came along and demonstrated how they

worked. Initially he was just interested in pressing the buttons, but after being shown how to use the station he picked up the handset and used it on his own (figure 13). Again, I do not believe that the content of the audio held any importance to him in the process. The listening aspect was quick and then he moved on. When Lu visited with her family and friends the listening posts were only used to pose with for photos! I observed one of the children picking up the phone but not choosing any audio so that he could be photographed using the listening post. This process included carefully posing for the camera to create the most attractive image of them on the phone.

Of the "active" listening posts, the only one that got regular use was the *Lullabies from Around the World* station in the Childhood room. I go into more details about this below as to how it was used for sharing memories. This listening post had a number of different lullabies in different languages and also played out loud rather than into a handset. The multilingual aspect and ability to experience the sounds with others made this a more attractive listening post to groups and families. There were conversations on what the lullabies meant and the languages. In contrast, the handsets are isolating and if English is not your first language, or the content not relatable, then they would not be used as often. The design of the handsets is to open up content, however with the current audiences it does not.

Figure 13 Ba using the listening post on his own (March 2018)

The “passive” sounds had a different reaction; again, these are open and shareable. On the ground floor, these were focused on the shops. The sounds in the Haberdasher’s shop replicate the clicking and whirring of the money moving machine that is in the room and a door chime. This sound effect is specific to certain memories and is not explained anywhere in any text. On Lu’s family visit, they spent a little time in this room. There was some confusion about the sounds and lots of questions about the money moving machine once that had been explained. There are other movement activated sounds within the street scene in the pub and grocers. On Ro and Mx’s visit, Mx stopped when the sound effect came on in the haberdashers. He asked where it came from and what it was. His main comment about the sound was that it did not sound like it was out of a speaker. Also on Ro and Mx’s visit, Ro laughed when the audio began with the landlady speaking to a customer called George. Her husband’s name is also George and this link made her laugh. On another visit, Pa was surprised when the audio began as she walked into the space. Once the groups had experienced this sound effect, the one of the grocer’s was less of a shock.

The sound effects upstairs are focused around the trenches. They begin suddenly when entering the space, and mimic the sound of bombs and gunfire going overhead. The combination of the reconstruction, the sounds and the darkness in this area had some predictable and unpredictable reactions. All the children found this space and sounds upsetting. Some of them with reason behind it, such as it made them jump, or they were frightened by the sound. As we came out of the area one child stopped so I could take a photograph of them with their fingers in their ears and a concerned look on their face. The one exception to this was the REIA November 2018 group. A small group of women including Gi and Sh said that they enjoyed the trenches as it reminded them of Pakistani movies sets. In this case the sound effects are designed to create an unnerving atmosphere and so the children’s responses were understandable. Most of the adults who went through felt uncomfortable with the effects, but understood that they were not real.

This final aspect of sound in the museum was where I observed the groups making sound in the galleries. The creating of sound in the museum was more prevalent in the

family groups. The ESOL groups fell into familiar hushed tones within the museum spaces. They spoke quietly not wanting to disturb the atmosphere of the space. With the family groups there was less formality, none more so than the group who were from across South America.

The South American group was bigger than one family group with four adults and four children sharing Spanish as a first language. The discussions in Spanish were noticeably louder and more animated than the discussions in English. The sounds of discussions in Spanish provided a contrast to the quiet comments that were made on other visits with other families. They shared their visit with each other in the group. By this, I mean that there was a lot more conversations with each other around objects, showing each other something they found interesting and using any interactive aspect of the museum. In many of the photographs I took of them in the museum, they were pointing at something that had interested them and discussing it, or sharing the interactive part of the exhibit. In one image, I captured a moment between one of the children and the adults where the child was describing what they had heard on the audio recording and was making the adult listen to it. They took the opportunities to be involved in their visit, and to document their visit by taking numerous posed photographs, which I was also encouraged to do. From what I could gather about the conversations, in each room there was a discussion about the room and one of the children in the group or Lu would let me know what the topic of conversation was in English. The conversations filled the spaces with sound.

Other family groups used sounds as part of their descriptions within the galleries. Ma and Ba made sound in the regimental gallery. Generally on this visit the sounds were made by myself and Ma in conversation. Bd was very quiet during most of the visit, by the end he had begun to ask me questions so I suspect most of it was his shyness. At one point on the visit, Ma pointed at the *Bell of Baghdad* and made a “ding ding” sound to make Bd acknowledge the bell.

In much the same way, Mn and his family made some noise in the galleries. These sounds were mostly unrelated to the exhibits at first. The three children were free to move and roam the space as they wished and we allowed them to choose the route of their visit. On each instance of loud behaviour, the children were hushed and directed

towards an activity or object within the space. This included moments of the youngest child (aged two) to run up and down one of the regimental galleries. She was making a lot of sound with her feet on the bare floorboards. She was hushed by Mn picking her up and directing her attention to the objects in the cabinets. He made a roaring noise at a tiger's head regimental ornament to focus her attention. He also made a honking horn sound at the horn in the cabinet. I managed to capture the roaring at the tiger moment in a photograph, I caught Ma's daughter roaring back at him after he had shown her the tiger and roared first. In the moment, both of them have their mouths open mid-roar and they can be seen looking at the tiger's head.

The senses gave each visit a greater depth of understanding and interaction, than if there were solely exhibits to look at and read. For people who do not have English as a first language it opened up avenues of understanding that sight alone would not have opened.

Culture sharing

From the visits there was evidence of the sharing of stories and culture at a fundamental level. There were a number of key points that prompted discussions between group members where comparisons could be made.

There were two rooms on the ground floor where a number of events took place that are worth exploring in more detail. These rooms are known as the Childhood Galleries. The first room has a *Lullabies from around the World* listening post, some dressing up clothes from the Middle Ages to the 1980s, a toy train in a cabinet and a cabinet describing trends in local schools during the 20th Century. The second room has one wall of display cabinets with rare and influential toys and a cabinet with toys about fairy tales. There is a box of toys built into one wall and a table with a hollow centre for children to sit and play with the toys. Woven into the carpet in the second room is a hopscotch and a snakes and ladders board. In these rooms, there was a different level of activity in comparison to the other galleries in the museum. While other galleries contributed to the visit in different ways there was a greater degree of sharing of information, memories and using this space. Two activities stood out on the visits – one was interactions with the listening post, the other was interactions with the hopscotch on the carpet

The Listening Post

On the ground floor, just inside the doorway to the childhood and toys is a listening post with a selection of lullabies in different languages. Different languages can be chosen by pressing a button and some of the lullabies are written in English and stuck onto the post. Every group stopped at this listening post. The listening post had a different purpose depending on the context of the group. For class groups this was an opportunity for sharing language and culture. The first group that visited was the WEA ESOL group.

On reaching this part of the museum, they had already begun sharing stories of what they did before arriving in the UK and their other interests through the first galleries. Mn who had been empowered by the Bollywood posters in the previous room (he had been enjoying telling the others that he knew about the film and the actors), took the lead at the listening post. He had arrived in the room slightly before the others and had listened to the lullaby in Guajarati. When the others arrived from having watched the film next door he restarted the lullaby and made them all listen to "his language". He was explaining the meaning of the lullaby to the group. He also recorded it so he could play it back to his family at home.

I made visits with some of this group on a family basis. They returned with me and members of their family at a later date. I will start with Mn on his visit with his family as he was at the forefront of using the listening post in the group visit. The second family visit was with Mn, I will include the description with his first visit as a comparison. He visited again with his wife and two young children. This time Mn seemed ready for this exhibit. He drew the children towards it and began to play the Guajarati lullaby for them. He talked them through the words and sang with it. He then played lullabies in other languages and explained to his children and wife where these languages were from. Most of this was done in Guajarati but he interspersed sentences with English, often for my benefit but also because he wants to help his children learn the language. Due to previous interactions at this listening post I was ready to take photos at this stage of the visit. I captured Mn showing his children how the post worked and the different languages that could be played on it.

My first visit with a family group was with Lu from the first group. She bought two friends who also spoke Spanish as their first language and three children who were all bilingual (Spanish and English). The listening post was also a source of information for this group. The children were moving much faster through the rooms than the adults but were returning back to them every now and then. Lu was explaining what the listening post was all about to one of her friends. She played the lullaby in Spanish and also pointed out the translation that was stuck onto the wall. At this point, she noticed me about to take a photograph and stopped to pose pointing at the translation. Lu then called the children back to listen to the lullaby in Spanish.

The final family visit from the WEA ESOL group was with Ma and her son Ba. Ma is Iranian and speaks Persian. At the listening post she stopped to play the lullaby from Afghanistan as she recognised some of the words due to cross over with Persian. She played this so Ba could listen. I asked if I could take a photograph of Ba using the listening post, but this was misunderstood and as I had interrupted the flow of them using the station, Ba posed for me to take a photo, standing neatly in front of the exhibit.

The next set of visits were with the REIA groups and with one of the other volunteers there. The first group spent some time at the listening post. The tutor led the discussions as she was drawn to the post as she walked past. I had not mentioned it to her before the visit. She drew in some of the group to ask them about which languages they understood. As the lullabies played they talked about whether anyone would sing those lullabies now. I managed to capture the moment of the group listening to the audio on the station. The moment shows some of the group with their heads tilted towards the sound, they are listening intently and there is some recognition and appreciation of the music. The tutor from the REIA group encouraged more of the group to get involved and listen to the lullabies. She is pointing to the different languages that are available to play.

I returned to the museum with one of the volunteers from the REIA group who was in a higher level class and volunteered to practise her English. Ro bought her son with her, she said often looks for places to take Mx. They stopped at the listening post and Mx chose the lullaby in Spanish. Mx speaks Bulgarian and English. He then chose the

English lullaby, listened to the whole thing and moved onto the next area. He did not say why he chose those two lullabies. I captured the moments where Ro and Mx were talking about the languages on the listening post. Mx was leading the conversation and actively pushing buttons with Ro guiding and answering questions.

In the visit with the second REIA group, many of the students moved right past the listening post in the first instance and into the room opposite to look at the hopscotch and snakes and ladders. As we came back out of the room the tutor drew two of the group into a conversation about lullabies so they could listen together. She prompted one of the students to push the buttons to listen to the lullaby in Afghan. The person prompted speaks Spanish so was not interested in this particular lullaby.

The final REIA group had a different tutor who was not aware of the listening post before the visit. She also drew some of the group into looking at the post but they did not press any of the buttons. They did discuss the languages represented and where they were from. After we had been into the games room opposite one of the volunteers returned to the post. She was from one of the higher level classes. She played a few of the different languages she did not know because she wanted to hear what they sounded like.

The listening post provides an interesting juxtaposition between its intended purpose and the actual experiences it provided. In adding a way of playing different lullabies in different languages, the intention was for people to explore similarities and differences in languages that were not their own. The only people who embraced this as it was intended was Ka (from REIA, May 2019) and Mx (from the family visit with Ro, April 2019). They both listened to the lullabies alone and did not share their thought with anyone following the listening. I captured Ka at the Lullabies station after the group had moved on. She had waited until the others in the group had moved on to go back and listen to the audio of the languages she did not know.

What the listening post did provide in the groups who had spent some time together and who were from a mix of different backgrounds was a point of context. The WEA group who had spent time in classes together, twice a week for six weeks were happy – even excited – to share their language with other people in the group. Mn actively

gathered people around him so that he could share his home language. When we visited again with his family he wanted to show that the museum had something in his language. This was the same with Lu's friend group.

There is also a correlation between the variety of languages and engagement and level of English and engagement. The group that had the most languages spoken between them spent the most time sharing their language and culture using this exhibit. This seemed to be a pattern within the other groups as well, although this could have also been related to the relationships built within the groups during their classes. This group from the WEA who had the largest variety of languages spoken also had spent the most time building relationships with each other in the classes using English and the lessons as a medium. In the REIA classes many of the groups knew each other from their respective language classes. However a lot of them shared languages and would fall into conversation in those languages with each other between activities and also naturally group with others who spoke the same language as them. This meant that they did not engage with the listening post as readily. However, in the family groups this post was used between friends from different countries and between generations to share stories. The listening post provides a sensory experience and a way of sharing language and in turn sharing culture.

Hopscotch/Hayo Hayo/Tejo/Pise/Classen[12]

Every group with people from different heritage engaged with the hopscotch. The family groups had a different experience of engaging with this part of the museum. On one visit, Ba (aged 4) gave the activity a cursory hop, skip and jump on his way to the other toys. The larger groups that engaged with the hopscotch all seemed to do so in a similar way. Initially everyone would stand around the markings on the floor and discuss what it was.

This usually included verbal descriptions of how to play the game, how it might have been laid out differently when played and what was used as a marker. After a short time, someone, quite often the tutor, would pick up an appropriate toy and use it as

[12] Hopscotch (Britain)/Hayo Hayo (Somalia)/Tejo(Spain)/Pise(South America)/Classen (Bulgaria and Poland)

the marker to demonstrate the game. At this point on the group visits, which includes Lu and her friends, there was a physical demonstration of the game.

For those who did not directly play the game, watching others enjoy the game encouraged conversation and for them to engage with each other. This game allowed the groups to talk about memories of childhood and share language and culture from their past. It also allowed people to move differently within the museum space and express themselves in a more physical manner. Some previous behaviours in the museum, such as viewing silently or speaking quietly in groups was forgotten in this area.

When visiting with the group from South America, mother and daughter demonstrated the game together. Their curiosity included whether I had played the game and them demonstrated to see if it was played the same in all of the countries the group were from. As the rest of the group shared a language, much of the description was in Spanish. The rest of the group, adults and children watched with interest as one woman threw the marker, then hopped and jumped up and down the "board". The adults were more involved in this than the children who were momentarily distracted from playing with other toys to watch. Eventually one of the other children joined in and played a round. If the intention of the museum was to provide engagement to children in this area, alongside the toys available at the small tables in the room, it has had an alternative effect. Even with groups who had only just met each other, the hopscotch provided a common ground for people from different places to share their past experiences. As it was a shared experience, the family groups did not engage with it as much as there was no need to use it as a talking point. In groups where the members had grown up in different countries this was a good place to start a conversation and share an experience.

From the images that were taken, where people can be clearly seen, the people taking part in this activity are happy and smiling. There is movement and not just passive engagement with the activity. Those not hopping, pointed and described how they would have done it. In the sharing of culture and language there sometimes were discussions on what it was called in the countries they were from. Then discussions on what that meant. In many cases it was a derivative of hopping or jumping. In the films

that were taken, the activity can be heard as well as seen. The groups are laughing, calling to each other and helping each other recall how the rules worked. With the REIA groups that played there were very slight deviations in how you hop and skip down the carpet.

Snakes and Ladders

The snakes and ladders floor activity had a slightly different reception to the hopscotch. They are in the same room but the snakes and ladders is further from the door. There is a set of dice in the room so you can play the game but they are not always obvious when you come in.

On my first visit the group and their tutor spent quite a while in this room with both activities. While the hopscotch gathered a crowd and bursts of energetic activity, the Snakes and Ladders attracted a different style of activity. It still had the same discussion around it, but this was more serious and rules based. Four people opted to play the game and in the process discovered differences in the rules from each country. The differences in rules caused some discussion and it was agreed that they should play through the game with the rules from Iran and Iraq that include having to go back to the beginning if you land on a square that already has a player on it. This made the game considerably longer than previously, and after about 10 minutes two of the players lost interest after being sent back to the beginning and moved on. The image taken shows the final two people left playing after the 'rules revelation' and the other people playing had moved onto discuss other things in the room.

With many of the other groups this game was overlooked. One group did stop and discuss what they had played more, and decided to focus on the hopscotch (REIA March 2019). With another group, two women from Iraq split off from the group playing hopscotch and began their own game of snakes and ladders. I approached them to ask them about the rules but they were not interested in speaking to me about it. This group had only met once before and the women playing the game had

only met me that day. There had not been any time for me to build a relationship with them (REIA, June 2019).

Of the family groups only one stopped to play snakes and ladders. Mn, who was also part of the WEA group, and his wife stopped to discuss and play the game while the children were occupied with the toys at the play station in the room. They then invited one of the older children to play the game and counted in English with him. This game had particular resonance for them as they played it before school during monsoon season in India when they could not play outside. Again there was an animation attached to the reminiscing during the story. As they looked around the cabinets they stopped to point out that their version of snakes and ladders was like the one in the cabinet. I took a photo of the snakes and ladders set in the cabinet (figure 14). This image was to aid me with my field notes but also shows that the style and design of snakes and ladder sets that was common across the UK and in India.

Figure 14 The same copy of the game they had at home (Mn Family Visit Feb 2018)

Conclusion

In the last two chapters, I have reviewed the data I collected in line with the three questions I gave myself at the beginning of the project.

1. How do the senses impact on the museum visiting experience?
2. What do visitors feel when they go round the museum?
3. How does local museum visiting make a difference to local super-diverse communities?

The data not only addressed themes within these questions but also raised additional themes that fell adjacent. While much of the information collected fell in the areas of senses and emotions I was curious to see how much museum visiting encouraged language use and sharing, whilst it also made me more conscious of colonialism in the exhibits. While visiting the museum and talking with the groups I was also inspired by the images I took and their stories to create illustrations of a number of the moments we shared. The next chapter shows these illustrations and the moments around them.

Chapter 7: Drawing (on) my data

In the preceding chapters I have detailed the visits and data collection during those visits. Before moving further into the experiences we shared in the museum and how they are situated within the current literature, I would like to outline one of the processes I went through during my analysis of the images I had collected. This part of my process was unplanned, and in keeping with the narrative of this thesis, it sits between data collection and further analysis. In the timeline, this process took place asynchronously alongside the analysis. As it created new data, I felt it important to present it prior to the final discussions.

> "They may have said they were drawing; they may have said they were researching; they might even have said, as Leonardo did, that they were searching through drawing (Brizio, (1981), but the term 'drawing research' is relatively new." (Garner, 2008. p. 16)

Drawing became an integral part of my research process. I had initially intended to draw with the groups and create an artwork from both my own and their collaborations. While this did not happen in the course of the data collection, I found myself drawing from the photographs that had been taken during the visits. These are not illustrations of research data to accompany the text, but part of a thought process around exploring the emotions and experiences of the people involved. Drawing an image can create a greater understanding of the situation or enhance the emotion of the moment (Jephcott, 1967 p. 9). This not only gave me thinking time to consider the emotions and sensory engagements of the encounter, but also produced an additional data set with which to work.

There is literature to support this method of creating new data. Banks (2001) states that illustrations are a "largely redundant visual representation of something already in the text" (p.144). Rosenberg (2008) considers the act of drawing as a way to "make discoveries, find new possibilities that give course to ideas and help fashion their eventual form" (p.109). While he is referring to drawing as a process in design, and that it is not a form of communication, he uses the term *denkraum* meaning subjective space as thinking space (p.123). I would argue that this view does involve communication, aiding in the formation of abstract thinking and communicating that

to another audience. In this project, what it does allow for is "otherness…in the way that poetry does and uses this otherness of thinking (poetic thought) as a process of poiesis or invention" (p.111). This viewing of the visual depiction should not necessarily require a written explanation. Barone & Eisner (2012, p.xi) and Garner (2008) also support this process of creative thinking and Garner (ibid) adds that there is an assumption that the written word is superior to visual imagery.

Ings (2013) describes the use of drawing as a process in design to aid in thinking and problem solving. This process he terms *enstatic* drawing

> "In this respect, rather than being a form of communication, enstatic drawing may be used to stimulate thinking, describing a state and process used for developing creative thoughts" (ibid., p. 125)

Under this description, drawing is used as a creative and reflective process that enhances the final product design. In this way, my drawing helped me develop further creative thoughts and also formulate a process for my data. Using this method of interpreting and analysing my data, I was able to concentrate on the emotions of the moments. It highlighted the senses that were in play and the motions the people were going through at that point in time.

> "Within such a framework of universal explanation, Hegel identifies a place for art: halfway between intellectual understanding and sensual experience. For Hegel, the distinguishing feature of art is the 'sensual presentation of the idea' (Graham, 1997. p.174)" (Riley, 2008. p. 153)

Being a visually focused learner myself, I found that in the process of creating drawings to engage with the groups, I ended up spending further time gaining a deeper understanding of the emotional experiences of the people portrayed. I would inadvertently enhance their emotional state by depicting them a little happier, more thoughtful or focusing on what senses they were using at the time. Even Cezanne had an opinion on art as discovery: "Painting from nature is not copying the object; it is realising one's sensations" (Paul Cezanne, 1895-98).

Much in the same way that "Thick Description" benefits the analysis of text and conversation, Kress & Van Leeuwen (2001, 2005) view using visual communication as rising above cultural meanings:

> "Meanings belong to culture, rather than to specific semiotic modes. And the way meanings are mapped across different semiotic modes, the way some things can for instance, be 'said' either visually or verbally, others only visually, again others only verbally, is also culturally and historically specific." (2005, p.3)

By bypassing linguistic structures in creating images of experiences, I am also bypassing my westernised semiotic interpretation of the moment. This then allows for rational analysis by each viewer on the image and removes the hurdle of attempting to verbalise an intangible experience. Riley (2008) describes this as the "*experiential* function of the drawing" that represents "aspect(s) of our experience of the world, be it physical, emotional or imaginative" (p.158).

The images in the next section are from photographs taken within the permissions of the consent forms collected.

Illustrating

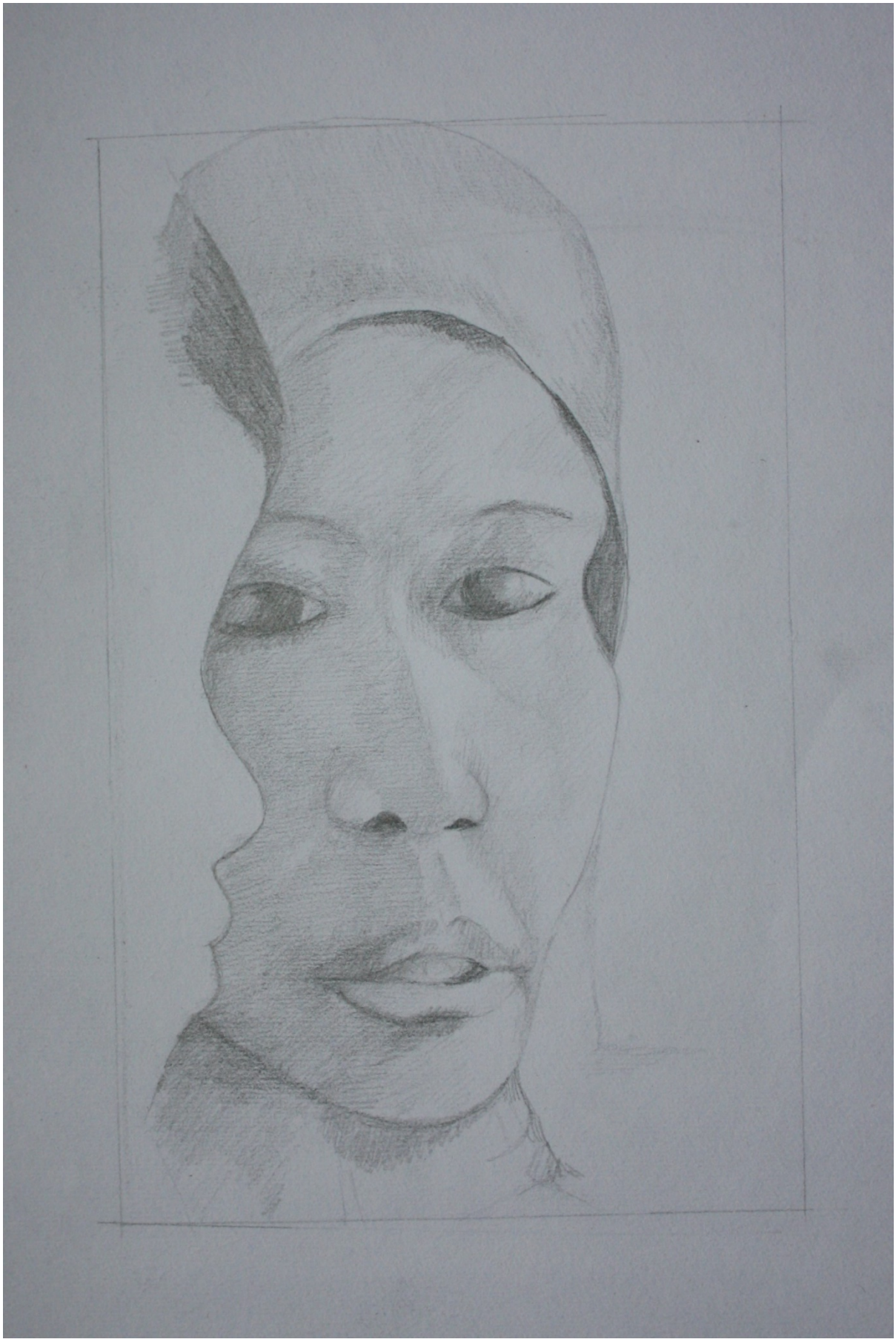
I also found that I began to illustrate my concepts and thinking around this project outside of the visits. While I have mentioned above that the drawings included in this chapter are not illustrations, I did find that illustrating the flow of a chapter or themes helped to create a more fluid approach to the development of the writing. The results of some of the illustrations are included at appropriate points in this manuscript. To mention Banks (2001) again, I would argue that the illustrations in this case are me *showing my work*. They are the equivalent of adding in an image of the notes plan of the chapter, albeit they are more visually pleasing.

Riley (2008) describes this process as "intelligent seeing" (p.153) and supports his theory using Hegelian concept of art as a sensory explanation of ideas. Taking a constructivist view on my approach to the inclusion of drawing my participants in the museum, this allows me to:

> "…be increasingly conscious of [my] own and other' social formations, and to be aware of how [my] drawing practice affects and is affected by [my] habits of perception and [my] conventions of visual representation." (p.157)

As I was already in the drawing "zone" when sketching the data images I started to map out some of my thought processes in pictorial form to help put my thoughts into an organised format. One of the results of this was to identify the flow of some of the literature I was working on and provide structure to my chapters.

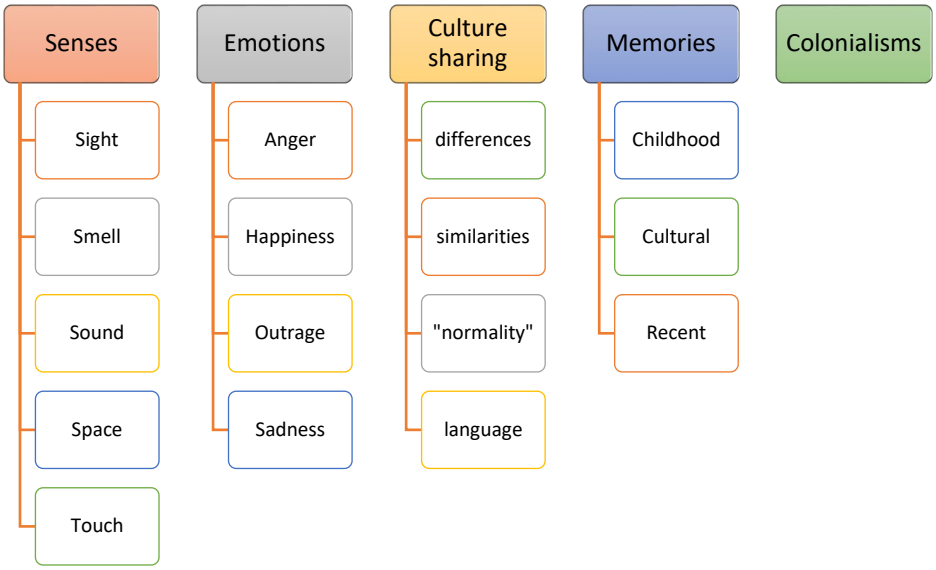
The images that follow in this chapter are offered with no title or explanation. Even through this process, I experimented with style and content and so the earlier images explore something slightly different from the latter images. The whole process provided thinking time and a chance to reflect on the visit and the people I had spent time with. At times when I found myself stalling or needing to distance myself from analysis, the act of drawing provided a different focus while still feeling like progress. This created further data, aided in analysis, and focused my thoughts into coherent, flowing narratives.



Chapter 8: Communities and ESOL

Introduction

In the following chapters, I will draw on previous projects and literature in the themes and findings from my data and the process of collecting that data. From the data and the questions, there were a number of emerging themes. In the previous chapters, I looked at the evidence that determined these themes. Below is a diagram of the themes. The foundations of this project are based on working with communities from different heritages, who all live in the same city. In this chapter, I will be drawing on previous experiences of researchers in working with communities and ESOL learners.



Building relationships with communities

This project would not have been possible without building relationships with groups of people who would be happy to share their experiences. In approaching this project, I wanted to work *with* not *on* a group of people who came from different backgrounds and who all have different experiences. My main aim was for the group to be interested, involved and have some influence on the methods and approach to avoid any feelings of being imposed on or used as part of an experiment. In building a project that would allow people to have some agency and allow me to answer my questions I had to look at how others had approached this in the past. The first part of this chapter looks at the work of Jephcott (1964, 1971), Frankenberg (1967), Pahl

(2005) and Werbner (2005) amongst others, and related their work to my own project and findings. I will lead into communities and theories of zones (Elias & Scotson, 1965; Clifford 1997), finishing the chapter with ESOL classes and museums (Labadi 2018, Nagata 2017).

An introduction to community based studies

In this section, I will outline a number of community projects that exemplify the ethos that I have during my own preparation and fieldwork. To begin, I will summarise Jephcotts (1964, 1971) work with communities in London and Glasgow. I will also provide a comparison between rural and urban projects in the 1960s when participatory projects were growing as a method of engagement (Frankenberg, 1967; Werbner, 2005). Bringing the topic into the 21st Century, Werbner (2005) and Pahl (2005) draw on previous work to address community-based studies within multicultural societies.

In working with local communities, Pearl Jephcott focused her work and studies on under-represented communities across the UK during 1950s and 1960s. Jephcott had a background in history but pioneered social research projects looking at how groups of people managed in (then) modern life. She advocated spending time with communities to better understand the situations and concerns from a first-hand perspective rather than fleeting visits and superficial interviews. In describing her chosen method of sustained contact with a community in North Kensington, London, she confirmed that:

> "…this seemingly casual but continued type of contact possibly shows up more than does the single interview." (Jephcott, 1964. p. 40)

This study ran from 1962-1963 Jephcott spent time in North Kensington area, which was at the time described as suffering from a "general malaise" by the council, possibly as a result of the race riots that took place in 1958 (p.18). Worried councillors wanted to explore the local issues and to try and connect with local people, who for the majority were migrant communities. The local committee had identified a number of problems that they wanted to investigate in detail. These were housing being overcrowded and dilapidated and a lack of outdoor space for young people to play. In

her in depth discussion of these issues, Jephcott confirmed that these were indeed a problem but also found solutions *with* the local people rather than solutions *for* them.

Another of Jephcott's studies into high rise living in Glasgow was conducted between 1965-1967 used interviewing as well as a more sustained engagement with the residents.

> "This would enable staff to make sustained relationships with individual households, increasing their chances of finding out which aspects of multi-storey life had the most bearing on the tenants' satisfaction or otherwise." (1971. p.28)

In continuing this method of engagement, Jephcott then conducted another study into how adolescents in Scotland spent their free time (1967). This study was commissioned to explore the leisure activities of a rapidly growing teenage population who were increasingly dissatisfied with the local provision for their needs (p.1). As well as immersing herself in the culture and using field notes, conversations and interviews, Jephcott also asked local artists to make sketches of how the teenagers spent their time.

> "The technique was used on the assumption that the artist sees much deeper than the man in the street." (p.9)

The images were used alongside sketches from local teenagers to illustrate the findings from the project. I will discuss this method in more depth in the methodology chapter. The study covered three areas in Scotland – Dennistoun and Drumchapel in Glasgow and Armadale in West Lothian. Jephcott identified three locations to engage with young people. These were in their own home, at a workplace or in local colleges with the reason being:

> "…the juvenile employees of a firm or the students of a further education college, could be visited regularly in the hope that length of contact would establish confidence between adolescent and adult." (p. 32)

In this study, Jephcott had the privilege of time to build the relationships over two years. Alongside the sketches by the artists, the project was conducted on a large scale

with over 2400 young people contacted on varying degrees over the course of the project from surveys to in depth interviews over a longer term. Jephcott compiled a detailed account of how this group spent their free time and what, when and where they took it. The larger statistical information was bolstered by more personal interviews and the data from the creation of the sketches.

As a contemporary of Jephcott, Frankenberg (1967) explored the rural experiences of communities in the Welsh Borders. Werbner (2005) reviews Frankenberg's theories of cultural performances and how these contribute to community cohesion. Frankenberg (1967) drew on others' studies and combined them with his own findings from working with a Welsh border village community in 1953. He went to live and study in a town he originally named Pentrediwaith (meaning 'village of no work' in Welsh) (p.86) but identified later as Llansaintfraid Glynceiriog. The village was geographically, economically and socially isolated. Frankenberg immersed himself in the village life which allowed him to explore the different aspects of village life and get to know the Pentrepeople. He observed the way in which news spread between the social groups, which were usually divided by sex and that social standing was linked to family and social club responsibilities (p.92). Frankenberg believed that "many of the features [I have] described for Glynceiriog exist in similar systems elsewhere" (p.111).

In my own project, I realised that I would need to spend some time with the groups I wanted to work with in order to build relationships. In much the same way as Jephcott (1964, 1971) and Frankenberg (1967) demonstrated, I needed to be part of the community. I have lived and worked in Leicester for most of my life, but the communities I wanted to spend time with were not already part of my social circles. My work at the University did allow me to meet and speak with tutors and educationalists in local communities. My work as a trustee of the local museum trust and my studies in the area for previous educational purposes had highlighted the misalignment between the museum visitors and the local population. My initial attempts at connecting with ESOL learners on a casual basis was unsuccessful. As detailed in the previous chapters, I had some interest from individuals at the WEA who expressed an interest in coming to the museum with me, but we did not have any relationship with each other. In spending ESOL classes with the groups, I became a

familiar face, teaching assistant and local guide. Becoming part of the group was a key part of the success with these groups.

Community 'groups' and zones

Both Elias (Elias & Scotson, 1965) and Werbner (2005) observed the social divisions within the communities – in the case of Pentrediwaith, this occurred with men and women segregating (themselves) into socially motivated groups. Werbner's (2005) observations around Government Policy and British Muslim communities, where David Blunkett called for Asian Communities to integrate into British Society (2005, p.747) following the Bradford riots, echoes Frankenberg (1967) on a larger scale. Social circles are created and defined within and without communities and in turn this creates a constantly mutable insider/outsider network. In Jephcott (1964, 1971) and Frankenberg (1967) they were the outsiders in the communities. They had come in from elsewhere to learn about these communities. Using Elias's (Elias & Scotson, 1965) Outsiders and Established theory in communities, the tutors and myself were the Established in the groups. A key observation by Norbert Elias was that even geographical communities that from the outside appear to be one community are divided internally. In collaborating with John Scotson in a study of a Leicestershire community that was named Winston Parva, Elias developed the theory of the Established and the Outsiders (Elias & Scotson, 1965). The theory echoes the situations within the areas that I am engaging with in my project:

> "The group of 'old families' of Winston Parva (some of whose members were of course, quite young) had a common past; and the newcomers had not." (p.22)

The local community were divided by this fact and the Established in the area were tight knit, had a history together and deemed the newer residents in the area as "lower ranking" and more likely to cause trouble (p.23). This phenomenon was also observed by Rees (1950) who "found that an individual was treated as a 'stranger' until his or her family had been in the locality for at least two generations" (Crowe & Allan 1994, p.9). It can be concluded that new arrivals to an area are often not included in local community activities due to not being part of the Established or not accepted by the long term residents. In Leicester, there are many families of Indian and Bangladeshi heritage who are second or third generation in the city or UK. In the

LASALS groups, the learners who had been in the city for over eight years tended to spend more time together. They also shared either language, religion or heritage. This split the LASALS groups into smaller internal communities. This was most pronounced in the March and June LASALS groups. In the June LASALS group, the learners split themselves into groups within the groups based on shared language but this also reflected the time that some of the people had been in Leicester. There were three distinct groups, two of which shared religious beliefs, but one was a group of women who were born in India but had been in the city for a short time, the other were two women recently from Turkey. The third group were women from African countries.

Being 'Outsiders' excludes newer communities from studies, from local services and from gaining a sense of belonging. Most funding for community engagement requites evidence of a community existing within an area. As census data is only collected every ten years some communities can fall through holes in a net until the census is run again. Referring to Cohen (1982, 1985), Crowe & Allen (1994) state that:

> "…communities are best understood as communities of meaning in which 'community' plays a crucial symbolic role in generating and sustaining people's sense of belonging" (p.6)

Exclusion from a community or being unable to identify with a local community encourages distrust and a general lack of cohesion:

> "The exclusion practices against 'outsiders' has an added dimension where ideas about 'racial' differences are involved, and ethnicity continues to exert a powerful influence on where an individual lives independently of how long ago migration occurred.(Crowe & Allan, 1994. p.90)

With the WEA, the group was comprised of people who did not know each other and for the most part, did not share heritage or language. This group had the most "newcomers" to Leicester they looked to the tutors and teaching assistants as local guides for helping with forms, references, and local knowledge. The WEA group became a community of their own from their shared experiences as ESOL learners. The LASALS groups did not spend as much time together and often there were shared languages between learners, or they had previously met on other ESOL courses. Some

learners had been in Leicester for over 5 years and so had their own sense of belonging to their area and familiarity with the city. This provided a different dynamic.

The WEA group created their own community each of them were in similar situations where they were individuals navigating their learning. Because there were no connections apart from the language classes, their relationships with the inhabitants of the classroom – I use this term to include the tutors and teaching assistants – became closer and more supportive of each other. I did not observe this with the LASALS groups. This could have been due to the shorter length of time the group were together or the shared languages most of the learners had due to the locations they had come from within the city. Level of language proficiency could also have been a factor in the more distant relationships developing in the LASALS groups as they were learning at a more basic level. In the March group, there were a core group of women from India who had been in the city for between two and 30 years. They sat together and generally spoke in Hindi within their group. On the outskirts of this group were women from Somalia who shared religious beliefs with this group who had also been in the city for a number of years. Those who sat and engaged with each other were new to the city. There was also one woman from India who did not share beliefs or language, and two women from two different Eastern European countries who did not share a language. During our trips, the groups split; the two women from Eastern Europe spent their time exploring together (speaking English as their shared language) and the woman from India stayed close to me or the tutor and we chatted as we walked. However, it could be seen that there were more interactions taking place during the latter visits in the course, which would imply that if we had spent more time together these groups would also have bonded into a new "community". This formation of communities within communities identifies with Pahl's (2005) communities of the mind.

Pahl reflects on communities of the mind in his retrospective paper from 2005. His observations are that the community projects from 1960s focus too much on class division and perceived class differences. In particular he references Frankenberg's descriptions of the Pentre People. He then re-evaluates his own findings with a view to exploring the overall community in relation to the circles of groups people relate to,

describing these as communities of the mind. Pahl's (2005) terminology for what Geertz (1993) deemed "experience near" projects, where the author spends time within a chosen community to explore their own internal experiences, is communities–in-the-mind (Pahl, 2005. p.623). Pahl (2005) draws on his own study of three villages in Kent in 1960s where his focus was originally based on class divides and distinctions. Retrospectively, he reflects that one village in this study shows similarities to Pentrediwaith in Frankenberg's (1967) study. From his dissection of previous work he criticised his methods and ideas that he could explore the community through qualitative methods without getting 'into' the community (p.628).

As an example of selective engagement with communities, the "Middletown" project in the 1920s is an example that continues to highlight how easy it is to ignore whole communities. "Middletown" was thought to epitomise the typical American town in the first community project in 1920s by Robert and Helen Lynd. However, it entirely ignored the African American Community in the area (Campbell & Lassiter, 2010. p.371). The original project was publicised as representative of the average American town and was revisited in movies and documentaries for decades afterwards. The original study covered a range of topics and was designed to "study synchronously the interwoven trends that are the life of a small American city" (Lynd & Lynd, 1929. p. 3). By omitting entire communities it was not representative of the city at all. Caplow & Bahr (1979) repeated part of this project. They focused on the questionnaires given to schoolchildren to look at their attitudes to "religion, international affairs, patriotism, social justice, civil rights, and public information sources" (p.1). In revisiting this study, they wanted to compare like for like, so while they allowed African American children to complete the questionnaires, they then discounted them and did not use them for any comparisons at all.

In the following years, a local African American community leader, Hurley Goodall, began to publish corrections to the original work and agreed to establish a collaborative project with Campbell & Lassiter, and the local university (p.372). Campbell et al (2010) found that while the maligned community were keen to redress the past, they also wanted to be clear on how they would collaborate and how they would be represented. Through collaborative ethnography, Campbell et al. (2010)

completed the revisiting of Muncie's communities. *The Other Side of Middletown* sought to address the inequalities in a previous project about the town where African American communities were omitted from the original project. Their project included collaboration on data collection and analysis between community advisors, university students and university academics. In this case the African American community was keen to tell their story about the town and so were willing to contribute their time and knowledge to the project.

The communities involved in this project had a clear outcome as to what they would be getting out of taking part in the projects. All of the people who visited the museum as part of the project were happy with me sharing the images we took. I also became a tour guide on some of the tours and offered to help with information on entering higher education and any other useful information I could provide. The groups and individuals were happy with their experiences being shared and seemed happy with the idea that this could help other new people coming to Leicester or visiting the museum for the first time. For *The Other Side of Middletown* (Campbell et al. 2010) it was telling the real story of the town and filling the gap in the town's history that was glaringly missing from the original project.

I mention *Middletown* as an example of engaging with communities and omitting a key group. Often the mention of diversity in the context of communities causes a focus on people with Black or Asian heritage. Leicester, as it has been shown in the chapter on Leicester as a super-diverse city, has people from all over the world. The majority of the new arrivals in the city have come from the Middle East, Eastern Europe and areas that would not define themselves as being traditionally as Black or Asian. I wanted to make sure that my groups included people from across the world and that they were reflective of the migration to the city over the last 20 years.

More recently working *with* local communities has been given a number of labels – Community Based Participatory Action Research (CBPAR), Participatory Action Research (PAR) and variations on this theme. All of the approaches under these labels advocate co-production of data and analysis between the traditional roles of expert/researcher and participant. Ponzoni (2016) explains PAR in relation to a project involving community groups and statutory services in Amsterdam looking to build

increased co-operation for immigrant families new to the area. In this project, Ponzoni "developed the idea of 'cycles of interpretation' – a series of alternating translations of statements or descriptions in which participants and researcher rephrase each other's knowledge to develop a common understanding" (2016, p.560). In this project, the research took on the role of intermediary in a group comprised of members of all parties. They used semi-structured interviews, followed by a critical reflection of the discussions within the group in order to work towards a shared narrative. In this project, Ponzoni found that the community group related their experiences in anecdotes that the local authority found difficult to relate to. Through collaborative working, critical analysis of the discourses and thorough discussion, they managed to create a shared understanding of the needs of the community and the support able to be provided by the local authority.

Communities-on-the-mind, to use Pahl's (2005) terminology include those communities that are drawn together out of common interest. In some cases, this could be ethnicity based group, social interest group, or a more formal organisation. This terminology could be used to describe the learners in the ESOL groups as they all have learning English as a common interest.

Communities and museums

Before elaborating on how museums work with communities it is worth exploring the history of museums with their collections and visitors. Museums, from their inception, have struggled with equal access for people of all classes. Once collections had moved on from cabinets of curiosity and into the public realm, there was a distinction between who could have access and what they could do in the museum space. Upper class visitors to the British Museum were able to handle the objects with their "refined touch", however those from working or lower classes were deemed too mindless to handle the collections (Classen, 2017, p. 117). As visiting the museum became a more popular past time during the nineteenth century, the dangers of theft, damage and a lack of respect to the collections led to a wholesale removal of the privilege of handling the objects. Allowing anyone to touch the collections "seemed to make these pieces 'ordinary' by association" (ibid, p. 118). Once the collections were secure and out of reach, the hierarchy of senses began. The art of viewing and interpreting

became the next skill that only the educated could appreciate. In the case of allowing children into the museum space, in some museums this remains a point of contention as children explore in their own way.

> "When children are exploring and learning about a place with their bodies, even if that involves running, jumping and dancing around, they are developing a particular way of knowing about and being in that place." (Hackett, 2014a)

Fyfe (2016) links Elias's (Elias & Scotson, 1965) works on established-outsider relations with the earlier findings of Classen (2017) and ongoing relationships between social groups and museum visiting. He also draws on Clifford's (1997) redevelopment of Pratt's (1992) work on contact zones. Elias understood the museum to be a site of building nations, the displays were interpreted in such a way that visitors would leave with a sense of belonging to their own nation and a clear idea of what other nations represented (Fyfe, 2016. p.63). The side effect of this was:

> "It enabled people to see that they were disconnected from others and to imagine themselves as *we* Europeans who were natural colonisers of *they*, the non-Europeans. Ethnographic and anthropological museums stigmatised the 'other' and pandered to Western hubris about the universality of its own civilisation." (ibid)

Local, social history museums are not exempt from this interpretation. Visiting habits and behaviours also developed into a Bordieusian cultural capital, as described above (Fyfe, 2013. p. 27; Classen, 2017, p. 117). This enhances the established-outsider theory within museums and also any class, race or educational inequalities that are perceived to exist. Since the inception of the New Museology in the 1980s the focus of museum policy is less on curating for education and has changed for focus towards visitors making meaning from the collections (Fyfe, 2016. p. 56). This has built a dialogue between museum visitors and the institutions and in turn has developed into increased community involvement in developing content and collecting.

Witcomb (2003) discusses the issues affecting museums and communities in Australia in 1990s. Her arguments raise disagreement with the commentary of Bennett (1990) who claimed that it is museums that shape communities rather than the opposite. In

addition to this he claimed that there will always be an underrepresented group and so museums will always appear undemocratic (Witcomb, 2003, p. 80). In her critique of Bennett (1990), Witcomb (2003) agrees with his comments that museums are often demonised in relation to their curatorial practices when working with communities. However, she disagrees with his assertions that museums should ignore any dialogue with communities. She then draws on Clifford's (1997) work on contact zones to support her argument on this (Witcomb, 2003, p. 81).

The three examples that Witcomb (ibid) draws upon in her explanation of relationships between museums and communities have varying results. She describes working with the Portuguese community in Australia, the Portland Museum with the Tlingit[13] community in America and managing relationships in a rural town where the local community run their local museum. In each of these examples the expectations of the museum professionals has been at odds with the diverse communities they worked with.

> "The idea is to displace the authority of the museum and to foreground the *people* rather than the objects." (ibid, p. 82)

In the case of the Portuguese community, Witcomb states:

> "I wanted it to reflect the meanings of the Portuguese-Australian people themselves gave to the objects as symbols of their own migrant experience." (ibid, p. 86)

She collected oral histories in Portuguese to create an aural backdrop to the objects, but in this case the people did not agree that their stories were needed to explain the significance of the objects as they would speak for themselves. From Witcomb's three examples it can be seen that the process of museum or curators working with communities has to be a two way process of discussion and compromise.

In a project between a museum and their local African migrant community in Italy, Iervolino (2013) highlights the Eurocentric interpretation of the collections. The Natural History at the University of Parma took the opportunity to re-interpret its

[13] The Tlingit are an indigenous people based in the Northwest Coast of America and Canada.

collections with local migrant communities. They used this to promote a "sharing space" and encourage "intercultural dialogue" (p.114). The project explored the African collections alongside projections of the night sky over Africa with storytelling from people who had moved to Italy from Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, the Republic of Cameroon, Senegal and Cote d'Ivoire. However, this lumped people from different countries under the banner of African. Iervolino identifies this as problematic.

> "Migrants whose origin lies in the same *country* very rarely form a homogenous group – a community- and profound differences may exist among them." (ibid, p. 119. Emphasis my own)

Modest (2013) also agrees with this sentiment in his description of a project with young people in London and promotes the example of the Horniman Museum in dispelling myths about Africa being one country and more complex issues of identity and history (p.100).

She is also critical of the motivations behind the project as the funding came from the Institute for Cultural Heritage funded by the Lifelong Learning Programme of the EU (p. 117) and that the project was aimed at fulfilling the requirements of the funding bid rather than having the main outcome of promoting a sense of belonging within migrant communities in the area (p.123).

The main question that stems from these examples of community linked museum projects is that they view the migrant communities as 'other', external to their current processes. This emphasises the distance between institution and visitor/community. In many of the examples above the migrant communities worked with are relatively (first generation) new to the local areas. In Leicester we have an established super- and hyper-diverse population that does not neatly fit into the models illustrated. The sense of place and belonging in Leicester is strong, however the museum does not reflect that.

In the UK, these fraught relationships exist between local communities and museums who are trying to depict their local areas for a variety of audiences, while trying to work within local government's political agenda (Carnegie, 2006, p. 70). Carnegie's (2006) work with the People's Museum in Manchester and the People's Palace in

Glasgow highlighted how in collaborating with communities from a curatorial point of view can raise issues of representation much in the same way that Witcomb (2003) experienced in her work. However rather than issues of contested histories, issues of how classes are represented were required to be addressed. In attempting to highlight unique aspects of those communities there was a danger of alienating those who do not fit into non-radical lifestyles (Carnegie, 2003. p. 75).

> "[Museums] often strive to instil community feeling through suggesting uniqueness, just as communities are based on individuals acknowledging a shared experience, past, beliefs or cultural background (Samuel, 1996, Thompson, 2000), often choosing to define themselves as much by what they are as what they are not." (ibid, p. 75)

The use of terminology in describing communities within projects and areas are problematic. Migrant communities suggests new arrivals, whereas diaspora implies that the communities do not have a sense of belonging due to an urge to return to their ancestral or established "homeland".

In Canada there has been successful co-management of permanent galleries representing indigenous communities in the area. The Blackfoot communities in Alberta, Canada and Montana, USA, have established managerial and curatorial relationships with Glenbow Museum as well as founding a museum themselves dedicated to representing their heritage within cultural boundaries (Onciul, 2013). Their aim is to "bring together professional and Blackfoot cultural approaches to heritage management and attempt to meet both museological standards and Blackfoot protocol" (p.80). The relationships are not without issues, such as disputes between conservation guidelines and cultural traditions. On a larger scale, funding sources in the Glenbow Museum caused tension (p.89). While this relationship appears to be relatively successful, Onciul warns that:

> "..[the] gallery does not fully represent the whole Blackfoot Confederacy, as community participants were not fully balanced from each Blackfoot Nation, nor was everyone involved." (p. 91)

This echoes the sentiments of Iervolino (2013) above. Onciul (2013) discusses the relationship in terms of engagement or contact zones building on Clifford's (1997) theory. She also recognises the fluid nature of community:

> "Community as a concept ceaselessly creates, struggles, renegotiates, transforms, destroys, and renews itself, constantly redefining what and who is and is not community. Communities' members may be knowingly or unknowingly involved, they may be insiders and outsiders, members of multiple communities, and self- and not self-identifying. Membership of a community may be fleeting, partial, or innate, lifelong, and unshakeable, often irrelevant of an individuals' wishes. Thus community is used as a poor substitute, or shorthand, for a complex, rich, and ever-changing interaction." (Onciul, 2013)

The findings from these Canadian projects (Onciul, 2013) vocalise some of the disparity between museums and working with or encouraging communities into their exhibitions. While involving local communities at different levels with exhibition development, these are often temporary exhibitions and only consulted with a small proportion of the community involved. In the museum world, permanent exhibition changes move slowly. There is little funding to update and consult on permanent galleries and so the museums fall behind what can be rapid changes in community, thinking and museum practice. On community engagement, Onciul states "…that while a worthy and honorable pursuit, engagement is limited as to what it can achieve within current museological practice, and engagement does not automatically grant integrity or validity to museum exhibits" (2013, p.79). Ames (2004) agrees with this adding that the museum professionals hold the power in this relationship due to museum development experience, and more realistically, the museum having control of budgets and timescales (p.77-78).

In viewing museums as a community Elias's (Elias & Scotson, 1965) Established – Outsider theory also applies. Regular visitors, people who feel that they 'belong' and behave correctly in the museum claim an ownership over the space. Anyone coming in who does not behave well, or acts differently within the space can be seen by the Established group as an Outsider. The Established group have a strong sense of

belonging in the museum; it is their space and tells their story or a story that resonates with them. They see themselves in the museum. This is particularly prominent in Watson's (2014) experience of working in the local museum in Great Yarmouth (Norfolk). In an effort to work with and encourage people who would not normally visit museums, and provide a service to them, the museum allowed a local college to place a set of computers in one of the art galleries for people to come and complete literacy programmes with an in-house tutor. Responses from the regular visitors were mixed as many were not bothered by the addition of some computers in the gallery, which also had extra information on the collection for everyone to use. However, there were some comments from regular visitors regarding the people that the computers were aimed at.

> "These complaints were varied, but they focused on the perceived inappropriateness of mixing computers and art and the anxiety felt by the traditional visitors that the users of the computers were not "their sort of people"….the people using the computers for adult basic skills education could not understand art and should not be there…" (p.235)

This implies an ownership of the space and collections and that you have to earn the right to belong there. In fact, if the people using the computers were visiting as normal, no one would have remarked on their presence. Elias' (Elias & Scotson, 1965) theory fits neatly into this context, that once someone is deemed a 'regular' at the museum they belong. However, how long does this take? And what does it take to encourage different communities into the museum space? From my group visits in the museum, this appeared to be accepted as an educational visit as it was 'supervised' by an Established (the tutor) and the group was learning about the collections. The only visit where there was a sense of Established-Outsider relating to behaviour and belonging was with Lu's group from South America. This was due to their boisterous conversation; they engaged with everything and encouraged each other. They filled galleries with sounds as they passed through and it was apparent on some of the other visitors' faces that this was deemed out of sorts and not the norm.

As museums have a geographical location they can be viewed as contact zones for communities (Pratt, 1992, Clifford, 1997). Pratt's (1992) definition encompasses a

shared space where different geographical and social communities meet and share experiences regardless of previous inequalities or differences (p.6-7). Her spaces include classrooms and spaces of learning. Clifford (1997) applies this to the museum:

> "When museums are seen as contact zones, their organising structure as a *collection* becomes an ongoing historical, political and moral *relationship* – a power-charged set of exchanges of push and pull." (p.192)

This is apparent in Watson's (2013) example, above, on a local scale in Great Yarmouth. Clifford (1997) uses examples of Native American Elders engaging with a museum in discussions about exhibiting and interpreting objects related to their heritage. Theoretically both the Elders and the museum staff are members of the museum's community but one group can be viewed as the Established (and Establishment in this case) knowing the museum's policies, collections and space, with the Elders becoming the Outsiders presenting new ideas on interpretation and possibly upsetting the status quo. The museum as a contact zone holds a huge amount of potential. The idealised space for those from different heritages, social class, ages and geographical areas to come together and share experiences through objects and interpretation. However this is far from the truth and both Pratt (1992) and Clifford (1997) acknowledge this.

> "…that is, social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations to domination and subordination- such as colonialism and slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today." (Pratt, 1992. p.7)

The consensus between Bennett (1995), Clifford (1997) and Witcomb (2007) is that museums can do better at engaging with communities, in particular indigenous communities, and bring them further into the museum space. The difference between the three is a matter of perspective; Bennett (1995) approaches the subject that the museum is the centre of the relationship; Clifford (1997) sees it that there is a power imbalance in who has control over the relationship.

> "For most inhabitants of a poor neighbourhood located perhaps blocks or a short bus ride from a fine-arts museum, might as well be on another continent."(Clifford, 1997. p.204)

Witcomb's (2007) contribution to the debate is that museums need to be proactive in their engagement and not purely rely on content or objects that they think will attract communities, as shown in her community based projects mentioned above. She maintains that museums can aid to build community. It is clear from the examples in this section that their solution to bringing new communities into the museum suffers from a lack of clear direction. What works for one museum does not always work for another. When a project to encourage people into the museum works, it could be to the detriment of the opinion of other visitors. The ideal for many museums would be that new visitors are slowly absorbed into the current visitor demographics without 'rocking the boat'.

ESOL learners and museums

From the visits, it was apparent that the ESOL learners benefitted from the visits in terms of increased confidence in conversation, a more relaxed learning atmosphere and conversation topics coming naturally. For the WEA group this was an additional benefit to the course for that year, but for the LASALS group the museum visit was a set part of the programme for the Real English in Action course which was funded by the Government's Controlling Migration Fund[14], in order to provide additional support for ESOL learners. There is a small selection of literature exploring the relationship between museums and language learners (Labadi, 2018; Jones, 2013; Nagata, 2017; Cloutier et al, 2016). My visits with the classes broadly matches the findings from these studies and the visits with individual family groups extend these findings.

The differences between the ESOL class groups that I spent time with was the relationships within the classes themselves and the diversity of the groups. The WEA group had a more diverse composition but also a tighter friendship group that had developed in the classes. The LASALS groups did not have such a diverse composition, and as the course was shorter, there was no time to build the personal relationships

[14] https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/controlling-migration-fund-prospectus

that the WEA group had done. Ward (2008) lists the benefits of language classes as increasing social mobility, fighting poverty and raising aspirations. There was evidence of this with some of the LASALS learners, but in addition to relative new comers to Leicester, the LASALS classes also had long term residents who had reached points in their life where being able to speak English would provide them with the opportunity to support their young children at school or gain better employment. I would argue that for people who have arrived in a country on their own or in a family group, language classes provide a basis for creating a sense of belonging. Certainly, with the WEA group, the class was an additional space where friendships could be formed outside of other support networks. Group members at the WEA and in some of the newer arrivals in the LASALS groups already had high aspirations; they were just missing the information on how to achieve them, or required proof of their language skills to do so.

Labadi (2017) describes language learners in Statens Museum for Kunst (SMK) in Copenhagen taking guided tours and structured workshops with the aim to build new vocabulary and build on previous language knowledge. Evaluations from the tutors showed that the learners retained new vocabulary successfully after these sessions (p.16). The explanation of the course within the SMK was that it surprised tutors and museum staff that the learners were active in their explorations, were providing their own opinions and interpretations of artwork and exhibits. This shows an assumption that the learners were also lacking in their own cultural capital. From my visits to the museum, it was apparent that the learners had interests, education, memories and opinions and that by facilitating conversations in English they were able to share these with others with different languages. At Manchester Art Gallery, there were also structured language workshops which were designed to build confidence and allow for the sharing of ideas in a safe space using the collections (Jones, 2013). This project was closer to the outcomes I found with the learners, but it was more structured. Some of the learners at the Manchester Museum used the sessions to make new friends and meet other people who were new to the area, which mirrored the WEA group. The staff also commented that people were sharing their own experiences and chatting to each other about the differences and similarities from their countries (Labadi, 2017. p.

19). The staff in Manchester also noticed that confidence in language increased and although grammar might not be perfect, it was empowering for the learners to be able to express their opinions (p.20).

The British Museum provides tours and worksheets for ESOL groups that are designed to increase vocabulary, provide opportunities to explore some of the collections and one tour that focuses on citizenship (Nagata, 2017. p.45; British Museum, 2019). The programmes are there to allow people to learn and share. Nagata (2017) describes the programmes as allowing:

> "Dialogues about cultures and customs that are as different from those of other participants lead to cross-cultural understanding since the participants start to understand cultures that are different from themselves." (p.45-46)

This assumes that the people who are taking part in the programme have not experienced other cultures, or even have an understanding of other cultures. Once again it places ESOL learners at a deficit due to their language abilities. From working with ESOL learners in Leicester, it was apparent from my interactions that they had a far wider understanding of the world, different cultures and in some cases had settled in more than one country on their way to the UK. This was more common in women from Somalia and Bangladesh, who had often spent time in Italy, the Netherlands, or Cyprus prior to moving to the UK. The British Museum programme was aimed at women from Somalia and Bangladesh as demographics that were deemed "hard to reach"; however funding restrictions often prevented them from being able to attend for free (p.46). Nagata (ibid) concludes that this type of structured intercultural activity is in short supply and is essential for multicultural communities to successfully integrate with each other. This is a short sighted view of how local diverse communities communicate and also lacks insight into who visits museums and why. I will be discussing multiculturalism in relation to decolonisation in a later chapter.

In a project that allows the participants more autonomy, Cloutier et al (2016) conducted discussions with English language students who took part in a course on how to interpret art at the National Gallery of Canada. This project gave the learners access to different interpretive frameworks to view art in the gallery, while using and

improving their language skills. The researching group recognised that the learners have their own identities and were looking at how these impacted on the interpretations of the art.

> "In this space, research participants were comfortable enough to negotiate codes that related to their own lived experiences, and were able to offer their own personal affective responses to the works that moved them the most. For us, this is where they located their subversive identities because they were negotiating and offering multiple perspectives to the codes of their cultural backgrounds." (ibid. p. 144)

Their findings, unsurprisingly, show that cultural capital and experiences mean that people from different cultural, religious or even just geographical backgrounds will draw from their own experiences in their interpretations of artworks. The key finding from this project, however is the interest that the learners took in the art and being able to communicate their identities and expand their language confidence in an inclusive and non-patronising fashion. This was mirrored in some of the encounters with the groups I visited with. The object provided a conversation starter for that person to share their experiences or something from their past that they were happy for others to know.

Almost all of these examples follow a deficit model where the language learner is the one with a lack of skills or knowledge. In Armitage (2017), they approach the issue from the view that the museum and museum staff could do more to accommodate visitors who do not have strong language skills.

> "Not only have museums privileged literacy in the past, they have promoted a certain type of highly contextual and academic literacy based on perceived knowledge of art history and the artistic process, making the museum an intimidating space." (p.9)

Armitage (2017) does go on to include how museums can help to support English language learners within the American Museum structure. Gutierrez & Rasmussen (2014) agree with this approach that museums see language learners or those who speak other languages as problematic. Even in a city where a large number of people

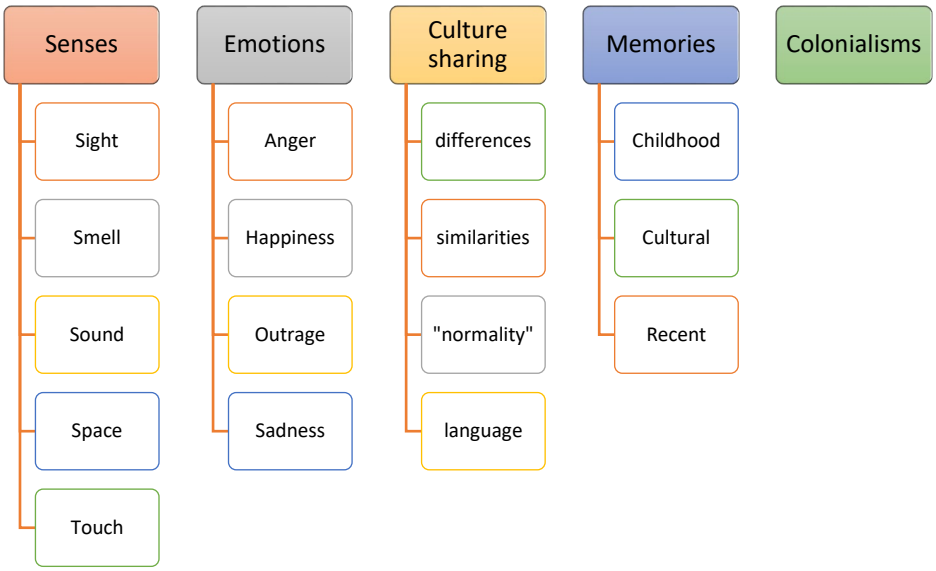
are multilingual, we still communicate solely in English when we could be sharing language from across the world.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have looked at how previous projects compared to my own findings in the areas of community-based research. From both my experiences and those of people who focused on geographical groups or communities of interest (Jephcott, 1964, 1971; Frankenberg, 1967; Pahl, 2005), it is apparent that building a relationship with the group yields greater in-depth data. Museums who are looking at working directly with local communities have also not managed to perfect the process of consultation or collaboration. Power imbalances between museum professionals and community representatives are complex and difficult to manage. In encouraging one group in, it can alienate another (Watson, 2014). For those looking at representing communities in the museum, the restrictions or rules on display and interpretation make compromise difficult (Witcomb, 2003).

Bringing ESOL learning into the museum space has definite benefits to the learner. The literature indicates that programmes based in museums have some benefits; however simply moving classes from one location into another is not enough to provide those benefits. Additional discussion is required to further my findings in comparison to the current provision for language students. This will be included in Chapter 12 around decolonisation of museums and proposals from my research. As this chapter placed some of my findings into the community context, the next chapter will look at the sensory and emotional aspects of museum visiting.

Chapter 9: Senses



Introduction

Synnott (1993) presents the senses as an ongoing puzzle, but a hierarchy has been placed on the senses since Ancient Greece. Plato, Socrates and Aristotle all spent energy in delineating and isolating the senses, with Aristotle going as far as placing sight as the highest sense and touch as the lowest (p. 132). This hierarchy continues through the Western tradition to Hegel, Descartes, Locke and Hobbes all spending time discussing how the senses were just that, a link to common sense, but with Hegel, sight remained at the forefront (p.141). Marx went against the Western tradition and declared all senses equal, and that without the senses we are reduced to beasts (p.144). The hierarchical structure placed on the senses is mirrored in the hierarchy of museum visiting.

If we are not communicating using a shared language in a space, then we must communicate using sensory engagement. Levent & Pascual-Leone (2014) describe the experience as “a multi-layered journey that is proprioceptive, sensory, intellectual, aesthetic, and social” (p.xiii). In this chapter, I will look at what ways the groups and individuals reacted to sensory engagement in the museum space. I will be approaching this from a westernised perspective, but taking into account the heritage sites of the

people visiting. I have amended the list of senses as taste is not a commonplace sense in heritage sights, and I will address smell in this introduction, as there was not specific smell data from my visits. I will begin with a focus on sight, then sounds, touch and finally engagements in space. Space and proprioception in museums, while not strictly a sense, has its place in this section as it leads into emotions in museums.

In museums, the sensory cycle has come full circle. Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century museums encouraged object handling. The private collections were only shown to a select few and touching was encouraged (Bacci & Pavani, 2014. p. 17). With some objects, tasting was expected, usually Chinese bird's nests or Egyptian mummies (Howes, 2014a. p.288). As museum visiting became more accessible, the objects became less accessible. Through most of the Twentieth Century, museums were a bastion of the visual, with the familiar "do not touch" rules. With the development of New Museology in the late Twentieth Century, museums reverted to multisensory experiences (Morgan, 2012; Howes, 2014; Classen, 2017). Sight remains the dominant sense in most museums, but exhibitions commonly include some sort of interactive aspect that draws on sound or touch.

Smell (and by association taste) has remained the least used sense in the museum. There was a period of time at the beginning of the Twenty-first Century where aromas were filtered into museums' spaces to add to the experience. Odour is not a co-operative medium and can filter through into neighbouring areas, however it provides another multimodal method of communication (Keller, 2014). Stevenson (2014) divides the deliberate use of smell into two types, the first are museums devoted to olfaction. These museums tend to be perfume or food related museums. The second type is where smell is used as part of a multimodal exhibit (p.151-152). There were not any mentions of smell during my visits to the Newarke Houses Museums, but in the past, the museum has used smell to evoke memories in the pub with a beer scent. Taking a neuroscientific approach, Stevenson (2014) showed that ordinary household odours such as paint, or cleaning chemicals are excellent for evoking memories (p.156 and 161), thus linking odour to "identity, place, memory, lived experience and cultural sensibility (Drobnick, 2014. p. 183).

As I visited with different groups, it occurred to me that without a frame of reference, a smell would not always trigger a memory or recognition. In an increasingly global community, the smell of stale beer in a pub would not mean anything to some visitors, even though wine was one of the fragrances that Stevenson (2014) mentioned. If smell was to be used in the museum, it should be a universally recognised smell. Drobnick (2014) agrees that there is a vocabulary for smell, but that Western museums are generally anosmic. Some exhibits use smells to add to the effect of the exhibit; Stevenson (2014) mentions the World War 1 trench at the Dresden Military Museum (p.158); this is also used in the stable diorama at Warwick Castle, and famously when it opened in the Jorvick Museum in York. This also comes with a warning! Smells can also evoke physical reactions so it cannot be too unpleasant (p. 158).

Sight

Sight is the dominant sense in the museum but there is not a huge amount written on it. The majority of work on sight in museums focuses on those with visual impairment. Objects are there to be viewed, observed and information panels read. There are physical barriers to encourage viewing. Placing objects in display cases or behind cordons immediately places the visual over any other sense. There may be reasons for this as some objects are fragile or require environmental protection for conservation reasons. This puts conservation at odds with experience. I am going to focus this section on two distinct areas that stand apart from general viewing of objects. In my data, the groups and individuals made use of videos in the museums, and commented on the interpretation panels.

Humphries (2003) advocates using video in museums to link images with the oral histories that are often displayed in museums as adding images adds empathy to the story. He stresses that while sound alone opens up personal stories, without the image to focus the gaze, visitors' attention is short lived. Humphries uses the Museum of London's exhibit *Voices of London* as an example of good practice:

> "…visitors could sit at computer terminals and select and listen to extracts from oral history recordings whilst reading full transcripts of the interview. This innovative project is also using a range of community-based oral history

initiatives to reach out to the capital's minority ethnic communities who rarely come into the museum." (p.78)

Rather than linking in images of the person in the audio, text of the interviews was available. This visual link was to focus the person listening. In some cases, it might help people who do not have English as their first language as being able to see the words as well as hear them would aid in translation, especially where the person speaking has an accent. From spending time with the ESOL classes, there were times where we would have to repeat words, or were asked to write them down due to different pronunciations.

There is criticism of using video in museums, such as it being a passive activity. Visitors sit or stand and watch and do not participate. Humphries suggests that it has a positive impact, particularly if it has an emotional effect. De Jong (2018) details museums where video has been used in lieu of objects to tell a story. Her focus is on memorial museums, where many of the videos mix archive footage and fist hand testimonies of experiences from within concentration camps. Many of the video testimonies made with Holocaust survivors were made in the 1990s (de Jong, 2018 p. 85) and were essentially objects to be accessioned into a collection. Video (and by extension sound recordings) hold weight as an authentic voice. In witnessing the video recordings the viewer can become emotionally attached to the content of the video (Wake, 2013).

Where the groups watched videos in the Newarke Houses Museum, there was an unexpected reaction. The video that resonated with the first Real English in Action group was one about Alice Hawkins. In the previous week, we had visited her statue in the centre of the city. The video told the story of the suffragette and finished on the statue. The link to the visit on the previous week meant that the group had some prior knowledge of the subject. On subsequent visits the video was not working.

The most obvious visual information providers in the museum are the interpretation panels. Some people will read these in detail while others will scan over them looking for a piece of information or ignore them completely. Miglietta et al. (2011) describes reading text as an engagement in the museum and therefore requires effort (p.210).

Reading text in second, third or fourth language is arguably even more of an effort. Text design has to be easily understood for a wide range of audiences while still maintaining authority and technical information (Ravelli, 2006). From the visits, there was evidence of the groups reading the text panels. In some cases, translation websites on mobile phones were used to support understanding and one person said she wanted to improve her English so she could come back and understand the panels better.

From my experience in developing text for the Richard III Visitor Centre in Leicester, the battle between understanding and technical language is a negotiation. In this case, I was "translating" the scientific methods used in the identification of the remains. For one particular panel the scientific terms on their own were too complex for a general broad audience. I was not an expert myself and so had created information that a non-scientific audience might understand. The expert had to understand that the technical language may have been the most concise way of describing the process, but was not the simplest way of describing it. In many of the technical areas of the exhibition, side notes were added to explain technical terms so the main text had a better flow. Ravelli (2006) agrees with this approach. Having a distance from the subject can help with making language easier to understand on interpretive panels. However, in many museums, a curator or expert in the field writes the panels and they get weighed down with jargon and terminology.

On many of the visits, it seemed that the groups felt they should read all the panels. Generally, we took the same route around the museum as suggested by the guides and started in the My Leicester, My Home gallery. In this gallery many of the panels were read, with help. By the time we entered the street or haberdashery in the museum where there are fewer panels, the self-imposed requirement to read it all had vanished. In the Regimental galleries on the first floor, the panels became something people wanted to read rather than felt they should read. However, the vast panels of text and language used was off putting. I will discuss aspects of colonialism in a later chapter.

Sounds

There are two types of sound in the museum space; deliberate sound of exhibits such as audio from videos or guides and the sounds that visitors make in the space. Generally, museums are quiet spaces for contemplation, quiet reading and observing or hushed conversations about objects (Bennett, 2006; Bubaris, 2014; Lobley, 2015). Voeglin (2014) argues that:

> "The museum is not a visual place but an audiovisual environment unfolding its space in the time of ricocheting footsteps, sincere whispers, loud echoes of children's laughter, security guards' fuzzy walkie-talkies, tour guides' hushed lectures, and a few audiovisual works that remind us that even work is not as quiet as we might expect." (p.120)

Simon Reynolds, a critical music theorist (cited in Lobley, 2014. p. 243) states that he is "not sure music of any sort works in the museum. Museums are primarily visual, orientated around display, designed for the contemplative gaze. The crucial element of sound has either to be absent or supressed." This is a very traditional opinion, and a Westernised one. Lobley (2014) disagrees with this and advocates for the museum to be an archive of sound and share, even to repatriate music with local communities. There have been attempts to map out the soundscape of the museum. Kannenberg (2016) used audio recordings of visits to large museums including the Pitt Rivers Museum and the National Portrait Gallery. On their return, they listened back to the recordings and drew how they thought the soundscape might look. The result was a series of marks indicating the type of sound and volume.

With the development of the visually orientated museum, sound was excluded and seen as disruptive to the learning experience. As the multisensory museum developed, sound was one of the easier senses to bring into the space, but as I will describe in this chapter, this reintroduction is confined to controlled sounds.

> "Amongst the pioneers was the Imperial War Museum (IWM) with its use of telephone handsets, fixed to walls, which play back edited highlights from audio interview tapes when the receiver is picked up." (Humphries, 2003. p. 77)

Audio from interviews and oral histories were the first sounds to be added in to enhance exhibits. In the Newarke Houses Museum, there are a number of audio handsets throughout the galleries. These are presented with some text to give context or choice of recording. Used first in the Imperial War Museum (Humphries, 2014. p. 77), this is now quite a common way of presenting oral histories in local museums. Due to the added step of having to pick up a handset, and maybe choose a recording to listen to, I did not see many of the people I visited with use these. If they did use them they did not listen to the end, were picking up the handset to have a photograph taken or had been pressing the buttons because they lit up. One audio station that did get used in its intended way was the Lullabies from Around the World listening post. The difference between this station and the others was that it related to something within everyone's experiences (children's songs) and could be played to the group. The act of sharing made this a more attractive activity than listening individually to interviews. The subject matter from a range of countries also meant that curiosity about other languages could be discussed with a group.

Another option is to play audio of commentary directly into spaces on a loop (Humphries, 2014. p. 78). This means there is no respite from the commentary the visitor might enter the room half way through the loop and it not have the same impact as intended. On a recent visit to Warwick Castle, I found that the audio loops in the displays were longer than the time I wanted to spend in the room looking at the objects.

It seems that sound is often incorporated into exhibits to create a deeper understanding of the subject matter. Cluett (2014) argues that curators are improving the quality of the inclusion of sound and this is leading to "richer and more varied" installations (p.117). Bijsterveld (2015) discusses how aural experience has to be situated within a context in the museum or the sound alone does not hold enough meaning. However, when presented with interpretation or in an associated space "unfamiliar sounds and sounds with an historical sound quality….contributes, perhaps, to a closer connection to the past…" (p. 82). In the street scene at the Newarke Houses Museum, there are two shops with motion activated audio. As we walked into the pub, the audio began and Ro jumped and then laughed as it referred to "George"

which is her husband's name. This gave her an interest in the audio as she had established a connection. Ju and Ag went into the same space, when the audio began they also jumped, but they then ignored the sound and continued to take photos of each other. Many of the Muslim people who I visited with did not go into this space, but did go into the greengrocer's shop where the other audio is triggered. No one jumped when it began, also no one commented on it. The spatial sound that was most commented on was in the trenches reconstruction. The sound is loud and sudden, audibly describing a time of shelling and bombing in a dark and enclosed space. The space itself is claustrophobic, the addition of the sound evoked emotions in most of the people passing through it. There are sounds that do not need an explanation; they will have an effect regardless of previous understanding of the space or sound. The audio used in the trenches reconstruction is a universally understood sound. Children and adults alike reacted to the sound on their way through the space.

As described by Voeglin (2014), the sound of the museum with people within it has its own soundtrack. In moving around the space, people make sound, whether that is through their conversation or the acoustics of the room.

> "With sound, this movement can be understood via acoustics, as the propagation of waves through and between bodies, resonating within them, reflecting off their surfaces, or being absorbed and dampened by them." (Gallagher, 2016. p.44)

There was the general lean towards remaining quiet in the museum space when we visited. The group visits were sedate and measured. There were three significant exceptions to this. Lu on her group visit was reserved and spoke in the traditional hushed tones (Voeglin, 2014). When we returned with her friends and the children, they were loud (by comparison) and unapologetically conversational in Spanish and English. They did not conform to the *rules* of museum visiting. As I have seen Lu in the museum before, it can be concluded that this was a cultural response. She was not in the controlled ESOL class and could be more natural and act comfortably within her personality in the space as she was with her South American friends and family. Mo had moments of trying to hush his children while they stamped on a wooden floor. The sound they made echoed around the room and was discouraged by Mo. He

replaced one sound with another by then directing their attention to a tiger's head in a display. He roared, and then he encouraged his child to roar too, making a sound in an acceptable way for in the museum. Cluett (2014) approves of this encounter in the museum:

> "Regardless of medium or intent, the works need not be about sound directly but might make or engage sound as part of a multimodal whole." (p.109)

Another instance was when a group or family was in the childhood gallery and playing on the hopscotch or snakes and ladders on the floor. The interactions in this area always involved increased movement and demonstrations of the games. Playing the games involved shouting instructions, animated conversations and singing of rhymes. The hushed tones were discarded at this stage, almost as if playing the game gave the people permission to be loud. When we left this space, most of the groups reverted to the *usual* museum behaviour.

Of the engagements in the museum, some of the most significant came from sound, but less so from the parts of the museum that were specifically designed to engage with sound. The oral histories and interviews did not include a sharing aspect. With the lack of confidence in language ability, these were not used in the intended fashion. Being able to share the sounds was important for these groups.

Touch

The denial of touch in museums widened audiences but denied them the same access as previous visitors. Classen (2012) breaks this down as a class-based act as the lower classes would be rowdy and their behaviour would endanger the valuable artefacts (p.176). As more people were able to access the museum, the objects needed to be saved from the "vulgar touch of the common visitor" (p.178). While some of the upper classes could book time with objects, eventually the "do not touch" rule became a blanket rule for everyone regardless of their social standing.

While touch was forbidden in the solely visual world of the museum for decades, the re-introduction of touch into exhibits has been varied. There are many objects in the museum that cannot, or should not, be touched for conservation, preservation or safety purposes. There are some heritage spaces that actively encourage touching;

one of these is Staircase House in Stockport. In their space the visitor is able to move around almost all of the rooms in the house, re-arrange the objects, open cupboards, drawers and even get into the four poster bed. Having spent two days observing visitors in the House, many of them do not touch the objects and walk around observing inspite of the signs encouraging them to do so. Some behaviour is ingrained into our culture and this can hamper efforts to bring more interaction into museum spaces.

In most museums, the objects are behind glass, preventing any accidental touching. Some museums also have handling collections, specific stations in galleries with less valuable or replicas available for handling or reconstructions of objects. One such reconstruction is the Rosetta Stone in the British Museum. Nearby there is a replica that can be touched to get an idea of the feeling of what the original might feel like. The tactile experience in museums seems to be relegated to organised or invited touching when often a response to encountering something new is to feel its texture. In the street scene at the Newarke Houses Museum I saw a brave couple of the groups try and move objects in the pub or grocers. They stopped when they discovered that they were glued down, and also the plastic fruit was touched and moved.

Space

Space within the museum can make a difference to how we encounter and experience the exhibitions. In most cases, visitors are able to move around the space at their own pace and in their own directions. In a few cases there is a set way of experiencing the space:

> "An employee of the museum explains to me how to move through the exhibition space: I will be moving along a virtual underground railway system … Films will start at each station if I position myself on a particular spot on the floor." (De Jong, 2018. p.3)

In this example, the Museo Diffuso della Resistenza, della Deportazione, della Guerra, dei Diritti e della Liberta ('Widespread' Museum of Resistance, Deportation, the War and Freedom) guides their visitors through the space in order for them to experience the exhibits in a specific way (ibid). In a similar way, the Imperial War Museum has

been architecturally designed to make visitors feel uncomfortable while simply standing viewing the exhibits. Pallasmaa (2014) discusses how museum spaces should enhance the visitor experience, “activate and sensitize the senses” and “facilitate the intense dialogue between the exhibits and the viewer” (p.240). Many local museums are built with an eighteenth century Western ideal and some are converted historical buildings. Both of these spaces come with their own idiosyncrasies and often limit the way the spaces can be used. This architecture and the requirements of practical display supports the limited interactions that are expected between the objects and the visitors (Malnar & Vodvarka, 2014. p. 252 and 266). As described in the purpose built spaces that account for specific spatial experiences, it is possible for museums to include spatial encounters as part of the visiting experience.

With the introduction of white cube spaces in art galleries in the early twentieth century, it appeared that museums were also thinking in the same way and reducing the distractions of galleries so that visitors could concentrate on the objects. While there are limits on what can be done in restrictive old buildings, some museums, including the Newarke Houses Museum have made some efforts to disrupt the traditional space and include reconstructions of different spaces. Pallasmaa (2014) describes contextual associations that can be added to museum spaces; in one exhibition at the Museum of Finnish Architecture in 1990, they installed a layer of sand over the floor in the exhibition space for a display of objects from the Dogon people from Bandiagara Canyon in Mali. They also designed the space with wall colours and textures that were reminiscent of the area. The Newarke Houses Museum has a reconstruction of an early twentieth century street scene with a cobbled street and a claustrophobic trench from world war one. One Real English in Action group spent a long time standing in the street scene space and taking it in. As the conversation was not in English, I deducted from their body language that they were talking about the cobbles and the walls. The venue of the old houses also raised some conversations with the WEA ESOL group who spent some time discussing how houses were built and how old the timbers might be. The space itself has an impact on these visitors as it added an additional experience to the visit.

Being in a space can have an impact on the visitor in a museum as shown above. Moving in that space and interacting with it adds an additional layer to the experience.

> "Through propriorception we derive information about the angles of our joints, the static or moving state of our own body parts and – to some extent – the extension of our body parts in space." (Longo et al, 2009 cited in in Bacci & Pavani, 2014. p. 18)

The awareness of where we are and what we are doing in space has a museological context. Dudley (2014) describes the movements and wonder at opening the drawers at the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford. The museum does not give you much space to do this, and even though they are clearly labelled, the act of opening a drawer feels like breaking the rules. Dudley (ibid) believes that the change in posture adds to the feeling of discovery:

> "Such change in the body's orientation, the associated shift in the visitor's awareness of their position in space, and the movement of the body as well as the drawer, mean that proprioception and kinesthetics are, I suggest, intrinsic to the process of discovery." (p. 302)

She even goes as far as to explain the movements of people opening the drawers in the museum, with both hands and keeping one hand on the handles while looking at the objects inside. This behaviour can also be observed on the visit with Ro and her son. Both of them pulled open the drawers of medals in the regimental gallery with both hands, and then kept one hand on the handle while looking inside. Hackett (2014) builds on this with her exploration of children's experiences in the museum space. She visited a museum a number of times with pre-school children and observed them exploring the spaces. She describes what seemed like loud and boisterous behaviour of the children running in the gallery and how that changed over time as they became more familiar with the spaces. I also observed how children would use the space differently to the adults during their visits for my MRes dissertation (Barratt, 2014). The children would get in and under furniture, and run around (as mentioned above, making sound in this process).

Conclusion

This chapter has explored how the senses underpin experiences in the museum. With the senses having become a key part of the museum experience and museums attempting to incorporate more than just sight into their exhibits, these findings show how the make a difference for people who have English as an additional language. Supporting sights with sounds, and opportunities to hold and feel objects enhances understanding amongst visitors. These additional sensory engagements encourage sharing of past experiences. The physical experiences often lead to sharing not only of previous physical experiences but also of emotions and memories. In the next chapter I will look at the emotions and memories encountered during our visits.

Chapter 10: Emotions

Introduction

An affective encounter in the museum and in other spaces has an enormous impact on how we experience and relate to the same thing at a later time, or can evoke a response from memory. It can also encourage a sense of belonging within a community as shared emotions link us to social groups (Elias, 1987). In this chapter, I am going to look at how affect and emotions sit within a sociological framework, and then how these have been applied in the museum. Throughout I will relate this to my findings with the different ESOL and family groups I visited with. I will finish this chapter by looking at how experiences within the museum can evoke a sense of belonging. Throughout I will relate this to my findings from the visits to the museum with the groups and the families.

Through the senses, we experience spaces, objects and encounters. This, in the simplest of terms, translates into an affective response or a more intense emotional response. There is some debate into the difference between emotions and affect.

> "Hedges argues that affect 'refers to an amorphous, diffuse and bodily "experience" of stimulation impinging upon and altering the body's physiology, whereas emotions are the various structured, qualified, and recognizable experiential stages of anger, joy and sadness'(Hedges 2010: 247)" (Watson, 2018. p. 295)

With the introduction of New Museology, there has been a concerted move towards creating inclusive experiences for any community that uses the museum. Munro (2014) describes this "affective turn" as "emotional labour" and that we are still exploring visitors responses to this way of presenting information and objects (p.45). Interestingly, human geography also took an "affective turn" at the same time as museology. Anderson & Smith (2001) proposed to take human geography a step further than the visual and contextual and into an understanding of how this is affected by emotion and affect (p.8). In describing this affective turn, I will also attempt to differentiate between affect and emotion in the field of museum studies. Much of the museum studies literature currently does not account for any difference

in these terms, "[t]he terms affect and emotion are often used interchangeably" (Golding, 2013. p.83, Munro, 2014), however by drawing on definitions and observations from human geography a clear line can be drawn between affect and emotion. In practical data gathering terms, emotional information is gathered through questioning – such as how does it feel? While affect is observed through movement, gesture and action (Pile, 2010).

While emotion and affect (often interchangeably) as defined in sociology and human geography has been applied to museum experiences, politics has steered clear of the space:

> "…which is strange because these spaces routinely make epistemological and emotional/affective claims that are inherently political…" (Hatch, 2014)

It was once believed that museums were neutral spaces, but this is inherently not true as even the most traditional museums fail to tell decolonised versions of history (to be discussed in a Chapter 11).

Emotions (in Social Sciences)

Emotion is often the realm of psychology in analysing and predicting how an individual may react to stimuli or a situation. In Sociology, emotion plays an important role in how groups of people may react or behave in reaction to each other, situations or spaces. From a sociological perspective, the culture, external societal influences and community around an individual can also impact on emotions. Elias (1987) discusses emotions from the point of view of humans versus animals, but does make the point that emotions are both learnt and natural behaviours. He concludes that emotions are what links individuals to society and different languages may have more words for describing emotions than others from their learnt behaviour. Elias (ibid) also warns against studying emotions in isolation from other aspects of life as they are all intrinsically linked.

The sociology of emotions has been studied since the 1970s (Olsen et al, 2017). From the resulting findings scholars in the US have followed a psychosociological route through the field and in Europe the subject has remained focused on the pure sociological aspects of emotion. Psychology (Ekman, 2003) recognises six emotions;

anger, disgust, fear, sadness, happiness and surprise. Human geographers have expanded this into

> "…ambivalence, anger, anxiety, awe, betrayal, caring, closeness, comfort and discomfort, demoralisation, depression, desire, despair, desperation, disgust, disillusionment, distance, dread, embarrassment, envy, exclusion, familiarity, fear (including phobias), fragility, grief, guilt, happiness and unhappiness, hardship, hatred, homeliness, horror, hostility, illness, injustice, joy, loneliness, longing, love, oppression, pain (emotional), panic, powerlessness, pride, relaxation, repression, reserve, romance, shame, stress and distress, suffering, violence, vulnerability, worry." (Pile, 2010. p. 6)

Emotional responses also transcend cultural background unlike the senses. The triggers may be different, and the action related to the emotion may also be different, but the descriptions of the emotions remain the same.

I am going to draw briefly on two theories from the US, that relate to this project, identity theory and cultural theory. Stets (2006) describes identity theory as individuals having multiple identities that fulfil different purposes in an individual's life. These identities allow a person to fit into societal structures. They fall into role identities, such as parent, adult, teacher or student. The role identity designates a position within a group (p.204). Societal identities such as feminist or relating to a political or national identity, allows for an individual to belong to a group of others who identify with these identities. Finally, the person identity "defines the individual as distinct from others" (p.204). Stets (2006) explains that:

> "Role, societal and person identities do not exist in isolation. Rather they operate simultaneously in situations." (ibid, p. 204)

The influence of these identities in society evokes emotional responses. As an example, when we find ourselves in the company of likeminded people with similar social identities we feel validated, secure and comfortable. Where individuals are challenged by opposing identities they may feel uncomfortable.

In this project there is some scope to draw on the theory relating to social and person identities. As I am not studying how the groups I am working with relate to each other in the museum, role identities are not a focus. Museums can evoke responses in an individual on a social and personal identity level. If a museum exhibit draws on a person identity the response may be relational – such as *I had that*, I *experienced that* or *I know about that*. For societal identities the response may be – *I spend time there*, *my family have that* or *we have that now*. These responses allow the person to recognise themselves in the museum. The emotion that accompanies these responses does not necessarily have to be a positive one. The second theory drawn on from the US School of Sociology of Emotions is Cultural Theory. In a review of this field, Petersen (2006) describes the "critical role that culture plays in basic processes of labelling or defining our emotional experiences" (p. 114). In essence, the culture we are surrounded by determines our responses to emotional situations. These responses go further than personal emotional responses, but also impact on our general responses to situations. For example, in come cultures a loud outpouring of grief is appropriate and expected at a funeral, whereas in others, quiet contemplation is deemed normal. Petersen (ibid) draws on Goffman (1959, 1961, 1967) in explaining how our cultural upbringing can determine how we react or behave in different spaces. He uses the terms cultural scripts to describe the taught actions we might take within a space to create a cultural performance (p.116). Petersen argues that:

> "The cultural constructions (also) contribute to the emotional aspect of the encounter." (Petersen, 2006 p. 117)

Day to day spaces are not often designed to create strong emotional responses in people. It would be argued that most spaces are designed to inhibit emotional responses to create a sense of order.

Emotions in the museum

There have been contrasting discussions around the place of emotions in museums. Pe-2010, the position was:

> "It can be argued that the museum, as a public space, is an inappropriate forum in which to release strong emotions." (Carnegie, 2003, p. 71)

If everyone is acting the same as if it had been rehearsed, solidarity can be achieved. This could also be applied to behaviour within spaces such as museums. Our reactions in certain spaces and situations are influenced by the community and culture we have been raised within, as mentioned above. This is also true of behaviour and emotions within the museum space. As we are guided by the actions of the group around us, how we perceive we should act within the museum space is learnt from the actions of others within this space and also by how community dictates we should act.

From my own museum experiences when I was growing up in the UK, I was taught by my family to walk slowly and talk in hushed tones. The overarching message was also not to touch anything. The sociological principles of emotion apply in the realms of the museum, much like they do in religious buildings where appropriate reactions are accepted. An example of a change to the 'rules' of museum and gallery visiting took place in 2014. The National Gallery in London permitted visitors to take photographs of the artworks. Until then taking photographs in the gallery was not permitted, however with the introduction of free WiFi it became increasingly difficult to police visitors using a mobile phone for research and those who might be taking a photograph. At a time when other institutions were limiting using phones, the National Gallery was attempting to improve the visitor experience:

> "The decision comes as other forms of art toughen up their rules on the use of mobile phone cameras, in a bid to help visitors concentrate on what they are seeing." (Telegraph, 2014)

As a result of this action, visitors took advantage of the new ruling to use other technology to enhance their visit. However, as a result of this, the Gallery had to take another action a year later in banning the use of selfie sticks, citing that they were a danger to other visitors and could possible cause accidental damage to artworks and objects themselves. The reaction to this demonstrates the views of how museum and gallery visiting should work. This also evoked apparently strong emotions amongst the museum visitors. Comments from art critics and visitors were reported by the BBC.

> “"Anyone who actually wants to go and see a painting can't because people are too busy taking photos. I've seen things in the National Gallery which make my hair stand on end."”
>
> “Morny Davison told the Press Association the selfie stick was "an interference in what one hopes is a reasonably calm experience looking at great pictures."” (BBC, 2015)

Modern culture has caught up with the institution and made it more accessible for their visitors, while at the same time changing the perceived appropriate behaviour within the museum. I observed one person who demonstrated two different behaviours on two different museum visits. This fits with Stets (2006) description of identity theory. Lu’s behaviour in the museum with the ESOL group from the WEA was reserved and conscientious. She paid attention to the exhibits and chatted with other people in the group. She did not show any strong emotion during the visit. She matched the emotions of the rest of the group and their visiting practices. On the visit with her friends and children, Lu was happy and laughing, the group were animated and loud as they moved through the museum spaces. She showed ESOL student and museum visitors in the first visit, and mother and friend in the second visit. It could also be concluded that the family groups’ behaviour in the second visit was related to Lu’s cultural identity. The volume of the conversations and speed of their investigations of the exhibits could be deemed at odds with the Western way of museum visiting. The adults in the group approached the visit as a joyful expedition, being curious, asking questions, laughing at anecdotes with each other. The children had a mixture of adults’ energy with a little more reservation when it came to the more serious topics, such as in the Regimental galleries. The children had visited the museum before with school. Their cultural identities and emotional responses in the museum spaces included those of their mothers and also those of a hushed UK school visit.

Post-2010, museums took the same affective and emotional turn as human geography and the discussion changed to how museums were emotional catalysts:

> "We find emotions in the interactions between visitors as they move around, discussing the exhibitions and displays, or as they chat over coffee in the museum café. We also find emotions in the interactions between visitors and museum objects themselves – we often speak of 'loving' certain exhibitions, whilst 'hating' others." (Munro, 2014. p. 44)

Munro (ibid) links the emotional encounters in the museum to health and wellbeing policy from where it had been found that museum visiting has positive effects on mental health, in particular the mental health of marginalised communities (Camic and Chatterjee 2013; Chatterjee and Noble, 2009; Chatterjee et al, 2009). Munro (2014) also worked with ESOL students in Glasgow, consulting them on how museum staff and volunteers could help to better represent them in the museum and address their many cultural identities. She found that in discussing their identity and experiences, some had experienced discrimination and in addressing these experiences, the museum staff were taking on emotional labour (p.48).

In most cases, when emotions are intended within the museum, it is by design. Using emotional mapping, Bagnall (2003) followed museum visitors around two heritage sites (Wigan Pier and the Museum of Science and Industry in Manchester) to explore their emotional responses in the spaces. Her conclusion was that where there was a link to their personal life they felt a greater emotional link to the exhibit or space, and "made history more meaningful" (p.91). There were some instances in her observations where visitors did not want to go into areas or buildings:

> "In these instances visitors are aware of the emotional appeal made by the sites, but reject this emotional 'closeness' in a desire to avoid the memories such an emotional engagement might awaken." (p.92)

In Munro's (2014) observations the emotional responses that are sought when it is by design are usually those of sorrow, remorse, hatred, horror or anger. Hatch (2014) drawing on the politics behind Chinese and Japanese historical museums writes mostly about affect, which I will discuss later, but also mentions emotion:

> "My emotion is neither idiosyncratic nor random; the museums and the peace park more generally, has been designed to evoke precisely these feelings of

> lost innocence or, according to the message inscribed on the cenotaph, "enduring grief"." (p.387)

On a grander scale, emotions in the museum have been debated in relation to visitor experiences. As visitor attractions, museums would like to measure successful visits in relation to happy visitors. However, in creating happy visitors, museums may compromise the histories that they represent.

In the US, Trofanenko (2014) drew on Witcomb's (2010, 2013) work into emotions in her studies of the museum's education sector. She approached the subject of emotions from an educationalist viewpoint in the US where she was conducting a study with war veterans and school children working on an oral history project in the National Museum of American History (NMAH) in Washington DC. In particular she followed a pair of participants, a veteran of the Vietnam War and a twelve year old schoolboy on their weekly day long visits to the museum. She documented the conversations between the pair and analysed the content.

> "The conversations demonstrate how emotions and affect are core to the pedagogical purpose and practices of this museum [NMAH] both intentionally and unintentionally." (ibid, p. 23)

The aspect of Trofanenko's analysis that is particularly relevant to my study is how the museum itself had an impact on the conversations and emotions felt by both participants. In her analysis one of the senses she draws in on in the article was smell. This aspect triggered memories for the veteran and also questions for the pupil. The memories for the veteran were vivid and evoked a strong emotional reaction that caused the pupil to ask further questions about his time in Vietnam. While this resulted in an uncomfortable encounter for both parties, as the veteran did not want to describe his disturbing experiences to a child, it highlights how the sense can be used to educate others about war and the outcomes.

> "…the physicality of the objects, their smells, tastes, textures, and even their presence in an exhibition was seen as not only triggering emotional and affective responses but also an expected element of knowing about war by visiting this exhibit." (ibid, p. 31)

In her conclusion she once again draws on Witcomb (2010) who embraces the fact that not all emotional encounters will create a feeling of comfort, however the emotions can, with careful negotiations allow for greater understanding of a situation or instance (p. 41). Trofanenko's final thoughts are that emotion and affect can be an invaluable resource in the teaching of historical events.

Taking history and communicating it in an honest and uncomfortable fashion is one way of evoking emotion within the museum. Carnegie (2006) explains how working with local people, who all have different opinions on how their local communities should be represented within the museum, can all react very differently to the same stimuli. In working at the People's Palace in Edinburgh, she observed that highlighting social issues within their displays caused a range of reactions.

> "The displays have been designed to provoke emotional responses. As individuals being their own emotional responses to the displays, it is hard to predict how people will respond and indeed as reminiscence work has shown (Clark, 2003, Crumley, 2003) seemingly innocent objects and memories can provoke strong emotional responses in people for whom they act as memory triggers." (ibid, p. 70)

Gammerl (2012) approaches the history of emotions and associations with cultures in an editorial on emotional styles. His summary of the journal edition and indeed the discipline this work is situated in is within historical studies with links to human geography and anthropology. The editorial draws on aspects of space creating emotion or 'atmosphere' (p.164). Gammerl's main points of discussion are that historians should be transparent on their positionality when interpreting events and how this might have an impact on the outcome of the study. He holds the position that by gaining an understanding of the emotional viewpoint of the participants within the events being studied that the historian has to express their emotional response to the content in order for any other reader to gain a proper understanding of the context (p. 171). Gammerl (2012) highlights some of the areas of development in the area of emotion and affect. These include the communication of historically charged events, such as murder trials, emotionally charged spaces and also emotional communities. The discussion on emotional communities and behaviour within different spaces has a

particular link to my research question on the impact of museum space on emotion and the link to behaviour.

Affect (in Social Sciences)

Affect can be defined as understanding the emotional responses to stimuli. Anderson (2006) defines it as "a transpersonal *capacity* which a body has to be affected (through an affection) and to affect (as the result of modifications)" (p.735, emphasis in original). Through the human geographical lens, affect requires the person to be receptive to an emotional response however, while emotional responses are instant, affect can be manipulated to create a response. Affect is also difficult to define. In a study of dance movement therapy, McCormack (2003) evaluates their questioning and provides a practical guide to defining affect:

> "McCormack therefore withdraws from the more usual ethnographic lines of questioning that ask 'how do you feel about that?' Instead, there is a close description of events, which focus attention on what bodies are doing: dancing, smiling, gesturing, playing, laughing, and so on." (Pile, 2010. p. 9)

Much in the same way that emotion crosses cultural boundaries, as does affect. Hatch (2014) in a more political view of Chinese and Japanese museums that commemorate the years around and after World War II, observed:

> "Chinese visitors react to the exhibits with understandable upset, much as Jewish visitors to Auschwitz respond when they learn about Nazi medical experiments." (p. 377)

The museums in Hatch's (ibid) study also use similar methods to elicit the responses from their visitors. Darkened corridors, uncensored documentary evidence, sound effects and original objects or memorials from the period of history they are describing. The affective exhibits and responses are also more prominent for recent historical events, usually 1900 to the present.

Affect in the museum

In contrast to emotions, affect can be a harder to describe experience. I have attempted to only include literature in this section that encompasses affective

experiences in a field that uses affect and emotion interchangeably. Crang and Tolia-Kelly (2010) describe themselves as following "the emerging work on geographies of affect that sees them as emotions in motion" (p.2317). Taking McCormack's (2003) practical approach to affect, looking at the photos, films and fieldnotes from the museum visits, affect can be observed through the gestures and actions of the groups and families. There were a number of spaces and exhibits in the Newarke Houses Museum where the groups showed affective responses, rather than an emotional response. In this section, I will look at the literature around affective responses in museums, what triggers them and compare this to the groups' behaviour. As museums have moved away from a purely conservational or educational purpose, they are using affect to evoke empathy and a greater understanding of current and historical affairs. Quite often, the exhibitions that use affect (or have been written about) focus on making visitors feel uncomfortable or evoke a negative feeling.

Golding's (2013) examples of affect within the V & A Museum include two temporary trails through the museum called *Uncomfortable Truths,* that were designed to guide the visitor through the collections via artworks and objects that had been inserted into the permanent collections. The overall theme of the trails were enslavement and the additional installations reinforced this. One of the trails takes the visitor on a route that includes artworks placed in corridors and stairwells. One trail – referred to as Shadow by Golding (ibid) – elicited the following criticism:

> "Shadow was criticised for dispersing contemporary artworks, not only in permanent galleries and public spaces, but, worst of all, 'in corridors and stairwells', while Traces objects, once located, also appeared diminished amid such a quantity of other material (Heywood, 2007; Hoskig, 2007; Morris, 2007)." (Golding, 2013. p. 91)

This discomfort at the objects being in unconventional places, highlighting that they seemed out of place or in inappropriate places could have been the intention of the curator. One visitor commented that following the trail made them feel like they were shackled as they followed the route. Golding (ibid p. 92) attributes this to a "novice visitor thinking and remembering with and through the body". I would argue that the trail has the desired outcome, which was to create an embodied experience relating to

enslavement and uncomfortable truths as the title suggests. This describes how affect can work within the museum setting.

In the Imperial War Museum North in Manchester, the concept of feeling uncomfortable was implemented in the architecture of the building. From the onset the idea that no one should feel complacent while learning or exploring the concept of war was planned. As such the building was designed with the internal flooring at a very slight angle so that it is difficult to stand naturally in front of the exhibits. Despite this feature, the museum attracts regular and repeat visitors. In the Newarke Houses Museum, one room has been built as a recreation of a World War I trench. On entry, the visitor triggers the sound of shelling which is just a little too loud to be comfortable. The recreation is dark, oppressive and has hidden nooks and crannies. There is a doorway into a small sleeping and eating area to demonstrate how little space soldiers would have had. I watched most of the people I visited with move very quickly through this room. There is not an obvious route around it so visitors are obliged to pass through unless they want to go down and back up the stairs. Some of the children emerged from the room with their hands over their ears due to the sounds of shelling. There was one couple of people in the November REIA group that said they liked the recreation. They were from India and they described it as being reminiscent of a Bollywood movie set. They even indicated this on their feedback forms for the course as their favourite room. They did not spend any more time in there than the rest of the group, but interpreted the space very differently.

Affect and objects in museums is often associated with contested objects or objects that have traumatic histories. This takes the focus of museum visiting away from a comfortable experience and towards a more reflective and empathetic experience. In exploring how objects trigger affect, Stylianou (2019) discusses the reactions to two objects, and then compares a digital version of one of them available online. The first object is a car that had been blown up by a bomb in Iraq. The car was displayed as an art installation in the US. By displaying the car in this way, “when viewed in the art gallery, the car can elicit affect, empathy and a desire for change” (p.313). The second object was a diary written by the Nazi Alfred Rosenberg. It was displayed in the US Holocaust Memorial Museum and also as a digital copy online. The diary is seen as a

key document that did not show the extent of the Nazis plans as was expected but describes the daily thoughts and actions. However, the diary still elicits emotional and affective responses to the visitors to the museum. This object is also digitised and available online and viewers are able to leave comments on the website:

> "Being able to access other visitors' thoughts and feeling through the forum assists the activation of affect in the present." (ibid, p. 319)

Being able to share an affective experience allows visitors to consolidate their feelings. In our visits to the museum, the sharing of an experience was the catalyst for a greater engagement.

In the UK, the National Trust have a reputation for beautifully renovated and preserved stately homes. Their presentation depicts the height of sophistication of the relevant time period and usually does not show any "embarrassing" stories of the families having owned or traded slaves for example. The National Trust of Australia has taken the approach of decolonising its histories and making their visitors feel uncomfortable. Witcomb's (2010, 2013) research is embedded in Australian heritage and museum studies, and has a particular focus on representation and identities within Australian heritage sites. As such she brings a focus onto emotion and affect gained from experiences in Australian heritage sites where the history may be contested. Witcomb (2013) dissected the interpretation of houses owned by the National Trust of Australia, the Trust wanted to present the houses as lived in and create a sense of nostalgia about the objects and people that lived there by only focusing on happy narratives of the family. This served its purpose in 1970s and 1980s, but the audiences of the 2000s did not react as well to the sanitised version of history that was being presented. In a new interpretation of one of the Trust's heritage sites, Greenough, the old building has been stripped out and rather than a recreation of how is used to be, the displays and interior evoke a range of emotions linked to the building and area's political history and the effect of colonisation on the indigenous people of the area.

> "…the narrative can only be realised through a process of immersion that works through a series of shocks to establish ways of seeing the past and understanding heritage." (ibid. p. 259)

Witcomb (2013) then used a contrasting example to show how a shared history could be interpreted in a different fashion with the Bunjilaka gallery at the Melbourne Museum. The exhibit titled 'Our Grief' explained the stories of Indigenous or mixed parentage children being placed into white people's homes during the Victorian era in Australia. Witcomb described this exhibit as one that "refers to a traumatic history, for whites it refers to a forgotten history, albeit one which should we choose to own it, brings us [white colonists and Aboriginal people] together in the project of remembrance as part of the project of reconciliation" (p. 262). This approach brought two communities together in their shared history in order to create a dialogue increasing understanding of the history of the area.

This understanding of shared history is important in creating a sense of belonging, which is something I will address below. To conclude this section on affect I will describe instances where shared history brought my groups together. The 'object' that was the catalyst for the affect response was the hopscotch game that was on the carpet in the Childhood Gallery. Almost every group I visited with stopped at this point and the ESOL classes spent the most time there. This place allowed the individuals to reminisce around times when they had played hopscotch. Of the countries represented in the groups, it seemed to be a universal similarity. Most people had a story or could demonstrate how they played. There was a definite sense of nostalgia from the groups and curiosity as to how others played. The affect responses took on a physical aspect as people felt comfortable demonstrating how they played, one group clapped along with the hopping of one person. The group from South America, who were already animated in the museum became more so in this area and laughed loudly while the children showed them how they played. Following visiting that area of the museum, the groups seemed a little more at ease with each other. It created a common ground.

Belonging

I have included a section on belonging in this chapter to round off the emotional and affective experiences that occurred during the visits to the museum. A sense of belonging is important for people to feel that they are part of a community. Elias & Scotson (1965) views this from the theory of the Established and the Outsiders. As discussed in a previous chapter, this theory shows how established communities in a geographical area exclude newer communities who live nearby. There was a certain degree of this in Leicester when mass migration from Africa began. In museums, there is a definite gap between the establishment and the forced outsiders. Representation in museums of any new community is guarded and the communities are often depicted as other (I will explore this further in the chapter on colonialism). Creating a sense of belonging can create a new identity for someone who has been displaced and is looking for that sense of belonging in their new home. In museums, we assume that identity is fixed but in allowing someone to belong they can create a new identity for themselves as part of that community.

> One of the key assumptions in heritage and museum studies is that heritage is about identity, but it is important to consider the consequences of identity making. (Smith 2017 p. 71)

Gidley (2013) approaches belonging from an ethnographic and geographical standpoint. Following conducting ethnographic interviews in a community in South London, he discusses how belonging creates affective geographies. Many people speak about places they have lived or live with affection and recall memories in those spaces. He poses that limited cultural capital leads to people staying within the spaces that they feel are familiar. He uses the example of gang postcode related territory as an extreme example (p.366). Identity plays a large part in a sense of belonging in spaces, public spaces and public buildings or services.

> "Super diversity means that there are many more potential identities to be negotiated within the space of the neighbourhood, making it slightly easier for previously excluded groups (e.g. Vietnamese or Somali young people) to belong." (ibid, p. 366)

Crang & Tolia-Kelly (2010) include affect and emotion in their analysis of belonging. They "argue that the production and circulation of feeling and sentiment, rather than civic knowledge, are crucial in excluding and including different people" (p.2315). They warn against focusing on one method of affective response over others, which may exclude some people from different heritages. They also highlight that diversity is only usually celebrated in urban spaces and less so in countryside heritage spaces (p.2317).

While people may feel a sense of local belonging within their local area or within their community, shared spaces can remain the domain of other communities. Often the shared spaces, such as museums are not designed with inclusion in mind, or are but have not been refreshed quickly enough to reflect the rapidly changing local communities. Migration museums include new communities but automatically make them other by labelling them migrant. Many communities in Leicester were once migrant, but many are now third or fourth generation. Even so, they are not represented in the museum except in the Kampala to Leicester exhibit, which began as a temporary exhibition.

In the case of museums and belonging, there are a number of issues. Local museums are not refreshed very often. Their core galleries and exhibitions have to reflect topics that will remain relevant for years due to funding. They mitigate this by hosting temporary exhibitions. Addressing issues or attempting to encourage communities in through temporary exhibitions does not serve to represent them on a longer-term basis. There is also a trend in representing "migrant" communities.

I am taking a focus on belonging specifically and not just projects that are designed to involve communities that are deemed *hard to reach*. The idea of a community being hard to reach implies a distance, and that the community is at a deficit as the museum is *trying* to reach them. The reason for not focusing on community engagement projects more generally is that there is little evidence that they encourage new regular visitors from new communities into the museum. While they represent some communities for a short time, and this might encourage people to spend time in the museum relating to the exhibition that is aimed at them, the feeling of belonging is not achieved in short temporary exhibitions or special events. Some short term, temporary exhibitions are developed in collaboration with communities in efforts for make sure

that their voices are fairly represented. As Modest (2013) discovered while working with a group of teenagers at the Horniman Museum:

> ""You're all just using us right, to do your work for you?" His comment threw into sharp relief several of the concerns of the project planners and resonated quite directly with me in my capacity as curator." (p.99)

Much of the literature on long term projects with under-represented communities highlights the pitfalls and problems with such projects (Varutti, 2013; Onciul, 2013, Iervolino, 2013). I will elaborate further in Chapter 11 on colonialism on belonging in relation to collaboration and methods of sharing between communities. In this section I will focus on belonging in relation to affect and emotion.

There were a number of instances where interactions in the museum with the groups and families can be classed as relating to belonging. The Newarke Houses Museum has one exhibition that relates to mass migration in Leicester. The Kampala to Leicester room was initially a temporary exhibition at the New Walk Museum, Leicester's larger museum covering natural history, geology, Egyptians, dinosaurs and fine art. Following the temporary opening, it was moved to the Newarke Houses Museum to become part of the permanent exhibits. The content covers the mass migration of Ugandan Asians to the UK and more specifically to Leicester. The exhibit then follows the stories of a few of those families who arrived in 1972 and the businesses they set up along Leicester's Golden Mile.

Crang &Tolia-Kelly (2010) link affect and belonging together in the British Museum and experiences of BAME visitors to the Lake District. Their argument is that some spaces or locations have an assumed audience that in turn creates an area affective sense. The sense of belonging in the British Museum is created by the tone and content of the exhibits, the manner in which different cultures and nationalities are displayed creates a sense of 'other' from the point of view of the British.

> "Often those `nonnative' cultures, bodies, and sensibilities that are occluded are those of `darker' territories and continents, `noncivilised' and `nonnativised' cultural migrants and diasporas." (p.2324)

In the Lake District, the sense is that the rural location and beauty makes it quintessentially British, untouched 'native' landscape. Crang & Tolia-Kelly (ibid) detailed the information panels that showed how there was a project to protect the flora and fauna from non-native species, while at the same time showing the names of the places that have very definite Viking and Nordic routes. They suggest that heritage sites embrace their varied histories and adjust the tone of them to make the affective sense of belonging encompass as many cultures as possible.

On my first visit with the WEA group, in the first room, we stopped to look at the *My Leicester, My Home* exhibit. This exhibit details the industries in Leicester, from hosiery, knitting, and shoemaking to typewriter manufacturing. Na was looking closely at a cabinet filled with examples of shoes and boots that had been manufactured in Leicester's factories during the Twentieth Century. I stood next to him and asked what he thought. He said that in Eritrea he was a cobbler, he was admiring the details and quality of the manufacturing. He told me that he was proud of his trade, he took pride in repairing shoes as well as making them. He told me that the way in which we buy and discard clothing and shoes now was wasteful. As he spoke, he became more passionate. He was usually quiet in class until he was asked a question. He said it made him happy to see that Leicester had a history of shoe manufacturing. He said it made him feel closer to the city and made him feel like he belonged here. Na had found a commonality between his past and the past in Leicester. In finding something in common, it enhanced his sense of belonging in the city. We always feel closer to somewhere when we have something we can relate to.

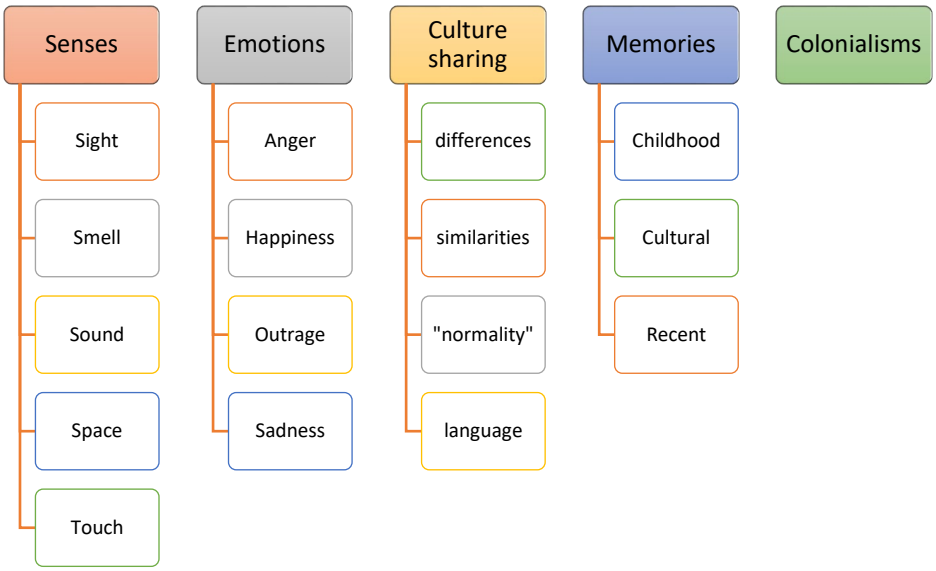
One final instance of a sense of belonging took place in the Kampala to Leicester exhibit with Mn and his family. Again the objects held a resonance with the family. Mn's wife had stopped to look at the exhibits in a case of objects that were brought with people travelling from Kampala to the UK. There was clothing and homeware. Their family was from India, one step removed from the families who had migrated to Uganda from India, and then to Leicester. She had been quiet through most of the visit; she was not taking ESOL classes and had a little English. On seeing a teapot, she described to me that her family had one the same in India. She was smiling, she used her hands to help form the words she wanted to use and we worked together to make

sure I understood what she was trying to communicate. Moments later, her daughter stopped in front of a small statue of Ganesh and prayed. Mn laughed at this as it was a similar statue to the one in the temple they attended. It was what she would have done in the temple. The sense of familiarity fostered a sense of belonging in the museum.

Conclusion

This chapter covers the more abstract experiences of the groups I visited the museum with. In defining and separating out the differences with emotional and affective experiences, it can be seen that objects and exhibits evoke responses that are both planned and unexpected.

Chapter 11: Culture Sharing, Memories and Colonialism



Introduction

From the museum visits, my observations and conversations focused on the following questions:

1. How do the senses impact on the museum visiting experience?
2. What do visitors feel when they go round the museum?
3. How does local museum visiting make a difference to local super-diverse communities?

In the previous chapters, I have detailed the sensory and emotional aspects of the visits and how comparing these to previous literature and projects can begin progress in the field. The final question of the three will be answered in the next chapter where I pull policy and findings together to make recommendations and suggestions for change. This chapter, on sharing of experiences and memories, and colonialism is drawn from observations and data from the visits that I was not necessarily actively seeking. It became apparent that there was an underlying theme of sharing. Through sharing memories and culture, I was struck by the colonial content of the museum. I rapidly realised that there were some obvious areas where the museum required decolonisation, and some areas that I would not have noticed without having visited with people from other countries and heritages. I will begin with explaining how the

sharing of culture influenced the visiting experience, and this will lead onto how memories played a role in the visits. The last part of this chapter will look at the instances where colonialism was apparent in the museum.

More specifically for this chapter, I have to address my position as a white, middle class student who is aiming to complete a research project with family groups from different cultural backgrounds in one of the most culturally diverse areas of the UK. My main concerns are the language and my unconscious bias that comes from my experiences. I am aiming to better understand my responses and reactions to working with people from different communities to my own.

Smith (1999) poses a number of questions that need to be addressed in relation to balancing input and findings from projects that include a researcher from a position of privilege and a community group:

> "Whose research is it? Who owns it? Whose interests does it serve? Who will benefit from it? Who has designed its questions and framed its scope? Who will carry it out? Who will write it up? How will its results be disseminated?" (p. 10)

Linda Tuhiwai Smith writes from the position of academic and Maori. From this position she addresses the inequalities in power relations between researcher/institution and researched within the context of historical and contemporary research conducted in New Zealand. She highlights the conscious and unconscious bias of projects that work with indigenous communities. An overarching theme within this area is summarised here:

> "Many researchers, academics and project workers may see the benefits of their particular research projects as serving a greater good 'for mankind', or serving a specific emancipatory goal for an oppressed community". (ibid, p. 2)

This comes from what I would describe as researchers or activists who are aiming to 'change the world' with their findings or help communities that they feel *need* their help. This puts "…the privilege of the looker (sometimes onlooker) over the looked at and the researcher over the object of research." (Leonardo, 2013. p. 603). This

manifests itself in not only the project's outcomes and methods but also in the language used to describe participants for example. Phrases that appear to be innocuous such as learner, put participants in a deficit position by implying less knowledge than the researcher. Throughout this project, I have sought to maintain a balanced approach to where the power lies. I was conscious of being in a position where I know the museum, am a native English speaker and taking on the role of assistant in the ESOL groups. The groups treated me as a tutor for the most part, but those who I spent the most time with, such as the WEA group, were more relaxed and open as we had a more balanced relationship.

I will address some of this further in this chapter. Firstly, I will lay out the literature on sharing cultures and link to some of the examples from the visits, then how memories and nostalgia feed into the visit and then how colonialism feeds through museums including the Newarke Houses Museum. In reality all of these subjects feed into how the museum can move away from colonial content into a post-colonial era.

Culture sharing

The basis of most museums is to share culture and history, whether that is from the local area, people or globally. By placing objects behind glass "and their interpretive regimes instruct visitors not to touch, thus placing rules upon experience and reflecting" (McPherson, 2006. p. 47), there will always be a power imbalance between the hosts and the displayed. McPherson goes on to argue that museum culture has not changed with any political inclusion measures (2006. p. 47). As mentioned in previous chapters, Elias & Scotson (1965) describe how a local community divided itself into the Established and the Outsider. This theory is also applied to the museum. The Established is also the Establishment and the visitors the Outsiders. This is on a broader level than I have discussed previously. Regular visitors may also feel part of the museum community, however they do not have the privilege of deciding on wording, content or display of collections. In Chapter 8, I have looked at how museums work with community groups.

Multiculturalism is an often contested term. On a daily basis it is used as a positive way of describing society as diverse. Politically the term is used as a tool. As David Blunkett demonstrated in 2001, multiculturalism would be alright if people from different

places would just fit in with British traditions and 'integrate'. The White Paper following his speech (which was triggered by the riots in Yorkshire) made it law that new immigrants had to pass citizenship tests prior to being granted leave to remain. This implied that the South Asian Muslims in Yorkshire had failed to show the requisite Britishness (Werbner, 2005).

The term multicultural is often used in museums to describe places or situations that involve people from a range of heritages. In discussing how museums include people with different identities, Roberts (2014), describes them as being both "additive – adding in missing information – and fractional – focusing on a single identity" (p.25). Purkis (2013) writes about developing culturally diverse exhibitions in Donegal, Ireland. She summarises from Doering & Lakshmi (2012) that "it has been suggested that exhibitions about cultural diversity are in the forefront of leading change in established museum exhibition practice" (p.53). Witcomb (2017) describes Australia as a multicultural society, which "has tended to create an understanding of cultural diversity as simply an effect of the co-existence of different ethnicities within the territory…" (p.258). As addressed in a previous chapter, this term is increasingly becoming insufficient to describe the variety of people, classes, languages and other factors that go towards creating super-diverse communities. Ahmed (2014) states that:

> "…how multiculturalism becomes an injunction that the 'would-be' or 'could-be' citizens must love the nation and its values (law, liberty, tolerance, democracy, modernity, diversity and equality - all these terms are presented as if they are attributes of a national body). …For these beliefs become 'ours' and even if this 'ours' seems open (to others who might share our beliefs) it is only possible as a gift, as what we already have and 'they' must acquire, often through force or compulsion."(p.24)

It seems that museums can be used to enforce those beliefs and values, to bend visitors to meeting with that way of thinking and believing. Sanitised social histories create a backdrop for newcomers to the area to learn about traditions and the way it was before they arrived. All of this is delivered with an undertone of it being the *good old days* or communities banding together, before new people came along.

In the museum, this term was used to describe museums that encompassed displays which included multiple cultures. Smith (2017) looks at heritage as a performance but also addresses identity within that from the point that "…[h]eritage is habitually assumed to underpin identity, particularly national identity" (p.70). The move towards the post-colonial, multicultural, new museology at the beginning of the twenty-first century, was a push towards a more inclusive museum. Curators made their own definitions of what it was to include and represent different communities and groups within their museums and it was not always in a positive way.

> "Heritage can be understood as one of a range of specific resources of power that is drawn on to validate or invalidate claims for recognition of diversity or to maintain misrecognition and indifference to diversity and thus help maintain political marginalization and injustice." (p. 71)

While Smith (2017) discusses inclusion from the point of view of immigration museums, inclusive museums that seek to demonstrate multiculturalism and diversity do not often change the minds of the visitor. In many cases, Smith found that the idea of multiculturalism differed between visitors and in other cases linked to new arrivals assimilating into the dominant heritage and other emphasised difference (p.76). She concludes "[m]useums are cultural tools that are used in the processes of making historical and social meanings" (p.82).

Golding (2013) summarises commentary from Spivak (2005), Rhadakrishnan (2003) and Ahmed (2006), agreeing that museums are places of inequality that should take responsibility for representing others in a balanced political fashion (p.82). Golding uses the term creolisation:

> "I am using the term creolisation in a postcolonial sense, so as to break down the notion that western societies have histories and dynamism, while 'Others' have cultures and are static." (Golding, 2013. p.84)

Under this term, she also harks to the fact that culture is shared, adapts and is essential to a growing global interconnected world. In this way, there were a number of spaces and objects in the museum that triggered culture sharing and highlighted similarities in how people from different places have experienced things. Spivak (2005)

also uses the term *subaltern,* as a person without identity (p. 476). Using this terminology, subaltern describes those who are unrepresented. It can be applied to class, gender, or race. I would like to use it in relation to certain communities in Leicester. In most literature the communities I am describing would be referred to as migrant communities. However, many Black, South Asian, Indian, Bangladeshi, Somalian and other BAME communities in Leicester have been in the country for more than one generation. The culture in the city grows and changes with every new arrival and once people are settled, more culture is shared. Spivak (2005) uses the term subaltern for almost undefinable groups of people that do not have a voice. To be subaltern also means that you do not necessarily fit neatly into any particular group. To find a group to fit within…

> "…you must be able to metonymise/synecdochise yourself, understand the part by which you are connected to that abstract whole so that you can claim it."(ibid, p. 483)

If you happen to identify neatly into one group represented in the museum then you can share that culture easily. Where there are multiple identities or multiple heritages, it is difficult for someone to share their experiences in line with those represented in the space.

National museums represent collections of the people and of other peoples. In their representations there are many mixed messages in the way in which cultures are described and often othered. Mason (2013) questions the role of national museums in a globally changing world and how they share culture. With changing audience identities, the way in which culture is shared within the museum should also adapt. Mason (2013) approaches this globalisation from a cosmopolitan viewpoint. Cosmopolitanism is apt in this scenario. Diogenes' view is that everyone is part of two communities, one of birth and the other of aspiration. Kant then developed this into the idea of world citizens living in peaceful harmony provided everyone kept that peace. Mason (2013) argues that globalisation forces us to look at the differences between cultures while cosmopolitanism encourages us to explore the similarities. Going back to Kant, the philosophy behind this is that we are world citizens.

> "Thus, cultural cosmopolitanism argues that people's patterns of identification and sense of identity have been reconfigured by the effects of greater mobility, migration, multiculturalism, and a globalized mediascape to become pluralized and discontinuous." (p.50)

The term mediation is used frequently in the literature around cosmopolitanism. In examples of European national museums used by Mason (2013) he highlights cross-national subjects such as civil rights and health, that span countries, politics and social class. Levitt (2016) draws on Saito's (2011) description of cosmopolitanism, that encompasses cultural omnivorousness, ethnic tolerance and cosmopolitics (p.147). Levitt (2016) uses this terminology in exploring how two merged local musuems in Salem, New England, successfully tell a global story of their area. Through interviews, observations and textual analysis she describes how the Peabody Essex Museum pulls on the global travels of the local seafaring traders that sailed from the town (p.150). Of the many changes in the museum, the move to displaying objects within themes as art, with little text was cited as a success (p.153).

One such example of culture sharing, that matches the cosmopolitan theory, between all the groups was with the hopscotch on the floor of the Childhood room. As described in detail in a previous chapter, this was engaged with by every person from the ESOL groups and with a couple of the family groups in some way. People shared the names of the game, the rules they played by and they were affected by the memories of playing. There were smiles and laughing. In terms of cosmopolitanism, this "…fuses transnational cultural influences and transcends political and geographical borders" (Mason, 2013. p. 70). By Golding's (2013) definition, this would also be the perfect demonstration of creolisation.

> "For me, however, creolisation points to the long interconnectedness of societies across the globe, not simply economically but also in terms of cultural contact and exchange." (p.84)

Drawing on Bourdieu, Dicks (2016) addresses the understanding and sharing of experiences in social history museums using the context of habitus and capital. Where Bourdieu links habitus developing cultural capital for aesthetic understanding and

some individuals lacking in cultural capital, Dicks states that cultural capital is irrelevant for appreciation of social history and 'ordinary' life in museums. She links her discussion with that of Fyfe and Ross (1995):

> "Fyfe and Ross (1995) explored how such a wider understanding of habitus can be applied to local history museums, illustrating how visitors' and non-visitors' lifestyles, class, and differing geographical and social mobility afford different relationships with the local area and its artefacts." (Dicks, 2016. p. 53)

Sharing culture is not limited to people from different geographical heritage but also to class based difference. As Dicks (2016) alludes to in the previous quote, visitor and non-visitors lifestyles are represented in some museums. In the cases of non-visitors where they are not usually represented in the museum, this is usually designed as an attraction to draw them into the museum space and make them visitors (again I have gone into detail on working with local communities in museums in Chapter 8), but in some cases this does not encourage them to become part of the visiting institution. In her paper looking at community engagement with the Peoples' Palace in Glasgow, Carnegie (2006) highlights the reservation people have in sharing their memories. In particular, if they are being asked about "poverty, profession or abuse" where they are fearful that what they say may leave them exposed or they may disclose something that can be used against them (p. 73). In the current climate in the UK, the hostile environment created by Government Policy also means that working with individuals can make them hesitant to disclose personal details. Carnegie goes on to say that regardless of the inclusive exhibitions the museum was still attracting the "*wrong kind of visitors"* (italics in original) and the visitor demographics mirrored the ABC1 profile similar to the National Portrait Gallery (Carnegie, 2012. p. 79).

Another example of where the Newarke Houses Museum successfully links cultures was the Lullabies from Around the World station. As described in detail in Chapter 6, almost every group engaged with this station. The variety of lullabies in different languages with some translations to English, brought the groups together to share. In some cases they did not need to have known the actual lullaby but were keen to share how their language sounds to each other. There was little discussion of when the lullabies would be sung. It was about the sounds and words.

Dicks (2016), Fyfe and Ross (1995) and Hooper-Greenhill (1995) all agree that museums have a responsibility in representing their local communities but not which ones, how and when. Fyfe and Ross (1995) explored how far the local museum in Stoke-on-Trent was actually part of the local communities' lives. They interviewed people at home, with open ended questions about their sense of place and participation in their local area. They also link back to Elias & Scotson (1965) Established and Outsiders theory. The findings highlighted how some of the people in the local area reacted to the area's local history – one participant described the recreation of the nineteenth century pub with mannequin as boring as it did not change. In addition to this, she said that it did not represent her (p.140). In the Newarke Houses Museum, there was a temporary exhibition on the centenary of the end of World War 1. In this exhibition, there was a wall of names of people from Leicester who had joined the local regiment. There were panels on the large war memorial designed by Lutyens. One of the November REIA group began to tell the group about all the Sikh soldiers who fought in the war. She asked why they were not represented here. We spoke about the other smaller memorials near the larger one that do commemorate their contribution to the war. However, it felt lacking in this case. There were groups of people from Leicester now, who were not represented in this exhibition when they could have been included. The conversation was also finished with "I have a masters in History, but it doesn't count here." Her sadness that her education was not deemed as good as an education from the UK was emphasised by this omission.

There has also been a call to challenge otherness and difference, in contrast to Smith's (2017) observations that visitors do not change their opinions when visiting immigration museums, Abu-shomar and MacDonald (2012) looked at creating spaces where understanding cultural difference could be explored. They posit that to understand your own culture you also have to also understand the 'other'. By doing so you create a third space where these two areas cross a museum fits the concept of the third space where cultures can be shared in order for someone to better understand their position in the world.

The efforts that museums go to in order to provide inclusive exhibits and programming often goes above and beyond what is actually necessary to provide a platform to share culture within. From the examples at the Newarke Houses Museum, simple, open exhibits create an ideal space for people to share their culture, experiences and memories.

Colonialism

Museums are taking on the task of representing communities, or re-representing histories that were previously misrepresented due to colonialism. The old adage that *history is written by the victors* has been true in museums that want to represent colonialism as a *golden age*. In 2019, the Amsterdam Museum made a move to remove the term *golden age* from all of their exhibits and literature. Their reasoning was that using the term implied that the seventeenth century expansionist Dutch East India Company were glorious, rather than being slavers and warmongers (Museums Association, 2019). This section is going to briefly explore the issues of colonialism in global, UK and local museums and how this had an impact on the visiting experience of some of the groups.

> "It is not the individual unconscious of the researcher but the epistemological unconscious of the discipline that must be unearthed." (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 41)

The issue of colonialism is global. From a western viewpoint, the British Empire dominates this debate, and as seen above attitudes to European colonisation is being revisited. In Korea and China, there are also emerging debates on how the colonial heritage is recognised and interpreted (Huang and Lee, 2017 p. 12). Their discussion focuses on two prisons that were used by the Japanese in the colonisation of Korea and China. In South Korea, the prison has been repurposed as a heritage site, whereas the one in China simply lies empty.

> "…there is little agreement as to whether the two prisons are equally seen as colonial heritage." (ibid)

There have been questions raised about the representation of the Sami people in Scandinavia. While the Sami people were not necessarily directly colonised, their

numbers, language and way of life are decreasing. Their representation in museums in Norway and Sweden lean towards a sanitised friendly history and almost exoticise them (Swensen, 2017).

Australia has also made efforts to re-interpret heritage sites. While Witcomb (2013) looks at the emotional experiences she also details the re-interpretation of sites with contested histories. At Greenough in Western Australia, the colonial setter house has been reinterpreted to show how the area was taken from the Indigenous people when the area was colonised by the British. There has also been an effort to tell the histories at colonial sites in New England in the USA. Baudino (2013) decries the continued narratives in American heritage sites that accentuate negative representations of Native Americans and perpetuate racist stereotypes. In the Spencer Museum of Art in Kansas, Baudino (2013) observed visitors at a reimagined exhibition about the local indigenous population. Using the Indigenous New Museum Theory, based on descriptions of New Museology from Marstine (2006), exhibitions were redeveloped "acknowledging unique Native practices, utilizing oral traditions, sharing previously untold stories, Native collaboration and conservation, discussions of topical Native issues, and teaching new generations" (p.69).

> "…museum workers [then] hope to challenge or reverse dominant narratives within the museum through changes in exhibition or practices" (Marstine 2006 p.69)

Marstine's (2006) builds a theory that:

> "Museums help create national identities, formed through constructs of personal and group identity. These identities are traditionally expressed in American museums as "them" and "other"." (p. 14)

This also links back to Elias & Scotson's (1965) Established and Outsiders theory. However, in these cases the Established power holders are the colonisers and the Outsiders are the indigenous people. This links back to colonial thinking of indigenous people being in need of education, religion and culture. As a counter point to this, the Empire cherry picked the perceived jewels of their colonised countries, and displayed them as treasure. In the UK, the Victoria & Albert Museum (V&A) originated as a

showcase of the glory of the British Empire. Golding (2013) links the V&A and the British Museum, as standing for a "Great British identity" (p.87).

> "O'Neill (Director of Glasgow Museums) notes the iniquitous hierarchies of power underlying this statement: the flow of artefacts from poorer, previously colonised to richer, colonising dominions has historically strengthened the powerful, and has deprived colonised nations of the historical material culture necessary to sustain a richer view of their national identities as complex and changing." (p.87)

These two UK national museums in particular, take artefacts from around the world and reframe them as exceptional. However in doing so they also frame them as *other*. By contrast, the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, displays their collections by type rather than by country. The origin of this collection has a deeply colonial past; as a wealthy British landowner in 1882, he was made the Inspector of Ancient Monuments. Most of his collecting was done on anthropological trips around the world (Pitt Rivers Museum, n.d). By displaying the collection by typography, othering is lessened. It is an act of learning rather than marvelling at difference.

Drawing on Ladson-Billings (2005), "the real issue is not necessarily the black/white binary as much as it is the *everyone* regardless of his/her declared racial and ethnic identity is positioned in relation to Whiteness" (italics in original, p.116). In taking colonisation and decolonisation one step further, the issues of slavery also have to be included. Tuck & Yang (2012) describe this as a triumvirate of settler-native-slave (p.17). This includes people who have been forcibly displaced for economic reasons such as employment.

Museum exhibits are often displayed in the Western tradition, through exhibiting objects with written text. Baudino (2013) and Mihesuah (1998) recognise this as problematic for people whose traditions are oral, or where objects have a spirit or living presence. Even with exhibits that are designed to be inclusive and incorporate music, representation can be mismanaged. In the *Northwest Passage*, an exhibition at the Experience Music Project in Seattle, Roberts (2014) observed that American Indian music was relegated to a "timeless past" and Black people were only represented in

jazz and rap. The main focus of the exhibition was on the Seattle music "scene" a limited chronology that "led to the reinforcement of Western cultural values of progress and financial success" (p.27).

Said's (1978) seminal book on Orientalism explains how the West has created a perception of 'the East' that is still prevalent in everyday occurrences now. This perception includes stereotyping and deficit beliefs in relation to people and culture from countries such as China, Japan and India. These attitudes also echo in colonised countries where indigenous people are subjected to settler colonialism. Tuck & Yang (2012) stress that colonisation is not a single event but an ongoing subjugation of the indigenous people (p.4). In an example of how colonialism still has a firm hold in the US includes terminology used by the government of "Indian country" as enemy territory (p. 5). In their substantial paper, *Decolonisation is not a metaphor*, they outline numerous factors, thinking and policies that contribute to reconciling indigenous and settler populations, but:

> "To fully enact an ethic of incommensurability means relinquishing settler futurity, abandoning the hope that settlers may one day be commensurable to Native peoples. It means removing the asterisks, periods, commas, apostrophes, the whereas's, buts, and conditional clauses that punctuate decolonization and underwrite settler innocence." (p.36)

Migration museums appear to be a medium where dominant cultures lump together stories of how others arrived in their country. These museums are almost exclusively developed from the point of view of the dominant (White) culture. Prominent (im)migration museums are at Ellis Island in New York, Immigration Museum in Melbourne Australia and the Lower East Side Tenement Museum in New York. The Migration Museum opened in Lewisham, London in 2020. The increase in these museums is a response to calls from debates about multiculturalism and immigration and a requirement to educate visitors about cosmopolitan values and diversity (Mason, 2013; Smith, 2017). The concept behind these museums is to introduce people from different heritages and the reasons behind their migration to different countries. However, in this process they succeed in othering migrants.

> "Understanding this subjective reality is important because reality does not merely come to us in the form of unadulterated experiences, and all we have to do is reflect them, even in an imperfect manner, usually through language." (Leonardo, 2013)

At the Newarke Houses Museum, I became aware of some of the language being used for the most part in the Regimental Galleries. The Leicestershire Regiment takes its "Tigers" name and mascot from time served in India between 1804-1823 but was also deployed around the world since 1688 (The Royal Leicestershire Regiment, 2015). In these galleries, memorabilia, medals, uniforms and objects tell the story of their battles from their inception. When visiting with the first ESOL group from the WEA we spent more time in these galleries than I was expecting. On our first visit as a group, the tutor began to point out that the Regiment had visited a lot of the countries that the rest of the group were from. This was not as obvious as first thought as the names of the countries were displayed as they were known when they were there. These were the colonial names, Hindoostan and Mesapotamia. On further reading, the text panels described the conflicts in a manner that glorifies the British Empire. Many of the group did not read the full panels as they were wordy and off putting for English language learners. On a later visit, one of the group said that she would like to return to the museum when her language skills were better so she could understand the text better.

On one of the visits with the family groups, there were two specific instances that highlighted the colonial undertones in the Regimental galleries in the museum. Firstly, Lu with her friends and family from South America spent quite a bit of time in the galleries. Lu told me of when her grandfather moved across the world and back again to avoid living in countries under fascism. We chatted about different countries being involved in the war. While South America is not mentioned in the displays, the countries that are described come under "The British Empire and its colonial allies". A more obscure example was pointed out to me by Ro. Previously we had been discussing religion and differences between Orthodox Christianity and the Church of England. This was inspired by a the question of what was a bishop. In the Regimental

Galleries there is a doll labelled as a Cypriot Bishop. Ro was not happy with this label. We had been discussing how in the Orthodox Church they did not have bishops.

Conclusion

Assumptions have been made in the museum sector about what different communities need to attract them into the museum and keep them interested. From my findings it is apparent that people are keen to share their experiences when they have the opportunity to do so, with people with when they feel comfortable. This assumption, highlighted by Coxall (1997), is that people are only interested in the cultural history of their own community. In the case of the Lullabies from Around the World listening station, this was the case. However, the groups had not come to visit simply because of the exhibit. The general observation with this exhibit was that it drew in people who shared the languages on the station. However, the use of the exhibit was to share those languages with other who may not have heard the languages spoken. This could be in contrast to the intended purpose, which is to provide a compare and contrast of the lullabies and their subject matter.

There was also evidence of the groups and individuals being drawn to objects that represent their heritage. In most cases these objects were being displayed as *unusual* or *new discoveries.* In the Kampala to Leicester exhibition, the objects on display that had been bought from Uganda to Leicester were displayed as curiosities. When one group saw the objects in cabinets, they thought that they were for sale rather than on display. One family group were drawn to a teapot as they have one themselves at home, and a small statue of Ganesh. Both objects are current in their lifestyles in the UK rather than being curiosities. The inclusion of them in the display could have been approached from a different direction than merely curiosities in a museum. This matches with Coxall's (1997) theory. The reason for the Kampala to Leicester exhibition being included in the Newarke Houses Museum also supports this theory. It was originally a temporary exhibition in the New Walk Museum (Leicester's larger flagship museum) to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the mass migration from Uganda. This exhibition was widely advertised and the museum worked with people from local businesses who had been part of the migration. The move of the exhibition

to the smaller social history museum was not well communicated and the exhibition redesign relies heavily on text.

Another trigger for culture sharing is objects, exhibitions or subject matter that can be related to. This does not have to be a direct link that speaks directly to the person. The interactions around the hopscotch is one such example of this. The “object” was broad enough to attract interactions from almost everyone in the groups. It created sound, movement and nostalgia. Attempting to represent every different culture within the museum is a never ending task as culture is constantly shifting with every new culture that arrives in the area. From observing the groups interacting with objects that are not necessarily linked to any particular culture, such as the hopscotch, it could also be suggested that the hopscotch was only a decorative part of the room, as it is set in the carpet, and not officially part of any display. As this was an almost inert display piece, with no direct message attached and not really representing any particular culture, everyone who approached it did so with equal agency.

This chapter linked the literature and findings from colonial studies, cultural geography, sociology and museum studies with my own observations and interactions with the groups in the museum. Having collected together these findings, with the previous chapters, the next chapter will begin to align these with museum and social policy.

Chapter 12: Outcomes and Policy

Introduction

This chapter brings together my findings from my visits to the Newarke Houses Museum with policy and the current state of local or civic museums. I began this project with a view to see how people from different heritages in a super-diverse city, engaged and experienced their local social history museum. Taking these findings and applying them to how local museums would like to be viewed and like to be perceived by the public, I will show how social history museums can better represent their local communities. To demonstrate how my findings can influence this change, I will introduce the work of the English Civic Museum Network. This organisation represents, amongst others, local social history museums.

My findings highlight a number of points that can be used to improve the experiences of people from a variety of heritage backgrounds. Some are unsurprising but when put into context show how improvements can be made. To summarise my findings, people engage with objects or subjects with which they can relate. People from different places want to share their experiences and evaluate the similarities between them and others rather than the differences. Focusing on one demographic or community can alienate others when the subject matter encompasses more than one group. When it comes to language, diverse communities are often multilingual. Regardless of the literature and guidance on text panels and language, there is too much text and too much technical language. Museums can be an inspiration for ESOL learners to practice using their language skills outside the classroom; however, museums are not currently conducive to promoting this.

My project also contributes to the literature and work on working with communities. As discussed in earlier chapters, working with groups who are deemed “hard to reach” is often poorly handled and wrought with imbalance. Taking the lessons from previous projects, and due to some practical considerations with the ESOL groups, I was able to make a comparison around building relationships in a semi-formal adult learning environment.

In this chapter, I will begin by unpacking the aims of the English Civic Museums Network and linking my results to their goals. Building on this further, I will then look

at how belonging in the museum can help to promote belonging in local communities and then how collections contribute to the connections that people make in their local history museum. Finally, I will explore the relationships within the ESOL groups I worked with and how my experiences inform the body of work on working with communities.

The Civic Museum

In 2015, Ellen McAdam (Director of Birmingham Museums Trust) and Tony Butler (Executive Director of Derby Museums) founded the English Civic Museums Network (ECMN). This organisation seeks to fill a gap in best practice and support between small and medium museums who have a link to a local authority. This link could be that the museum is local authority governed, runs out of a local authority owned property, or has an independent trust that runs a local authority owned museum. The definition of civic in this context is broad enough to allow for a generous number of museums to join. The network currently has 52 museums as members. These museums usually have general collections such as dinosaurs, Egyptian collections, natural history and local interest.

In 2018, the ECMN commissioned a report entitled *The Future of the Civic Museum: A Think Piece* (Latchford, 2018) funded by the National Museum Directors' Council (NMDC). The report outlines a manifesto for progress within civic museums and draws on how museums can contribute to social policy. The report summarises that "The wider museum model us under threat" (p.5). The reason being, that the public are curating their own collections and lives. There is little need to visit a museum to see the general collections, as the information is readily available online. Experience is something they are seeking rather than a material object. Due to this the ECMN posit:

> "Museums are places where interesting things can happen. The best museums have moved beyond a collections focus." (p.6)

The report itself lacks evidence in its findings. It goes on to say that museums' cultural offerings are driven by the strength of relationships with their local communities (p.6). However, being civic museums, having the links to the local authority does not always promote relationships with local communities. The report describes this as:

> "They are part of the civic infrastructure where "civic" means relating to a town, especially its administration, but they are also specifically civil in nature, where civil means relating to ordinary citizens and their concerns." (p.6)

It then summarises this as the museum being:

> "…a museum with an emphasis on belonging: connecting a place, its people and the world – their past, present and future." (p.6)

It is this statement that I would like to address here, using the findings from my project. Elias (1987) outlined how sociology had changed from looking at the past, to a focus on the present. However, without the historical context to gain understanding, it is difficult to make informed observations about the present or even the future. In the report, Latchford (2018) stumbles on this theory. Elias (1987) goes into detail of how society developed and challenged Marx and Weber on their political takes on ideal societies. In doing so, he highlights how there is a basic pattern for how society generally functions and sociologists have looked to the past to analyse these patterns and formulate their conclusions. Looking at the present, Elias sees that the rapidly growing society "has changed the structure of these social units" (p.225).

> "One can see here in a nutshell, as it were, why a theory of society prompted by different political ideals of the twentieth-century industrial societies and presented as a universal theory of human societies can have only a very limited cognitive value." (p.225)

Taking this statement and applying it to the museum, it has to be concluded that creating a universal template for civic museums will not keep up with a rapidly changing society. Situating this statement in Leicester, it can be surmised that Leicester is in a societal bubble (Butler, 2020)[15]. Leicester's super-diversity should allow their museums to be flagships in presenting and representing their local communities. If we ignore that we are becoming an increasingly global society and

[15] In conversation with Tony Butler (Butler, 2020), he described Leicester as a diverse bubble. When other cities claim to have a diverse population, people from Leicester often disagree.

attempt to represent society as a fixed factor, there will not be any progress with representation.

> "If we immure sociological problems in static typologies and static concepts of structure and function, we neglect the intrinsic dynamics of human societies."(p.226)

The paper by Latchford goes on to describe in detail the traits that a civic museum in the twenty-first century should strive towards. These draw on happiness, health, inclusion and innovation. It also includes topics on "culture and change" and "belonging". There is a recognition that the museum on its own is insufficient to make the necessary change alone to influence society. Latchford (2018) states:

> "To achieve inclusion, the machinery of public service has to change." (p.9)

For anyone who has worked in the museum sector or been party to working behind the scenes in a museum, the obvious hurdle here is the speed at which change actually happens.

Belonging

In the section on belonging, the focus is on community, story and connection. From my findings, the civic museum is mis-interpreting or mis-representing the collections and stories; they have built in efforts to draw in diverse audiences or build relationships with new communities. Museums that tell the social history of a place often fall into traps where they are not able to keep up with change in their local society. Society changes so rapidly that civic museums struggle to keep up. In attempts to represent local communities, they create tokenistic temporary exhibitions. These temporary displays are a sticking plaster on trying to remain current. Latchford (2018, p.9) uses Monbiot (2017) as a basis for his commentary. He warns that an individual sense of belonging can lead to a polarised view of the world with people only connecting with those who have the same views and beliefs. By connecting with a group and allowing ourselves to be part of a wider community, we can belong to a wider diverse community and avoid the echo chamber (Latchford, 2018. p. 9).

A sense of belonging builds a sense of community. As Elias and Scotson (1965) identified, perceived newcomers to an area can be dismissed as not belonging and not having the same ties to the area as those who have been there for longer. Their observations were synoptic however, and in revisiting the study, Goodwin et al (2016) on returning to Winston Parva (South Wigston) fifty years later, found that the old outsiders had been replaced with new outsiders. It begs the question – how long does a group of people need to be in an area before being recognised as established? Or does it require a new group to come along and usurp the title. In the Newarke Houses Museum, there is evidence that once migrant communities, now third or fourth generation families are still being displayed as outsiders. The museum in its focus on social history largely ignores the settling of people from all over the world. There were two exhibitions in the museum that drew evidence to show how a sense of belonging was misrepresented.

The first exhibition is the Kampala to Leicester exhibition, which started as a temporary exhibition at another Leicester museum. The inclusion of this exhibition as a permanent display in the social history museum continues the narrative by including the Indian Asian community. The room it is in was once laid out as a 1960s and 1970s front room with little reference to diversity. While telling the story of the same era, by including it with relatively no consideration for gaps in the history it ignores the settlement of many other communities in the city. I will return to this exhibition below to discuss collecting practices. The second exhibition was also a temporary exhibition commemorating the centenary of the end of World War One. This exhibition solely displayed stories of British soldiers with Leicester links. One Indian learner questioned this. The city has memorials to soldiers from all over the world; however this exhibition chose to focus on just white people from Leicester. During her questioning, she comments on education, and highlights the fact that hers does not count here. She was understandably upset.

It could have been concluded that the groups I was with were not interested in the stories from Leicester. However, interactions in the museum, in these exhibitions and around other areas it was clear that there was a tangible interest in learning more about the city and the different areas that people lived in. While “home”, when

referring to a country was almost always in reference to a country of birth or childhood, home was also about the street they lived in and their local area. References to history closer to home were unpicked and questioned and consumed.

Connections and collections

When we were in the museum, the times when people in the groups felt like they belonged or showed the most interest in objects or exhibitions, was when they could identify with the object or exhibition. This is usually interpreted in museum studies as being a direct link, or a direct representation. Here it could be seen that when similarity was recognised, it was often a recognition of a shared experience.

Swensen (2017) discusses objects as identity markers in museums in Finland about South Sami culture. In the three museums mentioned each one uses the same object to represent the indigenous culture. The use of the object was a commonly recognised one that visitors would recognise as South Sami.

> "New insight has been provided both concerning objects in the collections and the meaning the objects have in contemporary culture, but not least about new methods in museum work and the interpretation of the museum's role in a wider societal context." (p.239)

Using objects to identify heritage and culture can lead to stereotyping in order to allow for maximum understanding across people from different backgrounds. Representing and collecting from different heritages should be carefully handled so that objects that have meaning and relationships should be included rather than a westernised idea of what represents that culture. In an exploration of this, Pahl (2012) looked at how the meaning some objects held in one context, can change through migration or accession into a collection. Pahl explored this with families who had migrated to South Yorkshire in the 1950s and 1960s, often via other cities and countries. Some of their objects take on new meaning to them in the process as they change use and as the people change identity (new migrant to settled). In collecting based on a generalised theme, such as migration, individual stories may not resonate with visitors as being too specific and being too general risks stereotyping.

Generally, overarching collection policies are standardised regardless of the size of the museum. Objects have to be relevant to the museum's theme. In most cases, they have to be suitable to be displayed or form part of a research collection. Internal processes for purchasing items may vary, and members of the public are able to donate items that they feel are of importance to the collections.

Robinson (2018), in reviewing the role and responsibilities of museums in Australia in promoting and educating regarding culture, uses the term *municipalisation* (p.720). She observes that Australia mirrors the pattern in the west where local museums are the main conduit for managing and financing activities that represent and introduce local cultures and heritage. Her conclusions are that smaller local authority museums and museum services are struggling to keep up with a constantly changing and developing arena of heritage. One of the foundations of delivering this is:

> "…a counter-elitist agenda of egalitarian access to cultural life, is symptomatic of instrumentalist policies that reconfigure the cultural sphere into a network of 'creative industries' …where measurable impact on areas such as cultural tourism and living standards are seen as justifications for on-going investment and where a widening array of organisations and programmes compete for cultural spending." (p.724)

Using the Newarke Houses Museum as the location for this study allows me an advantage when discussing collecting. As part of the City of Leicester Museums' Trust, I am part of a committee who aid and approve the purchasing of items for the collection. Each item that is presented to the Trust has a form with key questions that allow the Trust to make an informed decision about supporting the purchase. The collection is spread across all five of Leicester's local authority run museums and so items could relate to anything from Anglo-Saxon objects to zoological curiosities. The collection at Leicester has achieved designated status for its German Expressionist art collection. From time spent volunteering in the Newarke Houses Museum, I also assisted with the accession of donated objects from local people. Any object that is accessioned to the collection, regardless of whether it is a donation or purchase, has to fit into the collection policy. The collection policy in relation to local communities states:

“4.10.6. Contemporary Collecting

A key part of Leicester Museums and Galleries' work is to make the collections more relevant to the city's diverse communities. A new priority for future collecting is contemporary collecting to collect items which reflect contemporary Leicester. We see collecting as a collaborative process and we want to better reflect life in contemporary Leicester and we will work with communities within the City to achieve this. Our active collecting will be people-focused and will include documenting people's stories and memories through related film, objects and oral histories. Through our contemporary collecting we aim to capture through objects and stories the character of the modern city of Leicester, its rich diversity, its varied communities and its industries.” (Leicester City Council, 2019. p.28)

The policy also has a Social History section (4.10.5) which includes collecting for almost anything relating to Leicester, specifically since 1945 (p.27). The collection has “Indian sub-continent collections, especially Gujarati material” (p.12) that is deemed of national significance. However the diversity of Leicester is not represented within the collection, and not displayed in a way that represents the local communities. The use of the term “sub-continent” indicates the outdated view of the local Indian and South-Asian communities.

From our experiences in the Newarke Houses Museum, the connections that people had with objects did not necessarily always correlate to objects that were linked to what the museum would deem as their communities. There were some notable connections; Ma responding to seeing a Bollywood poster was excited to share it with the group. However, this was not because the poster represented his culture necessarily, but because it was a movie he had seen and really enjoyed. With Ro, the doll of the Cypriot “Bishop” was an object that she recognised but was unhappy that it was mislabelled and she did not express a connection with it. When it comes to which objects to collect for a social history collection there needs to be some consideration of who has decided that something is worth collecting. While this is an eternal question on any object, it is more important when collecting *on behalf* of communities who are regarded as *other*.

The collection policy details – “Our active collecting will be people-focused and will include documenting people's stories and memories through related film, objects and oral histories” Leicester City Council, 2019. p.28). The curatorial management team that manage the collections at this museum, and the others at the Council, are all white and middle class, and predominantly male. In their interpretation of the stories of the people in the city, they miss the mark. For example, in the Kampala to Leicester exhibit, Mn’s wife stops to look at a teapot that has been displayed as having significance to people who have migrated and have an Indian heritage. It is a standard metal teapot, which might not look out of place on any table regardless of background. She commented that she has one like that, but there is a little confusion in her comment. Why is that teapot there? The intention is that people brought objects with them when they moved. This everyday object did not resonate with her as something that should be in a museum (she was born in India, I will discuss representation more fully below). In this case, the teapot may have a resonance with the person who chose to donate it for the exhibition. However, the placement is designed to make us think that this is a novelty or even, a marvel that people from another country have teapots similar to ones in the UK, or worse, look, Indian people drink tea.

The museum has everyday objects from shops and homes from the twentieth century. I realised that I had a similar reaction to an object from my late childhood, a school bag similar to the one I had. The questioning comes from the age of the object and its reason for being there or interpretation. Objects that did resonate with the groups were not necessarily interpreted as being for them as an audience. The hopscotch and snakes and ladders games on the floor of the childhood room garnered a great deal of attention, conversation and movement. There was not any interpretation of these as “objects” and the intention is that children could use them. They became sharing objects highlighting that the room could have been interpreted in a much more inclusive fashion reflecting on childhood as a shared experience around the world. One area where there was a sense of nostalgia about objects that were common place in other countries was in the Regimental Gallery. Two of people in two different ESOL groups commented on the rifles labelled as being from Hindoostan. They both

mentioned that they had them at home (home being the country they had grown up in). When asked if theirs were as decorative, as the ones in the exhibit are inlaid with mother of pearl and metal work, they said yes, they were decorated. The rifles are displayed as having been collected by soldiers while they were serving in India, almost as decorative pieces, but these were everyday objects. The issue with the interpretation here is one of colonialism.

Even through collecting policies and these being put into practice, there is a missing connection. This is within who determines what is collectable and displayable.

Representation

The visitor experience links in with all of these aspects of policy and could also inform social policy on representation in general. I will begin by introducing museum policy on collecting and display.

> "Geographically embedded in communities, their collections capture the diverse stories of their regions through artefacts, archives, images and other forms of cultural heritage that have, historically, been underrepresented by the major state and national institutions (Webber, 2011 in Robinson, 2018. p.719)

The AHRC published the results of a large project investigating cultural value from experiences rather than "economies, cities or health" (Crossic & Kaszynska, 2016. p.7). Their focus moved results from the quantitative to the qualitative.

> "…[previous policy] ignores the fact that some of the most important contributions of arts and culture to other areas are embedded in that individual experience: …perhaps not urban regeneration driven by large new cultural buildings but rather the way small-scale arts assets and activities might help communities and neighbourhoods;" (p.7)

This project also raises questions of formal cultural funding falling into narrow definitions of arts and culture. In the 2008 Taking Part survey (DCMS, 2020) it became apparent that participation in cultural activities is far from limited to museums, galleries and other organised cultural festivals. If the aim of locally funded projects, whether they are temporary or permanent, is to engage with diverse and "new"

audiences, then it has to be recognised that not everyone will choose to take part simply because it is designed to engage them. This does not mean that those people who do not participate are not otherwise culturally engaged.

By exploring the experiences of people in the museum, we can see how their engagement is affected by the objects, displays and themes within the space. Those objects and exhibitions are informed by policy. Leicester City Museum's policy on representing communities is designed to:

> "Celebrating the stories of Leicester's diverse communities and unique places, art and heritage which shape the city's identity and showcasing these to the world." (Leicester City Council, 2019. p.4)

This mirrors the views of Arts Council England in moving from addressing racism directly to celebrating the creative aspects of diversity. The report "'What is the creative case for diversity?' which has been seen to mark a shift from multiculturalism to a downplaying of the categories of ethnicity and diversity, in favour of a more universalist concept of 'creativity' (Arts Council England, 2011)" (Crossick & Kazynska, 2016. p.33). By moving to a broader approach there is a danger of ignoring key issues and potentially creating another apolitical story of an area where everyone is "celebrated" through arts and crafts. These positive narratives seem to be the solution for the cuts in budget since the 2008 financial crisis (Rex, 2020. p.130). Rex (2020) in a literature review around the Arts Council England's ten-year strategy 2020-2030 brings to the fore the fact that partnership work is complex. As demonstrated by Veldpaus & Pendlebury (2019), Pendlebury et al, (2019) and Warren & Jones (2015) the main issue is not that partnerships struggle to exist but the power within them is not balanced (Rex, 2020. p. 138).

From the visits and my observations into how people related to exhibits that were deemed to represent a group of people, purely led to further feelings of isolation. As described briefly in the section on belonging, omitting people from outside of the UK led to resentment and associated feelings of being an outsider. Using this experience, the responses to the Kampala to Leicester exhibit, and reactions in the Leicester Regimental galleries in particular, the approach of the museum needs to be

decolonised. Changing the approach to how communities are represented by taking lessons from the areas where engagement was high would provide a fresh take on a constantly changing city.

Areas in the museum where the most conversation and engagement took place were where there was a common theme around a time or space. In the Childhood Gallery, it was the hopscotch and snakes and ladders, the lullabies that linked with most people from the groups with the variety of languages represented. These topics could be described as non-judgemental, not controversial or safe as they do not take a political stance on any subject. However, taking this broad approach to permanent displays will allow a sense of representation across people of different heritages. In Newman (2013) they surveyed groups of people around their visiting habits in Gateshead:

> "None of the participants was from black and minority ethnic groups. When asked they declined to become involved in the research. When asked why, a group of women of Pakistani origin from Gateshead replied that the exhibitions were of no cultural relevance to them. However, if crafts from their home country were being shown they would have attended." (p.478)

Cultural relevance does not necessarily mean directly aimed at a particular group but simply included as part of the normality of life. In the same vein that Leicester has representatives from across its many heritage communities on the local council, the museum should also reflect that it is part of the normal, established community in the city. While the composition of super-diversity in Leicester is still changing, diversity has been part of its identity for at least 100 years in a modern sense and thousands of years when taking the story back to the Roman occupation.

Using my findings from the visits, it can be concluded that diversity should be approached through broad themes rather than targeted exhibitions. People engaged with subjects that they could relate to and even more so if their experience was reflected in that broad subject. The example of the Lullabies from around the World, and the sharing of language and stories around this exhibit is a reflection of this. The exhibit does not allude to any one of the languages being more common or older than others, but does say that all the languages are spoken in Leicester. Where languages

are missing people still showed an interest in similar languages or were just curious as to what they sounded like. If other exhibits were approached in a similar fashion it would reduce the number of people who felt ignored. This does not mean that all exhibits would need to be apolitical; however, the approach to the content would be inclusive. The museum in its current format shifts between chronological storytelling and themed areas to work with the building and collections.

The Regimental Galleries are an area where I had expected less interaction. I was pleasantly surprised at the interest in these areas. It became apparent that there is a wealth of opportunity in relating the information in these spaces to the communities of Leicester and showing the Regiment's actions across the world. This would require the utmost care to ensure that the history reflects the colonial ideas of the time and how they are not recognised now. In decolonising the Regimental Galleries, where there is an obvious interest in the places and objects that are linked to the people in the corps, the interest and links would be stronger and make people who have been born in the countries represented feel connected. The histories of the military actions across the world would show how Leicester people have been associated with some of the places that people were born in.

Increased representation in the museums could increase civic engagement and behaviours. It should become normal for anyone to be able to recognise themselves within the museum and not feel that there are only tokenistic temporary exhibitions telling a story that may not be entirely representative of their journey to the city, or the way in which they feel they belong. As described below, the benefits of increased participation would not just be noticed in the museum.

> "Participation in arts and culture may produce engaged citizens, promoting not only civic behaviours such as voting and volunteering, but also helping articulate alternatives to current assumptions and fuel a broader political imagination." (Crossick & Kaszynska, 2018. p.7)

One of the outcomes of the Real English in Action groups was around volunteering. One of the visits was to a charity shop and they discussed volunteering as a way to help practise language, but also to meet new people. Some of the people in the groups

were asylum seekers who are prohibited from working, but who did want to contribute to the local community and meet others. One person in particular said that they had applied to be a volunteer in a charity run café. In meeting them by chance at a later date, they were still working there, but were now looking at further educational opportunities. This local participation was not directly linked to visiting the museum, but does show how, when shown how to take advantage of the opportunity it was taken.

Working together

In addition to my contribution to museum theory, I have also made a contribution to the literature on working with groups of people. Drawing on the experiences of Jephcott (1964,1971), Frankenberg (1967), Pahl (2005), Campbell & Lassiter (2010) and others, I took a considerate approach to working with ESOL groups, as I did not want to exacerbate any power or privilege issues. My findings on working with the different groups showed how the length of time spent with a group makes a massive difference to the relationship built and to the outcomes of the questions.

I spent an academic year with the initial ESOL group. I took on a voluntary role as a teaching assistant, which put me in a position of power in the group. I had previously tried unsuccessfully to engage with other ESOL groups at the WEA through going into classes and asking if anyone would like to take part, so I decided that I needed to get to know people in a group. The level 2 ESOL class allowed me to spend a couple of hours a week with a group, help them with their learning and also get to know them. I had spoken to the tutor prior to this and we had talked through visiting the museum as part of the course. He was supportive of this as a method of learning and designed his curriculum around museums and local history. The result was a group of people who got to know each other's heritage. The group itself was representative of the local area and there were only a couple of cases where more than one person spoke the same language outside of English. In class, we shared stories of festivals, celebrations, religion, food and things we might put into a museum. I became one of the group rather than a teaching assistant for the most part.

We visited the museum as a class after six weeks of classes. Some of the group had been before, and some of the group were happy to visit again with their families and

me. These family visits would not have been possible without the relationships I had built with the group. On the family visits, I spent time chatting with them and also helping them decipher the exhibits where the language was a little tricky.

With the second ESOL group, the first from Real English in Action, I had a shorter amount of time to spend with the group due to the structure of the course. The course itself is a six week programme, with a local visit once per week. The museum visit was usually scheduled for week four or five. This gave me a little time to get to know the group. The group was also comprised of entry level and level 1 learners, with a few level 2 volunteers to help out. During the six weeks of sessions, I managed to build a loose relationship with the group. Most of the learners were happy to chat on the museum visit but declined to visit again outside of the group. One of the level two volunteers was interested in visiting again with her son, and we visited a couple of weeks later. She had expressed an interest because she did not often get the chance to chat in English with adults and practise her skills. There was enough time spent with this group to gain some trust but not get to know them in the same way as the first ESOL group. The volunteer had spent some time talking to me about museums before she agreed to visit separately.

With the second Real English in Action group, there was even less time. Due to my work schedule, I was not able to attend every session with them. Again, the group were generally happy to participate. However, the conversations in the museum were not as in depth as with the previous group. The level two volunteers were also not as chatty in this group and so were not interested in visiting again. The final group had a shortened schedule. This was during the summer term and with half term dates and Ramadan, the centre decided to reduce to the course to four weeks. This course also had recruitment problems and so learners from a range of ESOL classes across the city joined which changed the dynamic of the group. The learners spent their time with people from their separate ESOL groups and people who spoke a common language with them. The museum visit was in the second week and some learners only joined in this week. There were no relationships built with this group at all. The conversations we had and experiences we shared were superficial in comparison to the visits with groups I had time to get to know.

This effect could have also been exacerbated by the composition of the ESOL groups. The first group was super-diverse, with very few common languages and countries of origin. It also reflected the demographics of the immediate area of the centre where the lessons took place. The other groups were more reflective of the western side of the city, less diverse with more common languages and countries of origin. It was also apparent that more of the learners knew each other outside of the lessons, rather than having developed a relationship through the classes. The pre-existing relationships meant that breaking down the teacher-student relationship was harder. With the first group, this was easier due to a longer length of time to build a relationship and the composition of the group. Over time, I believe that I could have built better relationships with the groups that I spent less time with; there was a marked difference between my observations on the group I spent six weeks with and the group I had just met.

Conclusion

From my visits to the museum, it can be concluded that there are a number of areas that can be improved and adapted in order for local social history museums to truly represent their local communities. Some of these are relatively "easy" to implement while others require a societal change. Overall, being more inclusive in museums means including people at a fundamental level. In relating this to the ECMN and their responsibility to represent their local communities, this means understanding who their local communities are. Many museums, such as the Newarke Houses Museum, are attempting a quick solution to their narrowly focused exhibitions with temporary exhibits that tell another small part of the local story.

The fundamental message from trying to improve belonging, connections, collections and representation is diversity. In order to fully represent the diversity of a local community, everyone needs to be represented at all levels of the organisation and content of the museum. The ECMN alludes to this, but with competitive requirements for many entry-level positions in museums, such as postgraduate qualifications, there will be a long term deficit in diversity amongst museum professionals. This has a knock on effect when working with local communities as it remains the role of the museum professional to interpret meaning from stories and objects from local communities.

Simply working with local communities does not fix the disparity in black, minority ethic people working in the cultural heritage sector.

One of the underlying issues with implementing a large scale change is funding. Local council arts and heritage are chronically underfunded and refreshing exhibits is expensive. To re-develop all exhibits with a museum would require closure and funding as well as co-operating with local communities. The current Coronavirus lockdown has stretched many cultural heritage organisations to breaking point, with some closing and others looking at large scale redundancies. Remaining open is a priority currently, rather than redeveloping. However, increasing visitor numbers could be supported by improving the experiences of audiences who would not normally visit.

Chapter 13: Final Reflections

Introduction

This project started out as a clear cut, well thought through, collaborative piece of work. At its conclusion, some of these facts are still true, but in the parts where other people were involved actions deviated from the plan. This did not effect the collection of the data but in a better understanding of working with people. The whole process has been a lesson in adaptation and perseverance.

In wanting to explore experiences in the museum I formulated three simple questions:

1. How do the senses impact on the museum visiting experience?
2. What do visitors feel when they go around the museum?
3. How does local museum visiting make a difference to local super-diverse communities?

These have remained the backbone of the project but further questions and answers have appeared during the process. As with any plan, when put into action with people, more questions appear and what seems like a straightforward question becomes more complicated. In this concluding chapter, I will look back and reflect on the overall process of the project, how planning and the reality differed, the unexpected outcomes and what could happen next. This will bring together all of the aspects of this project into one reflective piece.

Realities of researching

Every research project begins with planning and plotting out a series of questions, methods and proposed outcomes. This project was no different. I planned who I wanted to work with, how I wanted it to work and what my discoveries might be. In considering previous literature on methods, the authors had not been explicit in how methods change when people are included. Previous papers, also do not include how many times the author was “stood up” by their participants, how difficult it might be to recruit people to take part or gain access to a particular group of people. In my early literature reviews, the process was made to look straightforward. I approached my ideas in a straightforward and practical fashion.

My first hurdle was finding people to help. Some of the literature talks of gatekeepers and access to people (Kirk, 2014; Clarke, 2013; Singh, 2003). As in the work of Jephcott (1964, 1971), I live in the city I am looking at, although I was not part of the circles that worked with people who were learning English. From having recruited families in the museum for a previous project (Barratt, 2014), I knew that it would not encourage people who were different from me to take part. This way of recruiting also would not allow me to get to know the people I wanted to work with, but would be a fleeting encounter, over in a day. There was a balance required to find individuals or a group who would be happy to allow me to spend time with them and also visit the museum with me. Meeting the ESOL tutors who were enthusiastic about what I was looking to find out, who were also happy for me to help them as a volunteer was fortunate. Even having access to a group that I could spend time with and build a relationship was no guarantee that the people in the group would be interested in my project. I did not want to impose on their time unnecessarily, so using ESOL time to visit a museum was a basic essential to collecting data. I was incredibly fortunate that the WEA ESOL group were happy to visit as part of the course, and that the Real English in Action course existed with a museum visit as part of the format.

One of the key points I took away from this project was around building relationships. These take time.

Even with a gradually growing relationship with a group, I found that there were still moments where I wondered if I was going to be able to complete my visits. Two of the families I agreed to meet did not arrive on different occasions. Both visits were re-organised for better times and completed. The families were both very keen on coming to the museum with me but when something came up, my project was understandably postponed. This is another reality of working with people and families. Completing this project on a part-time basis allowed for time to re-schedule and reconvene visits alongside building relationships. I firmly believe that this was an advantage which allowed for me to take my time and account for unforeseen issues. When my relationship with the WEA ESOL group came to sudden end, it also gave me time to look for a new group to work with and another opportunity to build new relationships.

Time is a precious commodity and the plan to ask people to spend more time with me after the visit or meet again to discuss the visit as planned, was removed. Once the visit was done, family groups moved onto their next appointment, to go home or to another museum. Part of the issue with further discussion after the visit was that there was not anywhere to have this discussion. The museum is at the edge of the main shopping area and at the edge of a university campus. The museum itself does not have a coffee shop; however, there is a coffee shop across the road. As this coffee shop was associated with the university, it was not always open when we visited. I asked the families from WEA if they wanted to meet again and they all declined. They had enjoyed their visits but taking more time for me to ask questions was not something they were interested in. For the one family visit with the Real English in Action groups, again time was precious and we had not built the same kind of relationship as with the WEA groups. The relationship building impacted on the data I was able to collect.

As a western society, we are generally happy with sharing images we have taken when visiting heritage sites and on days out. As part of my plan, I had hoped that this would be something that would have been part of my data collection. Not only would I take photographs of things on the visit, but that people I was with would do that as well and also share those images with me. While plenty of photos were taken by everyone I went with, there was no willingness to share those with me. Where I had taken photographs of people doing things in the museum, often I was asked to send copies or take a group shot to share. With the WEA group I was able to build a selection of photographs and film of people in the museum. This was generally the same with the Real English in Action groups, but the less time I had to spend with the groups and the more people who were Muslim (identified by hijabs rather than me asking), the fewer people consented to have their photograph taken. The people who declined were still happy to chat, take part and be mentioned in writing. I began to take photos of objects as reminders of encounters and filmed people's feet when an ongoing discussion or movement was taking place. LASALS also had their own photographic consent process and so any images I took had to be signed off by the people in them before they could be used publicly. Again this meant I had to think on my feet with data collection and

remind myself of what was going on. My field notes were more important during this time, but it did result in less data due to less of a relationship with the people.

I had initially thought that language may be one of the areas where I would struggle. As the people I was working with were all learning English, it became apparent that with the help of some translation apps and patience we were all able to understand and articulate our thoughts and ideas well. For the ESOL learners it was a chance to practise their language skills in a non-pressurised environment. One advantage of being in Leicester are the many multi-lingual people, at one point we were fortunate to be able to use the museum assistant as a translator. As the project went on, I became increasingly aware of language used in day-to-day life and also in the museum setting. Working with people learning English at different levels highlighted complex language, regional variations and colonialisms. Having previously been advised that the reading levels in museum should be around the age of eight, it was increasingly obvious that this advice is not often followed in museums. Using my experience from writing text for the Richard III Visitor Centre, complex ideas, science and jargon can be explained in more simple terms without panels of small text. There is a detachment between exhibition writers, curators and their audiences.

Problems with the problem

I developed my questions from time spent in the museum and built on questions arising from a previous project (Barratt, 2014). There are known issues within museum exhibiting around colonial themes, the provenance of objects and how they are presented to the public. I wondered if these issues would be noticed by the people I would be visiting with or if everything would be greeted with the museum as the expert. As with any project, I wondered if I would uncover any new information. There is also a wealth of commentary around how museums can improve their content, be more inclusive and engage further with their local communities. If the previous findings from community consultations and projects had been implemented then there may not be much for me to discover. In the museum sector, research works infinitely faster than museums are able to implement change. Local Authority funded and maintained museums react even more slowly. Exhibits are static and almost

carbon copies of other local history exhibits in other places where similar themes are shared.

Quite quickly, it became apparent that the people I was working with were happy to share their experiences and voice questions about the content of the exhibits. Due to building the relationships with the groups, as much as I could in some cases I felt that the responses I gathered to questions and reactions to experiences and objects were as genuine as they could be. I was concerned that I would be seen as the expert and that I would get responses that were seen to be the "right" ones. I did not want any westernised expectations to interfere with our experiences in the museum. The family group from South America demonstrated how this was not something that they were concerned about when they filled the galleries with sound and buzzed between exhibits loudly chatting to each other in Spanish.

I went into the project with some expectations of what would interest the groups and much of it was based on my own biases. I thought that there would be more interest in the galleries where people may (according to me) recognise themselves. There was a small amount of this in the Kampala to Leicester gallery, however some of the exhibits were mistaken for shop displays and others were queried as to why some of the objects were in there. I had expected there to be little interest in the Regimental Galleries, however these spaces did get much more interest and conversation from many of the groups. There was an overarching theme of interest in Leicester as a place, including its history and industry. I can conclude that my questions were relevant and allowed me to keep a broad outlook on what was taking place on our museum visits, while at the same time giving me a focus on the sensory and emotional engagements.

Discovering possible change

I began the project with some ideas that what I would find out could link in with inclusion and community building strategies. It was clear that within many museums, there were policies and practices to engage with local communities as part of their missions. However, the practicalities of engagement were in reality very different from the discussions in many research papers.

I had not considered that in working with ESOL learners I would build on the work around speakers of other languages in museums. There is a small body of literature on how museums can work with ESOL learners in providing support or resources for learners to access on supported visits. I could see some of the patterns mentioned in this literature in some of the people I visited with. It became apparent on the visits that the texts in themselves were an issue. The technical language we use, together with large bodies of words that for someone who has English as an additional language (or even as a first language) create a mental block. For one person it was demoralising – "I will come back when I know more English" – for another it was a challenge – "He will read it all if we let him". The difference in these two people (apart from age), was confidence. There was an expectation that the museum was right and that to be proficient you must be able to read what is in the museum.

What I found was that the museum provided connections for people to discuss and share. The exhibits that were designed to show childhood allowed people to show how they had similar experiences or even different experiences around the same object. The hopscotch was the perfect example of this. It bought people together to talk about their childhoods and the different rules and ways in which they played the game. Everyone was able to take part. In exhibits where a particular group of people had been represented there was interest in what they had done, but also dismay at exclusions where exclusions had been made. Previous studies echo that where one group is the focus for representation it inherently excludes others (Wekker, 2019. p.100; Elias & Scotson, 1965).

In viewing museums as contact zones (Pratt, 1992; Clifford, 1997), visiting as adult groups highlighted how successful this could be. Objects and exhibitions became catalysts for conversation, confidence and sharing. The objects that created the most of these moments were not placed or displayed with the intent for this. As mentioned above, the hopscotch marked on the floor of one gallery provided an ideal point for connecting as did the Lullabies from Around the World. Where an effort had been made to connect with communities that had arrived in Leicester in the 1970s, there was not as much of a moment of connection. These moments and experiences were

not expected. The individuals in the groups wanted to share and find out more about the city that was now home.

Challenging the status quo

By working with diverse groups of people moving through the museum, I have been able to see how the content, objects and stories being told in the local history museum affect their visiting experiences. I feel (it would be difficult to show through the data) that where the museum told their white British centric story of the place, this was expected by the groups. Where there was an attempt to include people from different heritages who have migrated to the city, there was more evidence of people being aware of exclusion and inclusion. It could be concluded that local history museums do not need to change any of their narratives, as there was not a negative response to the general story telling about the city's history. There was a general interest in finding out about the history of people's adoptive homes. If the story told only includes stories of local white people, then that is the story that newer arrivals will take away from their visit.

This is a case of the museum not telling a full story. In the one instance where one of the group was dismayed at the exclusion of Sikh soldiers in the story of World War 1 provided an example. This only came about because the person knew that there was an omission. Many visitors do not know what is being missed as there is trust in the museum to be telling the whole story. As such, museums control the narrative. In controlling the narrative, they are excluding a number of people from the actual story of the area. There are a number of issues that could be drawn from this. Museums are not telling the full story of their local area. Museums control the history of the local area. Museums do not have the funding to update their exhibits. Local history and authority managed museums lag behind in representing what is actually their local communities. This often comes across as the museum knows best. They are the experts in the local area and so whatever is in the museum must be the full truth about the area. This perpetuates the Established and Outsider sentiments (Elias & Scotson, 1965), the "newcomers" not represented in the museum do not know that they are no longer the newcomers. In the case of the Newarke Houses Museum, the inclusion of the Kampala to Leicester exhibition cements the Ugandan Asian

community as outsiders. The content of the exhibition does look at how the community has settled into being successful business owners and representing the local community, however this does not represent all of the people who arrived in Leicester. For people who do not want to read the vast text panels, it frames the community as the only new community in Leicester.

In maintaining the current status quo, there is very little need for change. There is an acceptance that this is how the museum is, and this is the history that is being told. As with larger organisations that have changed the narrative in their museum, there has been some resistance. The National Trust, reworked the story around Kingston Lacy in Dorset to show the queer history that had been previously been omitted (National Trust, 2017). This caused some outrage within some of the Trust's members, but also encouraged others to join as they felt that the National Trust was representing more than just the white middle classes. In changing the narrative in the local history museum, it may well cause the same shift in visitors. There may be current regular visitors who would not agree with the changed narrative within the museum, but there would be more people from a variety of heritages who would enjoy seeing how the city had changed and been influenced by the inclusion of people from around the world.

The benefits for the museum in including the stories of all of the communities in Leicester would be an increased number of visitors from those communities. They would feel more included and part of the story, of which they are already part but are not described. One of museums constant targets is to increase visitor numbers and broaden demographics. Currently the visitor demographics are split 27% BME to 73% Non-BME[16]. If visitors feel that they are included in the museum and it is telling their story then they will feel a greater sense of belonging. That sense of belonging would translate in being more involved in the museum's events and development in the future. From a wider perspective, representing as many of the local communities in the city as part of the city and part of the local community will lead to a greater

[16] This data was from the Newarke Houses Museum itself and so their terminology. They survey a sample of visitors regularly. In 2018-19 the split was 28% BME and 72% Non-BME. They also ask brief questions about age, disability, postcode and employment.

understanding of their local community's demographics and heritage. This would feed into wider local government and central government agendas on belonging and cohesion.

In an ideal world…

As with any research project this one also had limitations. My own limitations with working full time while studying part time, meant that I was not able to spend as much time with the first ESOL class as I could. The WEA group met twice a week and my schedule meant that I was only able to arrange time to be with them for one of their sessions. In contrast, I missed fewer sessions with the LASALS Real English in Action Groups as they only met once per week, but their courses were much shorter. This meant that building relationships were not as effective with the REIA groups. Time was a precious commodity and ideally I would have liked to have explored the museum further with more family groups and in more detail. Repeat visits with the same people, with time to explore the experiences of the previous visits would have created a greater depth to my understanding of how we were experiencing the spaces and exhibits.

Another limitation was the amount of data I collected. I had intentions to collect images and interviews. I did not want to place a requirement on the people I was visiting the museum with to take a certain number of photographs or to have to share them with me. The interviews were not possible in the way in which I wanted them to be as the museum did not have space for us to stop and sit at the end of the visit. As soon as we left the building, people were keen to move on and not spend any further time discussing the visit.

In an ideal world, I would recommend sustained engagement with the ESOL groups. Further relationship building could improve data collection and group understanding of experiences. Building better relationship would lead to clearer and more data and a shared analysis. I would also recommend extending the study to different types of museum. While this project explored a social history museum, it could also be applied to more general local museums that are easily accessible to groups.

Conclusion

This research has yielded contributions to the fields of museum studies, visual methodologies and sociology. From the findings, museums can review their exhibits in order to decolonise their language, improve content to promote inclusion and begin to better represent their local communities. My exploration of visual methodologies has led to a theory around using creativity as an analytical tool. Finally, drawing on previous sociological studies, I was able to further the understanding of researching with communities and working with people on collecting valuable data.

This project has been a journey over six years. The longer timescale has been a benefit to the project and has allowed more time for engagement, relationship building and development of the methods. The methods of relationship building were tested and amended to fit with the groups I worked with in a sympathetic way. The data collection took place and was adjusted according to the circumstances and willingness of the people I spent my time with. The data analysis was undertaken with an open mind and a view to look for change. The findings have been applied to the real world situation with a critical eye to promote change and community inclusion.

Local social history museums have an ideal opportunity to tell the story of their local communities. In doing so they would be able to promote belonging for currently under- or mis-represented communities and support understanding between wider communities.

Appendix – Ethical Approvals and Consent Forms

Participants from ESOL Groups

The University Of Sheffield.

Downloaded: 14/08/2017
Approved: 17/03/2017

Charlotte Barratt
Registration number: 140130418
School of Education
Programme: PhD

Dear Charlotte

PROJECT TITLE: How do families experience museums: a study of one super-diverse community and its local museum.
APPLICATION: Reference Number 012737

On behalf of the University ethics reviewers who reviewed your project, I am pleased to inform you that on 17/03/2017 the above-named project was **approved** on ethics grounds, on the basis that you will adhere to the following documentation that you submitted for ethics review:

- University research ethics application form 012737 (dated 16/03/2017).
- Participant information sheet 1027027 version 2 (16/03/2017).
- Participant consent form 1027029 version 2 (16/03/2017).
- Participant consent form 1027028 version 2 (16/03/2017).

If during the course of the project you need to deviate significantly from the above-approved documentation please inform me since written approval will be required.

Yours sincerely

David Hyatt
Ethics Administrator
School of Education

Information Sheet:
How do families experience museums?

I would like to visit the Newarke Houses Museum with you and your group so that we can look at what we do and how we feel while you are visiting. This information sheet will explain the project and what will happen if you take part.

On our visits you can choose to take pictures, make drawings or film our visit to record what we saw, how we felt and what happened while we were there. If there are any photographs or film taken we will make sure you are not in it if you do not want to be.

You can take part in as much of this project as you want to, if you change your mind about talking part you can stop at any time.

This project has been check and approved by the University of Sheffield ethical review process.

Before we visit

We will talk about what might happen when we go, and how I would like to observe the visit. Before further visits we will talk about whether we will use cameras, draw, write about our visit or film the visit. We can change how we do this each time we visit if you want to.

We will talk about how you want to be shown in the project including choosing another name so no one will know it is you. This is so that you cannot be identified if you don't want to be. We will also talk about how the pictures, writing or film that you make or are in might be used in my project and afterwards.

When we visit

We will visit as part of your ESOL lessons at the WEA. If any of the participants decide not to take part in this project they will still be able to visit the museum with the group. For our first visit I would like to observe the group and make notes, if you are happy for me to do so. If we visit again we can use photographs, film, or writing to describe your visit. We will talk about this before we visit.

After the visit

I will look at what we did on our visit and then we can meet to talk about how we felt, what we did and if my notes show this properly.

We can talk about visiting the museum again. I would like to visit the museum more than once, but how many times we visit is up to you and the group.

At the end of the project

Once our visits and conversations have ended, you will have the choice of what happens with your pictures, films and writing. I might ask you if you are happy for me to use them when I am writing about the project after I have finished my PhD. Once I have finished my PhD you will be able to see it and I will let you know how and when once it is done.

I hope that you will be able to help me with my project.

If you have any questions please contact me at cbarratt1@sheffield.ac.uk

Consent form

This form is to confirm that you understand how we will use the information from the project and the pictures, images or writing. It also confirms that you are happy to take part in the project for as long as you would like to and will be kept informed of what is going on and what we find out as a group.

Please sign in the box

I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet explaining the project and I have asked questions if I want to.	
I understand that I can stop being part of the project at any time I wish.	
I understand that any pictures, drawings of films I make will only be used as we have agreed in discussions about this. We have agreed that you are happy for them to be used in:	
I understand that my name will be changed in the project so that I cannot be identified by anyone outside of the project.	

I am happy to take part in the project.

_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant	Date	Signature
_____	_____	_____
Name of person taking consent	Date	Signature

Participants from Family Groups

The University Of Sheffield.

Downloaded: 14/08/2017
Approved: 29/03/2017

Charlotte Barratt
Registration number: 140130418
School of Education
Programme: PhD

Dear Charlotte

PROJECT TITLE: How do families experience museums: a study of one super-diverse community and its local museum.
APPLICATION: Reference Number 012739

On behalf of the University ethics reviewers who reviewed your project, I am pleased to inform you that on 29/03/2017 the above-named project was **approved** on ethics grounds, on the basis that you will adhere to the following documentation that you submitted for ethics review:

- University research ethics application form 012739 (dated 27/03/2017).
- Participant information sheet 1027030 version 1 (04/02/2017).
- Participant information sheet 1028984 version 1 (27/03/2017).
- Participant consent form 1027031 version 1 (04/02/2017).
- Participant consent form 1028985 version 1 (27/03/2017).

If during the course of the project you need to deviate significantly from the above-approved documentation please inform me since written approval will be required.

Yours sincerely

David Hyatt
Ethics Administrator
School of Education

Information Sheet:
How do families experience museums?

You are being invited to take part in a research project. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and we can discuss it as a group. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part. Thank you for reading this.

The project is part of my PhD that I am working towards at the University of Sheffield.

The project

I would like to visit the Newarke Houses Museum with you and your family so that we can look at what we do and how we feel while you are visiting. This leaflet will explain the project and what will happen if you take part. You have been chosen as you can help me think about how children and families who live in Leicester experience the local museum.

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form. You can withdraw at any time. You do not have to give a reason.

The project involves visiting the museum at least once and we might want to meet up and talk about the visit or visits at other times. On our visits we will take pictures, make drawings or film our visit to record what we saw, how we felt and what happened while we were there.

Before we visit

We will talk about whether we will use cameras, draw, write about our visit or film the visit. We can change how we do this each time we visit if you want to.

All the information that we collect about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. You will not be able to be identified in any reports or publications. We will also talk about how the pictures, writing or film that you make or are in might be used in my project and afterwards.

When we visit

If you are not able to visit when we said we would, you can let me know and we will organise another time if you want to go again.

I will be able to bring cameras, paper, pencils or a film camera depending on how we choose to show what we did.

We can visit Castle Park so that the children can play and run before we visit and afterwards we can visit the café opposite the museum.

I will make notes as we go around if you are happy for me to do so.

After the visit

I will look at what we did on our visit and then we can meet to talk about how we felt, what we did and if my notes show this properly.

We can talk about visiting the museum again. I would like to visit the museum more than once, but how many times we visit is up to you and your family.

At the end of the project

Once our visits and meetings have ended, you will have the choice of what happens with your pictures, films and writing. I might ask you if you are happy for me to use them when I am writing about the project after I have finished my PhD. The pictures, films and writing you have done will not be used anywhere else without your written permission. I am due to complete my PhD in 2020. All of the information we collect will be stored on a secure server at the University of Sheffield.

This project has been approved by the University of Sheffield ethics review panel.

I hope that you will be able to help me with my project.

If you have any questions please contact me at cbarratt1@sheffield.ac.uk If at any point during the project you have a complaint and you do not want to contact me, my supervisors name is Kate Pahl and her email address is k.pahl@sheffield.ac.uk

Charlotte Barratt

Consent form

This form is to confirm that you understand how we will use the information from the project and the pictures, images or writing. It also confirms that you are happy to take part in the project for as long as you would like to and will be kept informed of what is going on and what we find out as a family group.

Please sign in the box

I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet explaining the project and I have asked questions if I want to. ☐

I understand that I can stop being part of the project at any time I wish. ☐

I understand that any pictures, drawings of films I make will only be used as we have agreed in discussions about this. We have agreed that you are happy for them to be used in: ☐

☐

I confirm that I am happy for my children to take part in the project and that they will also be asked if they would like to take part. I understand that if they are not happy we can stop at any time. ☐

I understand that my name and my children's names will be changed in the project so that I cannot be identified by anyone outside of the project. ☐

I am happy to take part in the project.

_____ _____ _____

Name of Participant Date Signature

_____	_____	_____
Name of person taking consent	Date	Signature

Bibliography

Abu-Shomar, A. & MacDonald, M. (2012) *Dialogic Spaces: Diasporic Negotiation of Difference* Journal of Postcolonial Cultures and Societies 3(3&4) pp. 1-36

Ahmed, S. (2006) *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others* North Carolina: Duke

Ahmed, S. (2014) *Not in the Mood* New Formations: A Journal of Culture, Theory, *Politics* 82 pp. 13-28

Ames, M.M. (2004) *Are changing representations of First Peoples in Canadian Museums and Galleries challenging the curatorial prerogative?* In West, R.W. (ed.) *The Changing Presentation of the American Indian: Museums and Native Cultures* Washington DC: University of Washington Press pp.73-88

Anderson, K. & Smith, S. (2001) *Editorial: emotional geographies* Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 26 pp.7–10

Armitage, M.G. (2017) *Planning for Inclusion in Museum Education Practice: Preparing Docents and Museum Educators for English Language Learners* Thesis, PhD Ohio State University

Bacci, F. & Pavani, F. (2014) *"First Hand," Not "First Eye" Knowledge* in Levent, N. & Pascual-Leone, A. (eds.) *The Multisensory Museum: Cross disciplinary perspectives on touch, sound, smell, memory and space* New York: Rowman & Littlefield pp. 17-28

Bagnoli, A. (2009) *Beyond the standard interview: the use of graphic elicitation and arts-based methods* Qualitative Research 9(5) pp.547-570

Banks, M. (2001) *Visual Methods in Social Research* London: Sage

Barone, T. & Eisner, D.W. (2012) *Arts Based Research* London: Sage

Barratt, C. (2014) *The Family Experience in Museums: Explored using photographic elicitation interviewing* Master's by Research (MRes) dissertation University of Leicester, Leicester

Baudino, P.D. (2013) *A Place of Memory and Possibility: Creating Sites of Power and Meaning with Indigenous Collections* Museums & Social Issues 8(1-2) pp.59-73

Bedi, S. & Webb, J. (2017) *Through the Students' Lens: Photographic Methods for Research in Library Spaces* Evidence Based Library and Information Practice 12(2) pp.15-35

Bennett, T. (1995) *The Birth of the Museum: History, theory, politics* New York: Routledge

Berg, M.L. & Sigona, N. (2013) *Ethnography, diversity and urban space* Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power 20(4) pp.347-360

Bezemer, J. (2008) *Displaying orientation in the classroom: Students' multimodal responses to teacher instructions* Linguistics and Education 19 pp.166-178

Bezemer, J. & Mavers, D. (2011) *Multimodal transcription as academic practice: a social semiotic perspective* International Journal of Social Research Methodology 14(3) pp.191-206

Benza, S & Liamputtong, P. (2017) *becoming an 'Amai': Meanings and experiences of motherhood amongst Zimbabwean women living in Melbourne, Australia* Midwifery 45 pp.72-78

Bijsterveld, K. (2015) *Ears-on Exhibitions: Sound in the History Museum* The Public Historian 37(4) pp.73-90

Binnie, J. (2010) *Does Viewing Art in the Museum Reduce Anxiety and Improve Wellbeing?* Museums and Social Issues 5(2) pp. 191-201

Bland, D. (2018) *Using drawing in research with children: lessons from practice* International Journal of Research & Method in Education 41(3) pp. 342-352

Bonney, R. & Le Goff, W. (2007) *Leicester's cultural diversity in the context of the British debate about multiculturalism* International Journal of Diversity in Organisations, Communities and Nations 6(6): 45–58

Brady, G. & Brown, G. (2013) *Rewarding but let's talk about the challenges: using arts based methods in research with young mothers* Methodological Innovations Online 8(1) pp.99-112

Britain Elects (2007) *Leicester City Council Wards* Council by-Elections –page-8 [available online] http://britainelects.com/category/council-by-elections/page/8/ (Accessed last: 11 July 2019)

British Heart Foundation (2020) *Why are so many people of ethnic minority background dying from coronavirus – and what does it have to do with heart disease?* [Available online] https://www.bhf.org.uk/informationsupport/heart-matters-magazine/news/behind-the-headlines/coronavirus/coronavirus-and-bame-patients (Accessed last: 21 June 2020)

British Museum (2019) ESOL website [Accessed online] https://www.britishmuseum.org/learn/adult-learning/esol (Accessed last 4 January 2020)

Brizio, A. M. (1981) *The Words of Leonardo* in *Leonardo the Scientist*, London: Hutchinson/
McGraw-Hill, pp. 124–153 cited in Garner, S. (2008) *Towards a critical discourse in drawing research* in Garner, S. (ed.) *Writing on drawing: Essays on drawing Practice and Research* Intellect Books Ltd, Bristol pp.15-26

Bubaris, N. (2014) *Sound in museums – museums in sound* Museum Management and Curatorship 29(4) pp. 391-401

Butler, T. (2020) *Zoom conversation* with Charlotte Barratt, 24th April.

Camic, P.M. & Chatterjee, H. (2013) *Museums and art galleries as partners for public health interventions* Perspectives in Public Health 133(1) pp. 66-71

Carawan, L.W. & Nalavany, B. (2010) *Using photography and art in concept mapping research with adults with dyslexia* Disability & Society 25(3) pp. 317-329

Campbell, E. & Lassiter, L.E. (2010) *From Collaborative Ethnography to Collaborative Pedagogy: Reflections on the Other Side of Middletown Project and Community-University Research Partnerships* Anthropology & Education Quarterly 41(4) pp. 370-35

Cantle, T. (n.d.) *About Interculturalism* [Available online] http://tedcantle.co.uk/publications/about-interculturalism/ (Accessed last 17 October 2020)

Caplow, T. & Bahr, H.M. (1979) *Half a century of change in adolescent attitudes: replication of a Middletown survey by the Lynds* The Public Opinion Quarterly 43(1) pp.1-17

Carnegie, E. (2006) *'It wasn't all bad': representations of working class culture* Museums & Society 4(2) pp.69-83

Chatterjee, H. J., & Noble, G. (2009) *Object Therapy: A Student-selected Component Exploring the Potential of Museum Object Handling as an Enrichment Activity for Patients in Hospital* Global Journal of Health Sciences, 1 (2) pp.42-49

Chatterjee, H., Vreeland, S., & Noble, G. (2009*) Museopathy: Exploring the Healing Potential of Handling Museum Objects* Museum and Society 7 (3) 1 pp.64-177

Christensen, P. H. (2004) *Children's Participation in Ethnographic Research: Issues of Power and Representation* Children & Society 18 pp.165-176

Christidou, D. & Diamantopoulou, S. (2016) *Seeing and Being Seen: The Multimodality of Museum Spectatorshi*p Museum & Society 14(1) pp. 12-32

Clarke, S. N. (2010) *Language Learning for Migrants, Refugees and Asylum Seekers* in Farnell, G. (Ed.) *The New Museum Community: Audiences, Challenges and Benefits* Edinburgh: Museums Etc.

Clarke, S.N. (2013) *Adult Migrants and English Language Learning in Museums: Understanding the Impact on Social Inclusion* Thesis, PhD University of Edinburgh

Clark-Ibanez, M. (2004) *Framing the Social World with Photo-Elicitation Interviews* American Behavioural Scientist 47(12) pp.1507-1527

Classen, C. (2012) *The Deepest Sense: A Cultural History of Touch* Illinois: University of Illinois Press

Classen, C. (2017) *The Museum of the Senses: experiencing art and collections* London: Bloomsbury

Clifford, J. (1997). *Museums as contact zones* In *Routes: Travel and Transformation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Cloutier, G., Ibrahim, A. and Pratt, D. (2016) *Subversive identities at the art museum: an ESL university student's experience at the National Gallery of Canada* Canadian Review of Art Education 43(1) pp.139-152

Cluett, S. (2014) *Ephemeral, Immersive, Invasive* in Levent, N. & Pascual-Leone, A. (Eds.) *The Multisensory Museum: Cross disciplinary perspectives on touch, sound, smell, memory and space* New York: Rowman & Littlefield pp. 109-118

Cohen, A. P. (Ed.) (1982) *Belonging. Identity and social organization in British rural cultures*, Manchester: University of Manchester Press

Cohen, A. P. (1985) *The Symbolic Construction of Community*, London: Tavistock

Coxall, H. (1997) *Speaking in other voices* in Hooper-Greenhill, E. (ed.) *Cultural Diversity: Developing museum audiences in Britain* London: Leicester University Press pp.105-115

Crang, M & D.P. Tolia-Kelly (2010) *Nation, race, and affect: sense and sensibilities at national heritage sites* Environment & Planning A 42 pp.2315-2331

Crossick, G. & Kaszynska, P. (2016) *Understanding the Value of Arts and Culture: The AHRC Cultural Value Project* Swindon: Arts & Humanities Research Council [Available online] http://www.ahrc.ac.uk/documents/publications/cultural-value-project-final-report/ (Accessed last 29 November 2020)

Crow, G. and Allen, G. (1994) *Community life: an introduction to local social relations* New York, USA: Harvester-Wheatsheaf

DCMS (2020) *Taking Part Survey* [Available online] https://www.gov.uk/guidance/taking-part-survey (Accessed last 3 September 2020)

De Jong, S. (2018) *The Witness as Object: Video Testimony in Memorial Museums* Oxford: Bergman

De Montfort University (2007) *Leicester Community Cohesion Evaluation and Assessment Framework* [Available online] https://www.belongnetwork.co.uk/wp-

content/uploads/2019/04/leicester-community-cohesion-evaluation.pdf (Accessed last 17 October 2020)

Dicks, B. (2014) *Action, experience, communication: three methodological paradigms for researching multimodal and multisensory settings* Qualitative Research 14(65) pp. 656-674

Dicks, B. (2016) *The Habitus of Heritage: a Discussion of Bourdieu's Ideas for Visitor Studies in Heritage and Museums* Museums & Society 14(1) pp. 52-64

Doering, Z. & Lakshmi, R. (2012) *Introduction to the Special Issue* Curator 55(1) p.1-2

Drobnick, J. (2014) *The Museum as Smellscape* in Levent, N. & Pascual-Leone, A. (Eds.) *The Multisensory Museum: Cross disciplinary perspectives on touch, sound, smell, memory and space* New York: Rowman & Littlefield pp. 177-196

Dudley, S. (2014) *What's in the Drawer? Surprise and Proprioceptivity in the Pitt Rivers Museum* The Senses & Society 9(3) pp.296-309

Ekman, P. (2003) *Emotions inside out. 130 years after Darwin's "The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animal"* Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 1000 pp.1-6

Elias, N. (1987) *On human beings and their emotions: a process-sociological essay* Theory, Culture & Society 4 pp.339-361

Elias, N., & Scotson, J. L. (1965). *The established and the outsiders; a sociological enquiry into community problems*. London: F. Cass.

Frankenberg, R. (1967) *Communities in Britain* London: Penguin Books

Fyfe, G. & Ross, M (1995*) Decoding the Visitor's Gaze: Rethinking Museum Visiting* The Sociological Review 43(1) pp.127-150

Gallagher, M. (2016) *Sound as affect: difference, power and spatiality* Emotion, Space and Society 20 pp. 42-48

Garner, S. (2008) *Towards a critical discourse in drawing research* in Garner, S. (Ed.) *Writing on drawing: Essays on drawing Practice and Research* Intellect Books Ltd, Bristol pp.15-26

Gidley, B. (2013) *Landscapes of belonging, portraits of life: researching everyday multiculture in an inner city estate* Identities 20(4) pp.361-376

Graham, A., Powell, M.A. and Taylor, N. (2015) *Ethical Research Involving Children: Encouraging Reflexive Engagement in Research with Children and Young People* Children & Society 29 pp.331-343

Graham, G. (1997) *Philosophy of the Arts. An Introduction to Aesthetics,* London: Routledge

Goffman, E. (1959) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* Garden City, NY: Doubleday, (1961) *Encounters: Two Studies in the Sociology of Interaction* Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill ,(1967) *Interaction Ritual: Essays on Face-to-Face Behavior* Garden City, NY: Doubleday in Petersen, G. (2006) *Cultural Theory and Emotions* in *Handbook of the Sociology of Emotions* Stets, J. & Turner, J. (eds.) Springer, Boston, MA pp. 114-134

Golding, V. (2013) *Museums, poetics and affect* Feminist Review 104 pp.81-82

Goldschmidt, G. (2003) *The backtalk of self-generated sketches* Design Issues 19(1) pp. 72-88

Goodwin, J., Hughes, J., & O'Connor, H. (2016) *Return to Winston Parva: Starting to Reconstruct The Established and the Outsiders 'From the Margins* Historical Social Research 41(3) pp.18-30.

Googlemaps (2017) [Available Online] https://www.google.co.uk/maps/dir/101+Hinckley+Road,+Leicester/Newarke+Houses+Museum,+The+Newarke,+Leicester+LE2+7BY/@52.6315845,-1.1483368,16z/data=!4m14!4m13!1m5!1m1!1s0x487760c28ae15aa9:0x604515fdb28e02d6!2m2!1d-1.1520906!2d52.6318839!1m5!1m1!1s0x487760dfb4fa42ed:0xfdade0dbc26f7830!2m2!1d-1.1391222!2d52.6316607!3e2 (Accessed last 3 November 2017)

Gutierrez, S. & Rasmussen, B. (2014) *Code-Switching in the art museum: Increasing access for English learners* in Acuff, J. & Evans, L. (Eds.) *Multiculturalism in Art Museums Today* Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield pp.145-160

Hackett, A. (2014) *Zigging and zooming all over the place: Young children's meaning making and movement in the museum* Journal of Early Childhood Literacy 14(1) pp.5-12

Hackett, A. (2014a) *Don't stop toddlers running around museums – it could help them learn* The Conversation [available online] https://theconversation.com/dont-stop-toddlers-running-around-museums-it-could-help-them-learn-28699 (Accessed last 28 November 2020)

Hall, S., King, J. and Finlay, R. (2015) *Super-diverse Streets: Economies and spaces of urban migration in UK cities* (ES/L009560/1) *City Street Profile on Ethnicity, Economy and Migration Narborough Road, Leicester* [Available online] https://files.lsecities.net/files/2015/12/SuperDiverseStreets_Leicester.pdf (Accessed last 14 November 2017)

Hall, T. (2015) *Reframing photographic research methods in Human Geography: a long-term reflection* Journal of Geography in Higher Education 39(3) pp.328-342

Hassen, I. & Goivanardi, M. (2018) *The difference of 'being diverse': City branding and multiculturalism in the 'Leicester Model'* Cities 80 pp.45-52

Hatch, W. (2014) *Bloody Memories: Affect and Effect of World War II Museums in China and Japan* Peace & Change 39(3) pp. 366-394

Hedges, L. E. (2010). 'Affect and embodiment', in Radstone, S. and Schwarz, B. (eds) *Memory: History, Theories, Debates*. New York: Fordham University Press, pp. 246–262.

Home Office (2002) S*ecure Borders, Safe Haven: Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain* London: The Stationery Office

Hooper-Greenhill, E. (1995) *Museum: Media: Message* London: Routledge

Howes, D. (2014) *Introduction to Sensory Museology* The Senses & Society 9(3) pp.259-267

Howes, D. (2014a) *The Secret of Aesthetics Lies in the Conjugation of the Senses: Reimagining the Museum as a Sensory Gymnasium* in Levent, N. & Pascual-Leone, A. (eds.) *The Multisensory Museum: Cross disciplinary perspectives on touch, sound, smell, memory and space* New York: Rowman & Littlefield pp.285-300

Humphries, S. (2003) *Unseen Stories: Video History in Museums* Oral History 31(2) pp. 75-84

Iervolino, S. (2013) *Museums, Migrant Communities, and* Intercultural Dialogue *in Italy* in In Golding V. & Modest W (eds.) *Museums and Communities: Curators, Collections and Collaboration* London: Berg Publishers

Indices of Multiple Deprivation (2015) [Available online] https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/english-indices-of-deprivation-2015 (Accessed last 16 March 2018)

Ings, W. (2013) *Enstasy: Immersive drawings as a design process* In Brandt, E., Ehn, P., Johansson, T.D. , Hellström, M. T., Markussen & Vallgårda, A. (Eds.) *Nordic Design Research Conference: Experiments in design research* (pp. 119-126), Copenhagen and Malmö: Retrieved January 17, 2014 from http://www.nordes.org/nordes2013/pictures/Nordes2013Proceedings.pdf cited in Makela, M.A., Nimkulrat, N. & Heikkinen, T. (2014) *Drawing as a research tool: Making and understanding in art and design* practice Art in Research Volume 10 pp.1-12

Janes, J.E. (2016) *Democratic encounters? Epistemic privilege, power, and community-based participatory action research* Action Research 14(1) pp.72-87

Jephcott, P. (1964) *A Troubled Area: notes on Notting Hill by Pearl Jephcott* London: Faber and Faber

Jephcott, P. (1971) *Homes in High Flats* London: Oliver & Boyd

Jewitt, C., Bezemer, J. and O'Halloran, K. (2016) *Introducing Multimodality* London: Routledge

Jewitt, C., Price, S. and Xambo Sedo, A. (2017) *Conceptualising and researching the body in digital contexts: towards new methodological conversations across the arts and social sciences* Qualitative Research 17(1) pp. 37.53

Jones, A. 2013, *Talking Objects: A Discussion of ESOL Provision in the Manchester Museums and Galleries Partnership*. A dissertation submitted to The University of Manchester for the degree of Master of Arts in the Faculty of Humanities, Unpublished [cited in Labadi, 2017]

Kannenberg, J. (2016) *Listening to Museums: Sound Mapping Towards a Socially Inclusive Museology* Museological Review 20 pp.6-17

Kaomea, J. (2003) *Reading Erasures and Making the Familiar Strange: Defamiliarising Methods for Research in Formerly Colonised and Historically Oppressed Communities* Educational Researcher 32(2) pp.14-25

Kearney, K.S. & Hyle, A.E. (2004) *Drawing our emotions: the use of participant-produced drawings in qualitative enquiry* Qualitative Research 4(3) pp.361-382

Keller, A. (2014) The Scented Museum in Levent, N. & Pascual-Leone, A. (eds.) *The Multisensory Museum: Cross disciplinary perspectives on touch, sound, smell, memory and space* New York: Rowman & Littlefield pp.167-176

Keles. A. (2018) Email to Charlotte Barratt 15th October

Khoja, N. (2016) *Situating Children's Voices: Considering the Context when conducting research with young children* Children & Society 30 pp.314-323

King, R. & O'Connor, H. (1996) *Migration and Gender: Irish Women in Leicester* Geography 81(4) pp. 311-325

Kirk, E. (2014) *Crystal Teeth and Skeleton Eggs: Snapshots of Young Children's Experiences in a Natural History Museum* Thesis, PhD University of Leicester

Koski, K., Heyning, F. & Zwijnenberg, R. (2016) *Collaborative meaning-making in arts-based research: Data interpretation with an artist, a physician and an art historian* Art/Research international: a Transdisciplinary Journal 1(1) pp. 234-257

Kress, G. (2011) *'Partnerships in research': multimodality and ethnography* Qualitative Research 11(3) pp. 239-260

Kress, G. & Van Leeuwen, T. (2001) *Multimodal discourse: the modes and media of contemporary communication* London: Arnold

Kress, G. & Van Leewen, T. (2005) *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* 2nd Ed. Routledge, London

Labadi, S. (2017) *Museums, Immigrants and Social Justice* Routledge: London

Ladson-Billings, G. (2005) *The evolving role of critical race theory in educational scholarship* Race, Ethnicity and Education 8(1) pp.115-119

Lassiter, L.E. and Campbell, E. (2010) *What will we have ethnography do?* Qualitative Enquiry 16(9) pp. 757-767

Latchford, P. (2018) *The Future of Civic Museums: A Think Piece* Black Radley Ltd for the English Civic Museums Network

Van Leimpt, I. (2011) *'And then one day they all moved to Leicester': the relocation of Somalis from the Netherlands to the UK explained* Population, Space and Place 17 pp. 245-266

Leicester City Council (2004) *2.1 Memorandum submitted by Leicester City Council* [Available online] https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200405/cmselect/cmhaff/165ii/165we22.htm (Accessed last 11 July 2019)

Leicester City Council (2012) *Diversity and migration* [Available online] https://www.leicester.gov.uk/media/177367/2011-census-findings-diversity-and-migration.pdf (Accessed last 19 March 2019)

Leicester City Council (2014) *Leicester Wards* [Available online] http://www.cabinet.leicester.gov.uk:8071/documents/s111139/All%20City%20Wards.pdf (Accessed last 7 July 2020)

Leicester City Council (2019) *Museums Collection and Development Policy 2019-2024* [Available online] https://www.leicester.gov.uk/media/182407/museums-collection-development-policy-2019-2024.pdf (Accessed last 15 April 2020)

Leonardo, Z. (2013) *The story of schooling: critical race theory and the educational racial contract* Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education 34(4) pp. 599-610

Levent, N. & Pascual-Leone, A. (eds.) (2014) *The Multisensory Museum: Cross disciplinary perspectives on touch, sound, smell, memory and space* New York: Rowman & Littlefield

Levitt, P. (2016) *Using the local to tell a global story: How the Peabody Essex Museum became a world class museum* Museums & Society 14(1) pp.146-159

Literat, I. (2013) *"A pencil for your thoughts": Participatory drawing as a visual research method with children and youth* International Journal of Qualitative Methods (12) pp. 84-98

Lobley, N. (2014) *Sound Galleries: Curating the experience of sounds and music in and beyond museums* Music in Art 19(1) pp.243-255

Lynd, R.S. & Lynd, H.M. (1929) *Middletown: a study in contemporary American* culture New York: Harcourt, Brace

Malnar, J.M. & Vodvarka, F. (2014) *Architectural design for living artifacts* in Levent, N. & Pascual-Leone, A. (Eds.) *The Multisensory Museum: Cross disciplinary perspectives on touch, sound, smell, memory and space* New York: Rowman & Littlefield pp. 251-269

Makela, M.A., Nimkulrat, N. & Heikkinen, T. (2014) *Drawing as a research tool: Making and understanding in art and design* practice Art in Research Volume 10 pp.1-12

Mannay, D. (2010) *Making the familiar strange: can visual research methods render the familiar setting more perceptible?* Qualitative Research 10(1) pp. 91-111

Marett, V. (1993) *Resettlement of Ugandan Asians in Leicester* Journal of Refugee Studies (6) pp.248-259

Marstine, J. (2006) (ed) *New Museum Theory and Practice* Oxford: Blackwell.

Mason, R. (2013) *National Museums, Globalization, and Postnationalism: Imagining a Cosmopolitan Museology* Museum Worlds: Advances in Research 1(1), pp.40-64

McCormack, D. (2003) *An event of geographical ethics in spaces of affect* Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 28 pp.488–507

McPherson, G. (2006) *Public memories and private tastes: the shifting definitions of museums and their visitors in the UK* Museum Management & Curatorship 21 pp.44-57

Miglietta, A.M., Pace, R. & Boero, F. (2011) *Evaluating Students' Comprehension of Messages on Panels* Visitor Studies 14(2) pp. 209-218

Mihesuah, D. A. (1998) *Natives and Academics: Researching and Writing About American Indians* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press

Modest, W. (2013) *Co-curating with teenagers in the Horniman Museum* in Golding, V. & Modest, W. (Eds.) *Museums and Communities: Curators, Collections and Collaboration* London: Bloomsbury pp. 98-110

Monbiot, G. (2017) *How do we get out of this mess?* [Available online] https://www.monbiot.com/2017/09/11/how-do-we-get-out-of-this-mess/ (Accessed last 29 August 2020)

Morgan, J. (2012) *The Multisensory Museum* Glasnik Etnografskog Instituta SANU 60(1), pp.65-77

Muhammed, M., Wallerstein, N., Sussman, A.L., Avila, M., Belone, L. & Duran, B. (2015) *Reflections on Researcher Identity and Power: The Impact of Positionality on Community Based Participatory Research (CBPR) Processes and Outcomes* Critical Sociology 41(7-8) pp. 1045-1063

Munro, E. (2014). *Doing emotion work in museums: Reconceptualising the role of community engagement practitioners* Museum and Society 12 (1) pp.44–60.

Museums Association (2019) *Amsterdam Museums drops term 'Golden Age'* [Available Online] https://www.museumsassociation.org/museums-journal/news-

analysis/18092019-Amsterdam-museum-drops-term-golden-age (Accessed last 3 April 2020)

National Trust (2017) *Exploring LGBTQ history at National Trust places* [Available online] https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/exploring-lgbtq-history-at-national-trust-places (Accessed last 16 October 2020)

Nagata, S (2017) *Learning through Art: ESOL Program in Museum in London* Journal of Learning Science (10) pp.43-48

Newman, A. (2013*) Imagining the social impact of museums and galleries: interrogating cultural policy through an empirical study* International Journal of Cultural Policy 19:1 pp.120-137

Nye, J.S. (2004) *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* Cambridge MA: Perseus Publishing cited in Crossick, G. & Kaszynska, P. (2016) *Understanding the Value of Arts and Culture: The AHRC Cultural Value Project* Swindon: Arts & Humanities Research Council [Available online] http://www.ahrc.ac.uk/documents/publications/cultural-value-project-final-report/ (Accessed last 29 November 2020)

O'Connor, H. (1995) *The Spatial Distribution of Ethnic Minority Communities in Leicester, 1971, 1981, & 1991: Analysis and Interpretation* Leicester: A joint publication of the Centre for Urban History and the Ethnicity Research centre, University of Leicester

Office for National Statistics (2012) *Ethnicity and National Identity in England and Wales: 2011* [Available online] https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/ethnicity/articles/ethnicityandnationalidentityinenglandandwales/2012-12-11 (Accessed last 22 November 2017)

Olsen, R.E., NcKenzie, J.J. and Patulny, R. (2017) *The sociology of emotions: A meta-reflexive review of a theoretical tradition in flux* Journal of Sociology 53(4) pp. 800-818

Onciul, B.A. (2013) *Community Participation, Curatorial Practice and Museum Ethos in Canada* In Golding V. & Modest W (Eds.) *Museums and Communities: Curators, Collections and* Collaboration London: Berg Publishers

Pahl, R. (2005) *Are all communities Communities in the Mind?* Sociological Review 53(4) pp. 621-640

Pahl, K. (2012) *Every Object Tells a Story* Home Cultures 9(3) pp.303-327

Pallasmaa, L. (2014) *Museum as an Embodied Experience* in Levent, N. & Pascual-Leone, A. (eds.) *The Multisensory Museum: Cross disciplinary perspectives on touch, sound, smell, memory and space* New York: Rowman & Littlefield pp.239-250

Parke, B., Hoffman, C., Anthony, J., Dong, K., Hodge, G., Janik, M., Mcclelland, A. and Mcfadden, A. (2012) *Visualising an elder-friendly emergency department: A focused ethnography using participatory photographic methods* European Geriatric Medicine 3S p.250

Pendlebury, J., Scott, M., Veldpaus, L., van der Toornvrijthoff, W., & Redmond, D. (2019) *After the Crash: The conservation-planning assemblage in an era of austerity* European Planning Studies 28(4) pp.672–690

Petersen, G. (2006) *Cultural Theory and Emotions* in *Handbook of the Sociology of Emotions* in Stets, J. & Turner, J. (Eds.) Springer, Boston, MA pp. 114-134

Phillips, D. (1981) 'The Social and Spatial Segregation of Asians in Leicester', pp. 101-121 in Jackson, P. and Smith, S. *Social Integration and Ethnic Segregation,* London, Academic Press cited in Marett, V. (1993) *Resettlement of Ugandan Asians in Leicester* Journal of Refugee Studies (6) p.253

Pink, S. (2009) *Doing Sensory Ethnography* London: Sage

Pink, S. (2011) *Multimodality, multisensorality and ethnography knowing: social semiotics and the phenomenology of perception* Qualitative research 11(3) pp. 261-276

Pink, S. (2012) *Advances in Visual Methodology* Thousand Oaks: Sage

Pink, S. (2012b) *Domestic Time in the Sensory Home: On Knowing in Practice in the Bathroom* in Keightly, E. (Ed.) *Time, Media and Modernity* Palgrave: Basingstoke pp. 184–200

Pink, S. (2015) *Approaching media through the senses: between experience and representation* Media International Australia 154 pp. 5-14

Pink, S. & Postill, J. (2017) *Student migration and domestic improvisation: Transient migration through the experience of everyday laundry* Transitions: Journal of Transient Migration 1(1) pp.13-28

Pitt Rivers Museum (n.d.) *Pitt Rivers Museum* [Available online] https://www.prm.ox.ac.uk/ (Accessed last 6 April 2020)

Pratt, M.L. (1992) *Imperial eyes: travel writing and transculturation* 2nd Ed, 2008 Routledge, New York

Ponzoni, E. (2016) *Windows of understanding: broadening access to knowledge production through participatory action research* Qualitative Research 16(5) pp.557-574

Purkis, H. (2012) *Making contact in an exhibition zone: Displaying contemporary cultural diversity in Donegal, Ireland, through an installation of visual and material portraits* Museums & Society 11(1) pp. 50-67

Rainford, J. (2020) *Confidence and the effectiveness of creative methods in qualitative interviews with adults* International Journal of Social Research Methodology 23(1) pp.109-122

Ravelli, L. J. (2006). *Museum texts: communication frameworks* London and New York, NY: Routledge

Rhadakrishnan, R. (2003) *Theory in an Uneven World* Oxford: Blackwell.

Riley, H. (2008) *Drawing: towards an intelligence of seeing* in Garner, S. (ed.) *Writing on drawing: Essays on drawing Practice and Research* Intellect Books Ltd, Bristol pp.153-167

Rippin, A. (2012) *Eliza, Anita and me: An art investigation into using portraiture as a research method in organisation studies* Culture & Organisation 18(4) pp. 305-322

Robinson, H. (2018) *Cultural policy, local government and museums: an Australian perspective* Local Government Studies 44(5) pp.719-738

Rose, G. (2016) *Visual Methodologies: An introduction to Researching with Visual Materials* 4th Ed. London: Sage

Rosenberg (2008) *New beginnings and monstrous births: notes towards and appreciation of ideational drawing* in Garner, S. (ed.) *Writing on drawing: Essays on drawing Practice and Research* Intellect Books Ltd, Bristol pp.109-124

Rees, A., (1950), *Life in a Welsh Countryside* Cardiff: University of Wales Press

Rex, B. (2020) *Roses for everyone? Arts Council England's 2020–2030 strategy and local authority museums – a thematic analysis and literature review* Cultural Trends 29(2) pp. 129-144

Roberts, N. (2014) *Getting intersectional in Museums* Museums & Social Issues 9(1) pp.24-33

Samuels, J. (2007) *When words are not enough: eliciting children's experiences of Buddhist monastic life through photographs* in Stanczak, G (Ed.) *Visual Research Methods: Image, Society and Representation* Sage, USA. p. 197-224

Saito, H. (2011) *An Actor-Network Theory of Cosmopolitanism* Sociological Theory 29(2) pp.124-149

Savage, M., Bagnall, G., & Longhurst, B.J. (2005) *Globalization and belonging* London: Sage

Shortt, H.L. & Warren, S.K. (2017) *Grounded Visual Pattern Analysis: Photographs in Organisational Field Studies* Organisational Research Methods

Singh, G. (2003) *Multiculturalism in Contemporary Britain: Reflections on the "Leicester Model"* International Journal of Multicultural Societies 5(1) pp.40-54

Smith, L.T. (1999) *Decolonising Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* Zed Books, London

Smith, L. (2017) *'We are… we are everything': the politics of recognition and misrecognition at immigration museums* Museums & Society 15(1) pp.69-86

Spivak, G.C. (2005) *Scattered speculations on the subaltern and the popular* Postcolonial Studies 8(4) pp.475-486

Staller, K.M. (2012) *Epistemological boot camp: The politics of science and what every qualitative researcher needs to know to survive the academy* Qualitative Social Work 12(4) pp. 395-413

Stets, J. (2006) *Identity Theory and Emotions* in *Handbook of the Sociology of Emotions* Stets, J. & Turner, J. (eds.) Springer, Boston, MA pp. 203-223

Stevenson, R.J. (2014) *The Forgotten Sense: Using olfaction in a museum context: a neuroscience perspective* in Levent, N. & Pascual-Leone, A. (eds.) *The Multisensory Museum: Cross disciplinary perspectives on touch, sound, smell, memory and space* New York: Rowman & Littlefield pp. 151-165

Stylianou, E. (2019) *Affect and trauma in museums: an interpretive framework for understanding the real thing and its political potential* Museums Management and Curatorship 34(3) pp.306-322

Swensen, G. (2017) *Objects as identity markers – Ways of mediating the past in a South Sami and Norse Borderland* Museum & Society 15(2) pp.236-256

Department of Media, Culture & Sport (2019) *Taking Part Survey* [Available online] https://www.gov.uk/guidance/taking-part-survey (Accessed last 21 June 2020)

Tay-Lim, J. & Lim, S. (2013) *Privileging younger children's voices in research: use of drawings and a co-construction process* International Journal of Qualitative Methods (12) pp. 65-83

The Royal Leicestershire Regiment (2015) *The Royal Leicestershire Regiment* [Available online] https://royalleicestershireregiment.org.uk/ (Accessed last 4 April 2020)

The Strike at Imperial Typewriters (2019) *The Strike at Imperial Typewriters* [Available online] https://strikeatimperial.net/about (Accessed last 4 July 2020)

Thomson, L. & Chatterjee, H. (2014) *Assessing well-being outcomes for arts and heritage activities: Development of a Museum Well-being Measures toolkit* Journal of Applied Arts & Health 5(1) pp.29-50

Trofanenko, B. (2014) *Affective Emotions: The Pedagogical Challenges of Knowing War* Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies 36(1) pp.22-39

UK Census Data (2012a) *England* [Available online] http://www.ukcensusdata.com/england-e92000001#sthash.ioZtC6KG.dpbs (last accessed 16.3.2018)

UK Census Data (2012b) *England and Wales* [Available online] http://www.ukcensusdata.com/england-and-wales-k04000001#sthash.rYOYz98V.dpbs (Accessed last 16 March 2018)

UK Census Data (2012c) *Coleman* [Available online] http://www.ukcensusdata.com/coleman-e05001791#sthash.G6okxggj.dpbs (Accessed last 25 October 2018)

UK Census Data (2012d) *Leicester* [Available online] http://www.ukcensusdata.com/leicester-e06000016#sthash.qwiTUzqW.dpbs (Accessed last 16 March 2018)

UK Census Data (2012e) *Spinney Hills E00069398* [Available online] http://www.ukcensusdata.com/spinney-hills-e00069398#sthash.6GC9TVZC.dpbs (Accessed last 22 November 2017)

UK Census Data (2012f) *Westcotes* [Available online] http://www.ukcensusdata.com/westcotes-e05001804#sthash.KEp2Gj8R.dpbs (Accessed last 22 November 2017)

Varutti, M. (2013) *Learning to share knowledge: Collaborative Projects in Taiwan* in Golding, V. & Modest, W. (eds.) *Museums and Communities: Curators, Collections and Collaboration* London: Berg Publishers

Veldpaus, L., & Pendlebury, J. (2019) *Heritage as a Vehicle for development: The case of Bigg market Newcastle upon Tyne* Planning Practice and Research pp.1-15

Vertovec S (1994) *Multicultural, multi-Asian, multi-Muslim Leicester: Dimensions of social complexity, ethnic organization and local government interface.* Innovation 7(2) pp. 259–274

Vertovec, S. (2005) *Opinion: Super-diversity revealed* BBC News Tuesday 20th September 2005 [Available online] http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/4266102.stm (Accessed last 29 November 2020)

Vertovec, S (2007) *Super-diversity and its implications* Ethnic and Racial Studies 30(6) pp.1024-1054

Vidal-Hall, J. (2003) *Leicester: City of Migration* Index on Censorship Vol.2 pp.132-141

Voeglin, S. (2014) *Soundwalking the Museum: A sonic journey through the visual display* in Levent, N. & Pascual-Leone, A. (eds.) *The Multisensory Museum: Cross disciplinary perspectives on touch, sound, smell, memory and space* New York: Rowman & Littlefield pp.119-130

Vom Lehn, D. & Heath, C. (2016) *Action at the exhibit face: video and the analysis of social interaction in museums and galleries* Journal of Marketing Management

Wake, C. (2013) *Regarding the Recording: The Viewer of Video Testimony, the complexity of copresence and the possibility of tertiary witnessing* History and Memory 25(1) pp.111-144

Ward, J. 2008, *ESOL: The Context and Issues* [Available online] www.niace.org.uk/lifelonglearninginquiry/docs/Jane-Ward-migration-evidence.pdf (Accessed last 22 November 2017)

Ward, J. & Short, H. (2012) *Evaluation in management education: a visual approach to drawing out emotion in student learning* Management Learning 44(5) pp. 435-452

Warren, S., & Jones, P. (2015) *Local governance, disadvantaged communities and cultural intermediation in the creative urban economy* Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy 33(6) pp. 1738–1752

Watson, S. (2014) *Communities and museums: equal partners?* in *Museum As Process: Translating Local and Global Knowledges* ed. R. Silverman London: Routledge pp. 228-245

Watson, S., Barnes, A. & Bunning, K. (2018) *A Museum Studies Approach to Heritage* London: Routledge

Webber, K. (2011) *Drawing People Together: The Local and Regional Museum Movement* in *Understanding Museums: Australian Museums and Museology*, edited by D. Griffin, L. Paroissien, et al. Canberra: National Museum of Australia cited in Robinson, H. (2018) *Cultural policy, local government and museums: an Australian perspective* Local Government Studies 44:5 pp.719-738

Wekker, F. (2019) *"We have to teach them diversity": on demographic transformations and lived reality in an Amsterdam working-class neighbourhood* Ethnic & Racial Studies 42(1) pp.89-104

Werbner, P. (2005) *The Translocation of Culture; 'Community Cohesion' and the Force of Multiculturalism* Sociological Review 53(4) pp. 745-768

Wessendorf, S. (2013) *Commonplace diversity and the 'ethos of mixing': perceptions of difference in a London neighbourhood* Identities 20(4) pp.407-422

Wessendorf, S. (2019) *Pioneer migrants and their social relations in super-diverse London* Ethnic & racial Studies 42(1) pp.17-34

Whitty, H. (2017) *Museum Literacy: A Sociomaterial study of families, literacies and museum objects Thesis, PhD* University of Technology, Sydney

Witcomb, A. (2003) *Reimagining the Museum: Beyond the Mausoleum* London: Routledge

Witcomb, A (2007) *'A place for all of us?' Museums and communities* in Watson, S. (ed.) *Museums and their Communitites* London: Routledge pp. 133-156

Witcomb, A. (2010) *Remembering the Dead by Affecting the Living: The Case of the Miniature Model of Treblinka* in Dudley, S. (ed.) *Museum Materialities: Objects, Engagements, Interpretations* London and New York, Routledge pp.39-52

Witcomb, A. (2013) *Understanding the role of affect in producing a critical pedagogy for history museums* Museum Management & Curatorship 28:3 pp. 255-271

Williams Carawan, L. & Nalavany, B. (2010) *Using photography and art in concept mapping research with adults with dyslexia* Disability & Society 25(3) pp. 317-329

Zartler, U. & Richter, R. (2014) *My family through the Lens. Photo Interviews with Children and Sensitive Aspects of Family Life* Children & Society 28 pp. 42-54