The Family Display: A Spatial Analysis of Family Practices at Tate

Submitted by Louisa Mary Hood, to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Research in Management Studies, October 2018.

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Abstract

Publicly-funded museums in the UK face the dual challenge of maintaining meaningful relationships with their existing visitors and establishing effective relationships with new audiences. Museums perceive family audiences as important because engaging with them can provide immediate and future impact. Since families with children tend to be understood as 'learning' audiences, they offer a way for publicly-funded museums to demonstrate their worth to society through the provision of education. Furthermore, successful engagement with families with children is perceived as a way to cultivate enduring, resilient and life-long relationships with audiences who could potentially support the future viability and financial sustainability of museums. Families, therefore, are a museum audience with high strategic value.

However, there is a lack of research to support what experiencing museums means to families. Most existing research in this area analyses family experiences of museums at the level of individual episodes within a visit. That is, rather than focusing on the lives of family visitors and how they connect to the museum, analysis focuses on learning events or on the identity-related needs of families during their museum visit. The under-theorization of family in the context of museums is particularly problematic because family audiences are perceived by museums as having bespoke needs that are different from those of other museum audiences. This failure to account for the pluralities of both families and museums makes it difficult to develop authentic understandings of family museum engagement.

In this thesis, these issues are examined through the framework of Tate, a leading international art museum. The Association of Leading Visitor Attractions state that Tate is the most-visited publicly-funded cultural institution in the UK and is recognised as a sector leader in terms of its curatorial practices and additional income generation methods. However, family audiences are significantly under-represented at Tate, both as a proportion of the institution's overall visitor base and when compared to similar museums. This means that Tate's challenge to retain, attract and engage family audiences is particularly pressing, thus providing an acute case with intrinsic and instrumental value.

To address the challenge of increasing and improving family museum engagement, this thesis develops deeper and wider understandings of family experiences of museums by special reference to Tate as a leading international museum. This thesis takes a spatial ethnographic approach to understanding how families experience museums in order to attend to the complexities and multiple realities of family life and museums. Thus, this is the first study to examine family audiences in the particular context of the art museum, itself an under-represented context in museum studies, at the level of family practices. This extends the methodological tradition of ethnographic research in museums by making allowances for material and embodied perspectives, in addition to historical-political and individual perspectives. Data was generated across the Tate Estate between November 2014 and June 2017 and was analysed iteratively in line with the ethnographic approach to research.

There are two sets of significant findings. The first set of findings illustrate the sophisticated way that 'family' is produced and utilised by Tate as both an ordering social concept and a flexible set of practices. As well as extending how museum audiences can be understood, these findings raise theoretical questions around family and how it is used within the public management and funding frameworks that operate in museums. Additionally, this first set of findings informs the second, since it provides a contextually relevant working definition of the term 'family'. The second set of findings demonstrate how family experiences of Tate relate to the practices of family, both as private practices between family members and as a public practices made available to wider social circles. These findings have empirical, practical and political implications for Tate and the museum sector, particularly concerning the management of non-traditional museum spaces, intergenerational learning and ambitions for authentic inclusivity within museum engagement.

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As a concept, family has occupied my thoughts constantly during the course of this research, but it is my own (ever-increasing) family, at home in Yorkshire, that has really been my constant. My female friends, for their charm, conversation and incredible ability to have fun, can take credit for helping me dismiss the blue feelings that have sometimes arisen. My last personal acknowledgement is to Toby Baker; his enduring care and support requires a thousand thanks.

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List of Abbreviations

ACE	Arts Council England
AHRC	Arts and Humanities Research Council
ALVA	Association of Leading Visitor Attractions
BAME	Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic
DBS	Disclosure and Barring Service
DCMS	Department for Culture, Sport and Media
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
IMD	Index of Multiple Deprivation
IPA	Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis
IRO	Independent Research Organisation
NPM	New Public Management
PMM	Personal Meaning Mapping
RIBA	Royal Institute of British Architects
ZPD	Zone of Proximal Development

Glossary of Key Terms

BAME

BAME is an acronym for Black, Asian and minority ethnic. It is used in this thesis to describe a specific museum audience. However, it is used with caution, following guidelines provided by Tate's BAME staff network (Tate, 2017a) which note that, although many people may identify under the umbrella of BAME, the category has some limitations. These include: a sense that BAME individuals are a homogenous group; a lack of sensitivity to difference within BAME cultures; a lack of sensitivity to individual identities chosen by people; and, inaccuracy in certain geographic locations (notably, in the context of this thesis, London).

Tate

'Tate' is used as a collective term to describe the organisation in question in its entirety. This includes, but is not limited to, Tate's built estate, digital presence and organisational identity.

The Tate Estate

The Tate Estate is used as a collective term and refers to Tate's four, publicly accessible museums, which are: Tate Britain, Tate Modern, Tate Liverpool and Tate St. Ives.

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Family Museum Experiences

Family museum experiences are simultaneously shaped by museum policy and practice and everyday family life. Many families do not visit museums but the families who do have made a decision to spend time in their everyday lives to look at museum collections. In this sense, family museum experiences are simultaneously premised on the availability of 'free' time and on the value of shared time (Wheeler, 2014) in the particular context of the museum, which in itself can mean different things to different families and different family members. This thesis aims to develop deeper and wider understandings of family experiences of museums.

The significant aspects of the foundations of family museum experiences are both societal and individual. 'Free' time (Wheeler, 2014), functionalist definitions of family (Lamanna, 2002), and indeed museum visitation as Bourdieu, Darbel, and Schnapper (1991) have shown, are closely bound to societal stratification. In other words, social structures dictate whether a family might visit a museum and with what they might be presented once there. However, family can also be understood as practice; a set of social behaviours happening between, and orientated towards, family members (Morgan, 2011). Deciding to enact family life in the context of the museum, then, produces complex experiences that waver between the public and private maintenance of family and call into question the role of the museum in society.

The societal and individual basis of family experiences of museums therefore presents the museum as a pluralistic site of family display (Finch, 2007). Family museum experiences perform a collective version of family imbued with social significance relating to whom the family is and what that family values that is, crucially, available to wider social circles. Simultaneously, however, family museum experiences are internally performative; they constitute individual actions by family members that together maintain a compelling and shared group identity. The question for museums, then, is how to reconfigure the

relationship between societal and individual implications of family experiences of museums. That is, to ask how can the internal display of family that is sensitive and responsive to difference be adequately reflected in the exterior of the museum, historically understood as a site of representation and conformity (Barlow & Trodd, 2000; Duncan, 1995), and could this engage new audiences?

1.2 Museums and the Merits and Challenges of Family Audiences

As the concept of new museology suggests (Vergo, 1989), the focus of museum work has shifted from being exclusively occupied with objects to being dually concerned with how objects might be relevant to audiences, both actual and potential. In the UK at least, the public remit of museums originates from its receipt of public monies and corresponds to its moral responsibility to provide a public service. Barrett (2012) suggests that the 'publicness' of art museums has changed over time, with art museums previously operating as civilising institutions symbolic of national achievements (Duncan, 1995), more recently adopting roles that contest historical singularity through the active promotion of inclusivity and diversity. In other words, museums have shifted from being for the people to being of the people.

The extent to which this shift has occurred remains contentious and museums continue to be enmeshed in the opposing concepts of inclusivity and exclusivity (Black, 2012, 2016). Though acknowledging multiple and often marginalised publics, perhaps because of the relationship between art museums and cultural hegemony explored by Duncan (1995), museums tread a fine line between representation of cultures and appropriation of cultures that do not wish to be implicated in museum practice (Barrett, 2012). What then, museums seek to do is to afford authentic and inclusive opportunities with which audiences can engage.

Family is perceived within museums as an important audience that requires particular and often bespoke opportunities for engagement. To a certain extent, the importance of attracting family audiences to museums may be underpinned by moral impetus and strategic need. As Bourdieu et al. (1991) suggest, museums and family museum visitation are an important mechanism in the

reproduction of social stratification. As such, museum visitation can be related to educational, social, professional and economic attainment. Though this can be seen as a critique of the museum as an exclusive site, there have be attempts to harness the supposed correlation between museums and social class in order to develop instrumental policies aimed at raising aspirations, educational achievement and cultural competency as a means of achieving upwards social mobility (Archer & DeWitt, 2012; Archer, DeWitt, Osborne, Willis, & Wong, 2012; Dawson & Jensen, 2011; Leroux & Moureau, 2013). However, as Bourdieu et al. (1991) describe, free entry museum policies (which remain a flagship instrumental approach to increasing social and cultural diversity amongst UK museum audiences) may be regarded as 'false generosity' (p. 113), since it is existing museum audiences who disproportionately benefit from such policies. Nevertheless, theoretically, families, as the perceived guardians of children's emotional, social and economic development, are audiences that allow museums to discharge their moral responsibility to make a positive impact on individuals and on society.

Family audiences may also be important to museums because of their potential to provide a sustainable and long-term income. Family audiences can be understood as future audiences, since children who visit museums may well develop lifelong relationships with such institutions and thus contribute to the long-term economic sustainability of the museum sector. Furthermore, lack of future funding has been identified as a serious risk to the continued viability of museums (Black, 2016), which means children are a strategic audience. Whatever the case may be, family audiences are an audience sought by museums because they are an audience type that is perceived as able to positively impact the museum and vice versa.

1.3 Tate and Family Audiences

1.3.1 Family Audiences at Tate

In this thesis, issues surrounding family experiences of museums are explored through the framework of Tate. Whilst family audiences are important audiences across the museum sector, the challenge of attracting and retaining

this audience type at Tate is particularly acute. According to Tate's annual visitor surveys, family audiences are underrepresented in the institution's visitor base (Tate, 2017c). The volume of family visits to the Tate Estate varies across different points in the year, and across different sites within the estate, being particularly sensitive to school holidays and associated museum programming. In general, Tate St. Ives receives the greatest proportion of family museum visitors followed by Tate Modern, Tate Liverpool and Tate Britain (Tate, 2015, 2017c). So, the approximate numbers of individuals visiting the Tate Estate with other members of their family ranges from 150,000 to 900,000 (Tate, 2013, 2017c). Though this may seem a significant number, since almost everybody might feel able to identify as part of a family (Morgan, 2011), the potential volume of the family segment is far greater.

In contrast, basic research conducted by the author indicates that family audiences comprise a significant proportion of visitors to comparable UK museums; that is, museums such as the Science Museum, the National Gallery, the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Natural History Museum. Along with Tate, these museums are often referred to as the 'nationals' (Tlili, 2014); like Tate, these museums are in receipt of government funding arranged through the Department of Culture, Sport and Media (DCMS) and care for and present nationally- and internationally- significant cultural collections on behalf of the nation. In the case of at least one of these comparable museums, family audiences are over represented. In response to this, the museum in question has initiated a programme of change aimed at repositioning the museum; transforming it from a child-friendly day out to an intellectual experience. This opposition foregrounds some of the major assumptions surrounding family audiences; that pre-school- and primary school- aged children are the defining members of family and, furthermore, that children's experiences of museums are incompatible with adults' experiences of museum. In addition, the discrepancy between the volume of Tate's family audiences and those of comparable museums (mainly science- and history- focused museums) calls into question the role of disciplinary frameworks within museums (see Chapter Five).

1.3.2 Tate and the Tate Estate

Tate is an executive non-departmental public body sponsored by DCMS and, as such, is governed by a board of trustees appointed by the UK Government. In addition to the funds it receives from central UK Government, Tate operates successful commercial and charitable functions, which generate over half of the institution's annual income (Tate, 2017c). Tate's mission is frank and public-facing (Figure 1). One of the key ways in which Tate aims to achieve its mission is through the Tate Estate (as well as through, for example, publishing, digital and partnership activities).

Figure 1 Tate's mission, displayed at the top of the 'about us' section of their website. Copyright Tate 2018.

The four museums that comprise the Tate Estate are Tate Britain, Tate Modern, Tate Liverpool and Tate St. Ives. Whilst united by Tate's overall ethos, branding, senior leadership team and, often, their visitor base, each museum has a distinct remit. Tate Britain is known as the home of British art, Tate Modern displays international modern and contemporary art, Tate Liverpool hosts changing displays from Tate's collection and Tate St. Ives retains a local atmosphere, by focusing on the artists connected to its location. As well as a standard visitor offer, each museum also hosts temporary exhibitions and other programmed activities throughout the year. The four museums comprising the Tate Estate welcome approximately seven million visitors per year and have local, national and international reach. The architectural nature of each museum is also distinct, meaning that the Tate Estate comprises a variety of spatial qualities.

Tate Britain (Figure 2) is situated on Millbank in London and houses British art from 1500 to the present day. It is a purpose-built art gallery, which opened in 1897 as the National Gallery of British Art, a satellite of the National Gallery. Having always been referred to colloquially as the Tate, in deference to Henry Tate's founding philanthropic gift, it was renamed the Tate Gallery in 1932 when it was given the remit to also display international modern art. It was not until 1954 that the Tate Gallery became independent from the National Gallery. In 2000, coinciding with the opening of Tate Modern, the Tate Gallery was rebranded Tate Britain in order to differentiate the two London Tate sites.

Figure 2 Tate Britain, Millbank Entrance. Copyright Tate 2018.

Tate Britain's river-facing, neo-classical white façade welcomes visitors into a high entrance hall with an unassuming information desk to the left-hand side. Walking straight on, visitors reach a spiral staircase lit from above by a domed ceiling. Behind the visitor, in each corner, are staircases going up to a Members' room and restaurant and down to various visitor facilities. Immediately in front of the visitor are the Duveen Galleries; large, pillared galleries running the length of the building, in which changing exhibitions of various natures, including sculpture, live art and performance, are held. Periodically, the Duveen Galleries are closed for private events, or partially closed during exhibition installation and de-installation periods. Around the

edge of the Duveen Galleries, individual rooms, arranged *enfilade*, allow visitors to 'walk through British art'. In this hang, artworks are arranged in chronological order from 1500 to the present day; in the middle of the sequence, visitors must walk through a gift shop. Popular rooms in this section of the gallery include well-known paintings by the group of artists known as the pre-Raphaelites.

In addition to the main body of the museum, there is an accessible entrance, the Manton Entrance, where visitors can buy exhibition tickets, access information and visit a smaller shop. There are also several spaces for temporary exhibitions and an additional wing, opened in 1987 and designed by Sir James Stirling. This houses a collection of paintings by the artist J.M.W. Turner, as well as displaying works on paper; it also includes a lecture hall and function rooms. At Tate Britain there is a large 'back-office', with a library and archive open to visitors and researchers, multiple offices and a staff canteen.

Tate Modern is situated in the repurposed Bankside A power station and opened to the public in 2000. According to a lecture delivered by Frances Morris (current Director of Tate Modern and a curator at Tate from 1987) at the Courtauld Institute, London in November 2016, Tate Modern was conceived in response to a variety of factors including the international appetite for museums of modern and contemporary art, the institution's growing collection and the need to increase visitor footfall, not least through programmes of blockbuster exhibitions. The Unilever Series at Tate Modern, for example, commissioned works over a twelve-year period from internationally renowned contemporary artists including Doris Salcedo, Ai Weiwei and Olafur Eliasson. More conventional exhibitions hosted at Tate Modern include retrospectives of world-famous artists such as Louise Bourgeois, Paul Gauguin and Henri Matisse (Morris & Blazwick, 2006). In July 2016, Tate Modern's Switch House extension, originally scheduled to launch in 2012, opened to the public (Dercon & Serota, 2016) (Figure 3). Following the largest ever philanthropic donation to a UK museum, the building is now known as the Blavatnik Building (Tate, 2017c).

Figure 3 Tate Modern exterior view with Blavatnik building (formerly known as the Switch House) in foreground. Copyright Tate 2018.

The complex layout and scale of the Tate Modern means it is easiest to understand it in four sections: The Boiler House, Turbine Hall, Blavatnik Building and Tanks. Each space has its own identity and purpose. Entrances and exits, cafés, bars, information points, restaurants, shops, lifts, escalators and toilets are spread across all the spaces. The ticket desk, however, Members' room and cloakroom have no outposts and are found in the Turbine Hall at Level 0, the Blavatnik Building Level 6 and the Boiler House Level 0 respectively. There are also a number of offices at Tate Modern, as well as a staff canteen.

Whilst Tate’s senior leadership team work across Tate, many members of Tate’s staff based in London work at both Tate Britain and Tate Modern. This means that, whilst the art displayed at each site tends to be of different eras and movements, many of the professional practices and approaches are shared.

Like Tate Modern, Tate Liverpool (Figure 4) is a repurposed industrial site. Previously, it was a dockside warehouse before being renovated according to designs by Sir James Stirling and opening as Tate Liverpool in 1988. The museum forms part of the wider, ongoing redevelopment of the Liverpool docks, thus taking a role in the preservation and reconfiguration of the major port city of Liverpool’s shipping history. Tate Liverpool occupies a section of Albert Dock, with other units occupied by affordable bars and restaurants, an affordable hotel and two tourist shops. In the immediate vicinity there are several other museums, meaning that, like its London sister-sites, Tate Liverpool finds itself within a geography of museums and leisure. Unlike Tate Britain and Tate Modern, however, Tate Liverpool does not dominate its locale. Visitors enter Tate Liverpool through the revolving doors of the museum’s glass façade. To the right are ticket and information desks and to the left, a gift shop and café. The gallery spaces are located straight ahead of the visitor.

Figure 4 Tate Liverpool exterior view. Copyright Tate 2018.

Tate St. Ives (Figure 5) was opened in 1993 in St. Ives, a seaside town in Cornwall. For the majority of this project, Tate St. Ives was undergoing refurbishment, re-opening in October 2017, being named the Art Fund's Museum of the Year 2018 and receiving a prize of £100,000. Tate St. Ives is currently on the shortlist for the Royal Institute of British Architect (RIBA) Stirling Prize, awarded annually to the best British building. Due to the closure of Tate St. Ives, data generation was limited to in-depth interviews with practitioners at Tate St. Ives.

Figure 5 Tate St. Ives view towards the Atlantic Ocean. Copyright Tate 2018.

Tate St. Ives is a purpose-built art museum and its beach-front faces across the Atlantic Ocean. Its displays are mainly focused on the artists belonging to the British school of modern art, many of whom were connected to the town of St. Ives. Since its renovation, this sense of the local has been amplified to ensure Tate St. Ives serves the needs of full-time members of the town's communities, as well as those of visitors.

As outlined in Section 1.3.1 of this thesis, Tate St. Ives receives the greatest proportion of family visitors out of all the Tate Estate, despite that it is the only museum within the group to charge an entrance fee for its core offer. It is likely that Tate St. Ives is popular with families because of its location in the South

West of Britain, which as Britain's national tourism agency, Visit Britain (2017) states, has a particularly high volume of domestic tourists. Tate St. Ives optimises its geographical location and its status as a 'wet weather day out' through the provision of an extensive programme of activities for families throughout the summer holidays.

As a framework for this research, Tate has both intrinsic and instrumental value; that is, Tate is interesting in its own right but has value beyond its own confines (Jones, 2014). Tate is more successful at generating its own income than any other UK cultural institution, receives one of the largest annual DCMS sponsorship settlements and enjoys international repute and global renown, particularly for its capital building projects and contemporary art commissions (Dercon & Serota, 2016). Additionally, Tate leads a network of 35 visual arts organisations, a network that shares ideas, experiences, practices and programmes. Whilst this research has generated understandings of family museum experiences in the context of Tate, it also provides scope to understand issues surrounding family museum visitation in a national context. Furthermore, Tate's position in the international artworld and museum community means this research could intersect or support future research looking at family museum visitation in an international context.

1.4 Research Aim

The aim of this research is to develop deeper and wider understandings of family experiences of museums by special reference to Tate as a leading international museum. This aim is exploratory and is shaped by Tate's institutional needs since much of the museum's internal research of family audiences takes the form of family programme evaluation (e.g. Cox, Lamb, Orbach, & Wilson, 2000; Tormey, 2017). Such programmes tend to be focused in time and space and are often limited by resources. Beyond this, since programmes are optional, not all family visits to Tate comprise family programme participation. These factors mean that experiences of family programmes are not representative of wider family experiences of Tate hence evaluation of such programmes can only provide a limited perspective of family experiences at Tate. This deficiency is reflected in the literature, where analysis

of specific events (generally learning events) within family museum visits are significantly over-represented (Ash, 2003; Hackett, 2016). Since there is little clarity surrounding what family experiences of museums comprise, and less still surrounding what family experiences of Tate comprise, it is difficult to address important questions that could shed light on why museum visitation is important to families, and how these museum audiences could be encouraged to visit, revisit and further engage.

1.4.1 Key Concepts

Sections 1.1 to 1.3 have brought to light a number of concepts that are key to and recur throughout this thesis. The outlines of these concepts which follow are included not to eradicate the complexities of each, rather, they are included here to emphasise how the concepts have been used and understood in this thesis.

1.4.1.1 Family

Since family is a constitutive element of the research aim, it is a concept critical to the thesis. Moreover, as articulated by the senior leader at Tate responsible for family experiences of the museum, family at Tate is employed as an audience category but is based on assumptions that have never been questioned institutionally. In a wider sense, the term ‘family’ is a well-used sociological term that has been inscribed with different meanings across time and space (Morgan, 2011). For these reasons, then, this thesis seeks to determine Tate’s institutional definition of ‘family’ and to question how this intersects with wider understandings of the term; a task with empirical value in its own right and one with implications for the research methodology employed in this thesis (see Section 1.6 and Chapter Four).

1.4.1.2 Social Class and Social Contexts

As stated in Section 1.1, family museum visitation (and its outcomes) have often been related to class and social stratification. Most notably, Bourdieu et al. (1991) explored how European museums can be seen as a mechanism for the

reproduction of social class, particularly the reproduction of what has been known as the middle class. It is noteworthy here that museum visitation has, in some studies, been used as proxy for middle-class (Archer, Dawson, Seakins, & Wong, 2016). However, whilst social class is recognised in this thesis as an important facet of identity formation and a powerful force in museums and culture, this thesis also recognises that understandings of social class have evolved since the publication of much of Bourdieu's work. Whilst traditional versions of social class may still be applicable in particular circumstances, they may intersect with other facets of structure and identity, including, but not limited to, gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality and age, to produce more complex social contexts (Lloyd, Few, & Allen, 2009; Skeggs, 2004; Thwaites, 2016).

1.4.1.3 Museums

It is worth stating the particular ways that the terms 'museum' and 'art museum' are employed in this thesis. The term 'museum' is used as a collective term to describe art, archaeological, history, social history, science, design and children's museums. Following precedent set in the academic field of museum studies, zoos, aquaria and botanical gardens can also be described as museums (Moussouri & Hohenstein, 2017; Moussouri & Roussos, 2013). Whilst this may seem disparate, it should be remembered that zoos, aquaria and botanical gardens exist to acquire, care for and present collections. As such, when open to the public these museums demand behaviours from their visitors that are similar to those demanded by more traditional museums.

Most often, the buildings comprising the Tate Estate are referred to as museums. However, these museums belong to the sub-genre of art museum, which is a museum type that remains under-represented in the museum studies literature (Sterry & Beaumont, 2006). Whilst this thesis therefore, in a broad sense, makes an important empirical contribution to the field of museum studies, it also raises questions around the impact of disciplinary frameworks on museums and thus around the translatability of research findings from non-art museums to art museums and vice versa.

In this thesis the terms ‘gallery’ and ‘galleries’ are used to describe the distinct spaces within museums where objects or artworks are displayed. For example, the Duveen Galleries are a defined space at Tate Britain, as the Boiler House galleries or the Turbine Hall are at Tate Modern.

1.4.2 Research Objectives and Questions

To achieve the project’s aim to develop deeper and wider understandings of how families experience museums, four objectives were generated (Table 1).

Table 1 Research Aim, Objectives and Questions. Source, author.

Aim	To develop deeper and wider understandings of how families experience museums by special reference to Tate as a leading international museum.			
	Objective		Research Question	Chapter
1	To determine Tate’s institutional definition of ‘family’.	1	How do Tate’s agendas and strategies relate to ‘family’?	4
		2	Where is organisational responsibility for ‘family’ situated at Tate?	
		3	How is family ‘practiced’ by Tate staff?	
		4	How is ‘family’ made visible to Tate’s audiences?	
2	To investigate the relationship between ‘learning’ and family experiences of museums.	5	How do families approach ‘learning’ at Tate?	5
		6	To what extent does learning amongst families take place away from the exhibit face?	
		7	How do families respond to Tate’s learning agendas and strategies?	
3	To examine how experiences of museums function as family leisure experiences.	8	In what ways do family experiences of Tate correspond to existing discourse surrounding family leisure?	6
4	To analyse the nature of dwell times and spaces during family experiences of museums.	9	In which spaces do families dwell during their visits to Tate?	7
		10	What are the spatial practices associated with family dwelling at Tate?	
		11	In what ways are the times, spaces and practices of family dwell times at Tate significant?	

The first objective, to determine Tate's institutional definition of family is a foundational step in the research. This objective will generate understandings of how 'family' is known, understood and operationalised in a major agenda-setting, internationally-important museum context.

Literature review work in conjunction with early data generation operated iteratively to produce an analytical framework capable of linking existing theory to the empirical work of this thesis (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2014). The existing theories relate to socially-mediated museum learning (e.g. Ash, 2003; Ash, 2004), family leisure (e.g. Shaw, 2008) and to the spatial and temporal practices of families in museums (e.g. Hackett, 2016). From this analytical framework, objectives two, three and four were developed. The associated research questions are orientated towards gaining rich descriptions of how families use and understand Tate in relation to these themes from the literatures.

Objective Two seeks to investigate the relationship between 'learning' and family experiences of museums. Much of the existing research on family experiences of museums focuses on learning, or on the educational impacts of museum visitation on children and particularly focuses on the role of museum objects or interpretation in family learning processes (Hooper-Greenhill & Moussouri, 2001; Moussouri & Hohenstein, 2017). In other words, research tends to position exhibits as active agents in the learning process that might facilitate individual learning or, more relevant in the sphere of family museum experiences, support or encourage socially-mediated learning (Astor-Jack, Whaley, Dierking, Perry, & Garibay, 2007). Moreover, school-aged children rather than any other family members, tend to be understood as the beneficiaries of museum learning. Though useful, such literatures ignore the possibility of family learning happening in the spaces between objects or exhibits; that is, in the conversations and practices of families whilst they are not directly engaged as a whole group with a single object or exhibit, which, it should be noted, might comprise the majority of their experience. Objective Two, then, is an important source of originality in this thesis as it seeks to address how learning episodes may permeate, direct and influence family museum experiences.

Though museums have been described as sites of family leisure, there is a lack of research to either support or explore this claim (McCabe, 2015; Shaw & Dawson, 2001; Wheeler, 2014); Objective Three seeks to address this relative neglect. This gap is perhaps due to the amount of attention that has been paid to developing theoretical understandings of family leisure (Hodge, Zabriskie Ramon, Townsend, Egget, & Poff, 2018; Schwab & Dustin, 2015; Shaw, 2008; Shaw & Dawson, 2001), and the dominance of other contexts as sites for family leisure such as organised sports, family holidays and the home (Coyl-Shepherd & Hanlon, 2013; Fountain, Schänzel, Stewart, & Körner, 2015; Hallman & Benbow, 2007; Jeanes, 2010; Shaw, 2008; Wheeler, 2014). However, the museum is a distinctive context with its own particular and identifiable social practices (Leahy, 2012), suggesting that evaluation and analysis of family leisure in the museum could contribute to a much greater understanding of the role of museums in everyday family life, as well as to the theoretical development of the concept of family leisure.

The concept of dwell time is a key method of understanding museum visitation (Falk, 2008; Moussouri & Roussos, 2013). Objective Four draws from and away from the concept of dwell time, critically engaging with it to develop deeper and wider understandings of family museum experiences. Whilst dwell time can be a useful and powerful indicator of the structure and trajectory of a museum visitor's experience and can generate strong findings when employed in conjunction with other data such as visitor motivations and strategies (Moussouri & Roussos, 2013), it is most often used as a quantitative measure. Objective Four is designed to interrogate and analyse specific dwell times and spaces to develop qualitative understanding of the significances of family museum experiences. In other words, Objective Four looks at the family practices that produce (and prohibit) increased family dwell times and asks what these practices mean in relation to family experiences of museums.

1.5 Outline of the Thesis

Following this first introductory chapter, Chapter Two reviews the existing literature relating to family experiences of museums. The chapter outlines and

evaluates the dominant approaches to understanding families in museums; learning, cultural consumption and the sociology of family, particularly underlining how these approaches expose the methodological challenges of the topic.

Literature review work in ethnography is undertaken to shape and direct research but differs from the literature review work of other methodological approaches as it is continuously reviewed and reconfigured, rather than being a discrete research step. Ethnography is rarely a linear process and instead,

> …move[s] back and forth iteratively between theory and analysis, data and interpretation. It emphasises the strengths and advantages of inductivism, but also takes the opportunity to test theoretical insights, shining a brilliant light on problems and issues while simultaneously retaining a soft focus that enables inclusion and relations not previously considered.' (O'Reilly, 2009, p. 105).

In light of this quality of ethnography, literature review work was undertaken iteratively.

The methodological approach and data generation and analysis procedures are set out in Chapter Three. In addition, the chapter addresses the ethical considerations of the project, which is particularly important given that children, deemed to be a vulnerable research group (Farrimond, 2013), are often perceived as integral family members. Ethnography and spatial ethnography are best described as research approaches with ontological implications for research and method selections and procedures, rather than as singular methods (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009). In line with this, ethnographic and spatial ethnographic work does not always include a discrete methods chapter or section. However, a methods chapter is included to serve an instrumental purpose within this thesis, namely to emphasise the ontological underpinnings of the project and to provide transparency, as a way of ensuring reliability of results.

A major element of this thesis is to present an understanding of how ‘family’ is known, understood and operationalised in a major agenda-setting, internationally-important museum context. This work, presented in Chapter Four, makes an empirical contribution to family museum visitor studies and a practical contribution to Tate’s understanding of its own practice. In addition, however, this work underpins some of the decisions surrounding the recruitment of family visitor research participants (see Chapter Three). The non-chronological nature of this arrangement is a natural symptom of the iterative and non-linear manner of ethnographic work; throughout the research process later-generated data has been used to refocus the questioning and analysis of earlier-generated data.

Chapter Five relates particularly to Research Objective Two: to investigate the relationship between ‘learning’ and family experiences of museums. This chapter operates in critical dialogue with Pringle and DeWitt’s (2014) account of institutional understandings of learning at Tate as well as the traditional relationship between families, museums and learning. The chapter presents a spatial ethnographic account that illustrates the disconnection between family understandings of learning and Tate’s understanding of learning. In the process, it demonstrates that, though curriculum-based learning can dominate how families understand Tate as a learning institution, significance is attached by families to seeing authentic artworks rather than to the acquisition of new knowledge.

Research Objective Three, to examine how experiences of museums function as family leisure experiences, is addressed in Chapter Six. This chapter illustrates how family experiences of Tate can improve family functioning because the museum operates successfully as a family leisure context by supporting family cohesiveness and communication. In the first instance, this has implications for the way in which the value of museums to society is measured, a contentious topic and one in its own right (Belfiore & Bennett, 2008; Taylor, 2016; Tlili, 2014). Whilst illustrating the relationship between some models of family leisure and practices associated with social contexts and demonstrating how the museum can be used to underline families’ identity, this chapter argues that Tate’s focus on supporting family communication could be a

powerful way of expanding perceptions of Tate amongst its audiences. This chapter also illustrates the flexibility of Tate as a family leisure context, significant because it is a family leisure context able to disrupt some normative patterns of family life, particularly around parenting.

Qualitative understandings of the dwell times and spaces of family museum experiences are offered in the final analysis chapter, Chapter Seven, in order to address Objective Four. This chapter identifies times and spaces of family dwelling across the Tate Estate, presenting and analysing relevant spatial ethnographic accounts of these. Times and spaces of family dwelling in Tate's museums are shown to be both material and imagined and analysis explores how social practices associated with family life, rather than art engagement, dominate such times and spaces. This chapter goes on to discuss the implications of this for the way in which museum spaces are managed to achieve inclusivity.

The final chapter of this thesis summarises the research findings, discusses the research limitations and suggests implications for future, related research.

In essence, this thesis makes a methodological contribution to museum studies and an empirical contribution to family museum visitor studies. Existing research in this area has focused on understanding family museum visitation at the level of individual family members. Extending the tradition of ethnographic research in museums (Hackett, 2016) and following the suggestion of Astor-Jack et al. (2007), this thesis employs a distinct methodological approach better able to analyse family museum experiences at the level of family life. In other words, in this research, the unit of analysis is shifted from being the individual's museum visit to being the family lives of museum visitors.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.1 Overview

This chapter reviews the literature relating to family museum engagement. In doing so, it synthesizes several bodies of knowledge that connect around family experiences of museums. In addition to this primary work, this literature review chapter also assesses some of the methodological challenges of researching family engagement in museums and, in line with ethnographic practice, contributes to the development of one possible analytical framework for the empirical research phase of this project.

The contrasting meanings and uses of the concept of family mean clarifying the term can be challenging. In functionalist theory, family is a building block of society, simultaneously operating as a regulatory mechanism that manages rates of reproduction and as a support mechanism that provides economic and social stability, particularly for those excluded from waged work, by age, gender or disability (Lamanna, 2002; Laslett, 1973). More recently, scholars have questioned the role of family in society particularly because it can be a powerful way of reproducing heteronormativity. For example, rather than understanding family according to marriage and biological lineage, Morgan (2011) argues that family can be understood according to the practices of everyday life, that is, according to the behaviours of family members that are orientated towards other family members. Family practices, or family understood as a verb or doing word, emphasises the relationship between the behaviours of individuals, rather than the relationship between family and wider structural entities, particularly society (Chambers, 2012). The shift in sociological understandings of family highlights the relationship of the concept to the familiar division of structure and agency, thus exposing its duality.

Though some scholars of family effectively avoid the term and thus reject its structuring connotations (e.g. Jamieson, 1998; Smart, 2007), Morgan (2011) defends the continued use of the term as a category of analysis, rather than terms such as intimacy or caring. He suggests that since family is the only way

to express very particular relationships such as intergenerational ties, siblingship or twinship, and that family persists as a cultural discourse of everyday life (for example in media and in politics) engaging with the category is important in order to critique, undermine or resist the category. Morgan's point effectively highlights the dual nature of family as a concept, and, rather than dismissing one or the other of its meanings and applications, suggests the value of critical engagement between the two. Throughout this chapter, then, it is important to understand how family experiences of museums might be conceptualised as family practices; that is, as behaviours orientated from one family member to another, enacted with a purpose of pursuing family life.

This chapter is organised into three main sections, each corresponding to an approach taken to the analysis of family engagement in museums in the existing literature: learning, cultural consumption and the sociology of family.

The first set of literature analyse family engagement in museums according to learning. This body of knowledge, in general, is concerned with modelling and evidencing family learning at the exhibit face. However, it rarely considers learning (or anything else) that might occur when families in museums are not directly engaged with an exhibit. Moreover, its focus on evaluating learning at the level of the individual, rather than that of the family, undermines its ability to understand the complexity of family museum experiences. The second set of literature positions museums as sites of cultural consumption for families. Some of this literature draws from consumer modelling and identifies family as a discrete audience category that, crucially, can be cultivated and stewarded according to specific needs. The contribution of this literature tends to be to museum practice, since its aim is to increase visitor numbers through the logic of consumerism. Other work in this category positions the museum within a competitive museum industry, and, more widely, within the leisure industry. This relatively small body of knowledge underlines family as an important consumer of leisure experiences but also makes claims to developing sociological understandings of family. The final section deals with literature analysing family engagement in museums according to the sociology of family. This includes literature employing Bourdieu's (1984) theory of class reproduction. This body of knowledge, by and large, accepts that museums

can be operationalised as important sites of the reproduction of social practices. Despite Bourdieu's suggestion of futility, some of this literature examines how museums can be used instrumentally to increase social inclusivity.

The literature was searched using Scopus, an abstract and citation database of peer-reviewed literature. Scopus searches yielded much of the literature included in this review but also highlighted a peculiarity of the intersecting bodies of knowledge relating to family engagement in museums. In many cases, relevant peer-reviewed literature was the result of formal, and often large-scale, university-museum partnerships (e.g. Borun, 1998; Sterry & Beaumont, 2006). As such, much of the peer-reviewed literature is related to museum practice, and further searches using general internet search engines revealed that such work often has non-peer-reviewed counterparts for use by museum practitioners (e.g. Sterry & Beaumont, 2005). In addition, these general internet searches revealed research on the topic of family engagement in museums led and published by museums themselves (e.g. Cox et al., 2000).

As well as entering into academic partnerships, museums also conduct research in their own right. Whilst research is not the primary concern of museums, it forms an integral, though sometimes ambiguous (Pringle, 2018) part of their work and many, including Tate, are designated Independent Research Organisations (IROs). Institutions with this status must, 'possess[ed] the kind of in-house capacity to carry out research that materially extends and enhances the national research base (AHRC, 2018).' Whilst much peer-reviewed literature originating in the museum is object-based scholarship, some of it does relate to museum practice.

The culture and capacity for academic research, then, is apparent in museums and is perhaps a contributing factor to the prevalence of non-peer reviewed research in museums. *Engage*, for example, is an international, open-submission journal focussing on museum education. Through the publication of reports and evaluations, *Engage* forms a record of learning activities, practices, programmes and projects that have happened across the museum sector. This type of literature is perhaps best understood as a result of the communities of

practice that have developed in museum contexts, which might be seen to relate to academic disciplinary frameworks.

Whilst the majority of literature cited in this chapter is peer-reviewed, throughout this thesis literature produced by communities of practices is employed to illustrate or elaborate specific points.

2.2 Learning

In terms of families in museums, learning is often used as proxy for engagement; perhaps because of the traditional roles assigned to museums, families and children as sites of learning or recipients of education. The tripartite relationship between education, families and museums, though potentially based on the conventional responsibilities of each of the institutions, persists in contemporary museum practice. Since the inception of museums, at least in the UK, they have been public institutions where knowledge is located, produced and disseminated (Duncan, 1995; Hooper-Greenhill, 1994, 2007; Moussouri & Hohenstein, 2017). Families, too, often operate as educating institutions by providing children, the traditional markers of family and recipients of knowledge, with their first social and cognitive learning experiences (Blud, 1990; Morgan, 2011). Though the concepts of family, learning and museum have evolved, both contributing to the production and reflecting the realities of contemporary society, a key motivation for family visits to museums and key family offer made by museums is learning or education (Black, 2012; Falk, Dierking, & Foutz, 2007). This section of the chapter, then, is concerned with literature exploring the overlapping practices of family and learning, in the context of the museum.

As a first step, a review was conducted of existing literature reviews of family engagement in museums. These reviews illustrate that learning has dominated perspectives of family engagement in museums, effectively acting as proxy for understanding how families engage with or experience museums (Table 2).

Table 2 Published Reviews of Families in Museums Literatures

Author	Date	Title	Brief Description
Dierking, Lynn D. Kropf, M Brumit Wolins, Inez	1989	*Further Reading: Families and Learning*	Bibliography; the authors list suggestions for further reading on the subject of family learning in museums. The bibliography includes published and unpublished academic work and grey literatures.
Dierking, Lynn D.	1989	*The Family Museum Experience: Implications from Research*	Literature review; the author identifies family characteristics, social behaviours, learning behaviours, and expected museum behaviours as points for museum educators to consider when developing learning opportunities for families visitors.
Dierking, Lynn D. Falk, John H.	1994	*Family Behavior and Learning in Informal Science Settings: A Review of the Research*	Literature review; the authors review literatures relating to family behaviour and family learning in informal science settings. The review presents generalised features of family behaviours and learning in the museum.
Borun, Minda Cleghorn, Ann Garfield, Caren	1995	*Family Learning in Museums: A Bibliographic Review*	Bibliography; the authors list suggestions for further reading on the subject of family learning in museums. The bibliography includes published and unpublished academic work and grey literatures and offers a short review of works.
Ellenbogen, Kirsten M. Dierking, Lynn D.	2004	*Family Learning Research in Museums: An Emerging Disciplinary Matrix?*	Literature review; the authors argue shifting theoretical perspectives on family engagement in museums, subsequent methodological realignment, and a harmonised research focus on family suggest an emergent disciplinary matrix.
Sterry, Pat Beaumont, Ela	2006	*Methods for Studying Family Visitors in Art museums: A Cross-disciplinary Review of Current Research*	Literature review; the authors focus on methods for studying families in art museums and suggest that there is a need to harmonise research strategies addressing the topic, enabling the development of a robust conceptual framework.
Ellenbogen, Kirsten M. Luke, J Dierking, Lynn D.	2007	*Family Learning in Museums: A Perspective on a Decade of Research*	Literature review; the authors argue shifting theoretical perspectives, subsequent methodological realignment, and a harmonised research focus on family suggest an emergent disciplinary matrix. The authors illustrate their argument with examples.

2.2.1 Museums as Contexts for Learning

Museum family learning is often conceptualised as informal learning. When this is the case, museum family learning is described as being different from the formal learning that happens in schools. Informal learning is different from formal learning because the organisational practices that govern formal learning, such as classrooms, curricula, registers and teachers are, theoretically, absent from informal learning (Black, 2015; Callanan, Castañeda, Luce, & Martin, 2017). In some cases, systems of formal and informal learning combine. School visits to museums, where teachers, pupils and uniforms, along with their related expectations, are transposed into the museum context is one example (Kisiel, 2014). In another sense, Hackett (2014) notes the way in which museums help very young children develop the skills they need to become ready for school, or, to effectively transition from the informality of the home to the formality of the school. The differences between formal and informal learning, then, signal that the context or environment of the museum, rather than learning content, is important to understanding family learning in museums.

Family learning in museums has also been conceptualised as free choice learning (Dierking, Luke, Foat, & Adelman, 2001; Falk, Heimlich, & Foutz, 2009). Museums are free choice learning settings for families because there is no statutory obligation for families to visit museums as there is for children to attend school or receive education at home (at least within the geographical boundaries of this research). Like informal learning, the non-compulsory nature of free choice learning opposes a school practices, in this case one that is governed by a fundamental aspect of education policy. In other words, the (theoretical) optionality of the museum is part of its learning context or environment.

There are some challenges with existing conceptualisations of family museum learning. These problems revolve around knowledge hierarchies and learning evaluation. First, free choice learning is a difficult concept to apply to families since families comprise multiple agents and thus have complex decision making processes and comprise multiple realities (McCabe, 2015). As Wheeler (2014)

suggests, parents tend to be the principle decision makers in the selection of family leisure activities such as family museum visitation. Furthermore, these decisions are often influenced by socio-culturally shaped agendas, which in some cases seek to encourage children's learning (see also Section 2.3.5). This means that for some family members, family museum engagement and learning may not, in fact, be free choice.

The casting of parents as decision-makers and children as compliant or novice also previews the issue of the unproblematised concept of family, particularly the parent-child dyad. Where family museum visitation is undertaken for the benefit of children's learning, the learning potential of non-child family members is perhaps overlooked, as is any knowledge of children. Zimmerman, Reeve, and Bell (2008) seek to address this issue by examining how knowledge may be distributed across a family group. Moreover, Callanan et al. (2017) demonstrate how children's learning can be impeded or reduced by parents who actively support their children's learning. One of the issues, then, of conceptualising family museum learning as informal or free choice learning is that this can validate familial knowledge hierarchies and potentially reduce learning opportunities across the generations of family groups.

Conceptualising family learning in museums as informal learning or free choice learning exposes some of the qualities and some of the challenges of the topic. There is a sense that, though the museum as a learning context may be characterised as informal or free choice, museum learning is implicated in more conventional learning practices and knowledge hierarchies, potentially undermining the supposed inclusivity of family museum engagement and validating detrimental knowledge hierarchies. In other words, family museum learning might be experienced as learning only for children and might be facilitated by their parents.

2.2.2 Pedagogical Frameworks

This section of the chapter looks at how family museum learning connects to pedagogical frameworks.

2.2.2.1 Learner-Centred and Prior Knowledge Approaches

Generally speaking, museum learning is understood as a learner-centred process (Hein, 1998; Moussouri & Hohenstein, 2017). In learner-centred epistemologies (Hein, 1998), the learner constructs knowledge in their own mind and in their own ways but in relation to external experiences. This type of learning is opposed to transmission learning, whereby the learner is envisaged as an 'empty vessel' that can only receive knowledge from external sources (Hein, 1998).

Hein (1998) presents the idea of the 'constructivist museum' that is physically, socially and intellectually available to everyone. The constructivist museum has multiple access points and rests on the concept of prior knowledge. Visitors to museums enter into the learning process by way of what they already know and are encouraged by a physically, socially and intellectually open environment. This may be an effective and inclusive way of encouraging family learning, since different family members are likely to have different prior knowledge and thus require different access points.

In the constructivist museum, however, those with no prior knowledge, or no relevant prior knowledge, may be excluded from the learning process, since they have no way of entering it. For some individuals, then, lack of physical, social or intellectual knowledge relevant to the museum could prevent the museum operating as a learning context. In one sense, this intersects with Bourdieu's (1991) suggestion that particular social groups are effectively prevented from entering museums by not possessing certain types of knowledge. Bourdieu et al. (1991) write that museums are, 'reserved for those who, equipped with the ability to appropriate the works of art, have the privilege of making use of this freedom (p. 113).' The freedom to which Bourdieu refers is the free entry policies of many museums. Bourdieu's thesis relates to Hein's learner-centred, constructivist museum insofar as knowledge is not conceptualised as an exclusively intellectual or cognitive event, but rather something that can be physical and social too. Whilst, theoretically, the museum is an inclusive site accessible at different levels, there is a risk that this

inclusivity can only be taken advantage of by those already in possession of requisite knowledge relating to the practices of museums.

2.2.2.2 Learner-Centred Group Learning

Accounting for group learning (important for understanding family learning) within learner-centred museum frameworks has two main theoretical approaches. Ash (2004) uses Vygotsky's *Zone of Proximal Development* (ZPD) to build a theory of family museum learning. Though still learner-centred, ZPD indicates a space where an individual can achieve more with assistance from others, than they would do if they were alone. Families visiting museums, then, might share their various prior knowledge, skills and experience through the mediating presence of an exhibit in order to make sense of it. Group learning, in this case family learning, may also be understood through the lens of communities of learning. Such communities comprise members who share learning goals and achieve these through the application of shared values and cohesive working (Astor-Jack et al., 2007). A family visiting a museum, for instance, might all (to more or lesser extents) be interested in finding out about a certain subject and have chosen to visit a museum to achieve this, thereby making them a community of learning. Though these theoretical lenses are distinct, they both suggest that group learning relies on interactions and relationships between group members to be realised.

However, as Astor-Jack et al. (2007) note,

> [R]esearch [on family museum learning] is limited by methods and tools usually designed for individuals rather than groups. We need to use the group, not the individual, as the unit of analysis. Ultimately, we need to investigate how a group is situated within wider cultural and social contexts, highlighting learning at the level of the visiting group or community (p. 255).

Socially-mediated learning is a methodologically useful way of describing family group learning since it can account for learning outcomes as well as the social process of learning. In other words, it is a way of analysing how learning

happens or fails to happen at the level of family group, rather than at the level of individual learner.

Whilst pedagogical frameworks have been used to describe and analyse family museum learning, it is clear that they have not always been capable of accounting for family group learning. Rather, they have been concerned with evaluating the impact of museum learning on individuals (usually children), sometimes within groups. As Astor-Jack et al. (2007) rightly point out, further methodological attention is required to understand museum learning through pedagogical frameworks that account for group learning, something which also supports the need to question of what a family group in a museum comprises.

2.2.3 Socially-Mediated Learning

It is difficult to directly relate learning outcomes to time spent in front of an exhibit in a museum (Heath & vom Lehn, 2004). In addition to this, measuring what family members learn whilst looking at an exhibit does not necessarily tell us the nature of their combined group learning experience. This means that attention has been paid to how families talk and what they talk about when they are in museums, and particularly when they are looking at exhibits. Family talk is a way of taking the family group as a unit of analysis and looking at how this talk might establish that learning is happening, and what might be the outcomes.

2.2.3.1 Evidence of Learning in Family Talk

Family talk occurring in front of exhibits may be used to indicate the presence of family learning in museums (Kopczak, Kisiel, & Rowe, 2015; Povis & Crowley, 2015). The identification and classification of family talk occurring at the exhibit face focuses on modes of talk. Various modes of family talk that have been used to identify and interrogate family learning in museums include: asking questions (Ash, 2004), explanatory talk (Crowley, Callanan, Tenenbaum, & Allen, 2001), talking about evidence (Callanan et al., 2017), reasoning (Kisiel, Rowe, Vartabedian, & Kopczak, 2012) and enquiry (Allen & Gutwill, 2009; Ash, 2003). Classifying family talk at the exhibit face in these ways gives scope for

both qualitative and quantitative analysis and has been used to establish causal relationships between types of talk and learning outcomes such as knowledge retention or the development of scientific thinking skills (Kisiel et al., 2012). This body of knowledge has advanced understanding of the diverse types of learning that are possible when family talk is mediated by an exhibit and demonstrates how family learning in museums might be encourage and evaluated, without recourse to more traditional teaching methods and learning evaluation frameworks such as tests or exams.

The classification of family learning talk, however, also underlines the dominance within the literature of science museums as contexts for family learning. Systems of classification, such as those use to describe and identify family learning talk in museums, can reflect the limits of the disciplines to which they relate (Bourdieu, 1984). As described in the previous paragraph, family learning talk at the exhibit face has been variously classified as 'enquiry-based' or 'evidence-based', both types of talk related to science learning and developed in the context of science-related museums. In fact, there is only one instance, to my knowledge, of a system of classification being used to identify and describe family learning in an art museum (Knutson & Crowley, 2010). This system identifies personal connections, criticism and context as features of family talk that can indicate that art or art historical learning is happening. This reflects the over-representation of science-related museums used as context for family museum engagement research (Sterry & Beaumont, 2006) and suggests that disciplinary frameworks may impact how learning is used and understood in museums.

The impact of disciplinary frameworks on museum learning and its evaluation could be problematic because some museums transcend these frameworks, meaning that some ways of learning may not be measured or understood. For example, Ash (2004) uses family talk data collected from families looking at dioramas in a natural history museum. The dioramas consist of non-living but real animals presented in a simulated version of their natural habitat. These exhibits are intended to allow visitors a close view of the natural world. However, like the architect-designed animal houses found at zoos, such exhibits might be considered artworks, yet there is no mechanism to understand

any learning relating to art or art history that may happen at such exhibits. An integrated classification system that identifies and describes science and humanities family learning talk, then, could effectively establish museum learning as being broader than its disciplinary home and shed light on the links between family learning in different museum contexts.

2.2.3.2 Parental Roles in Family Museum Learning Talk

Attention has been paid to the role of parents within family museum learning, and particularly to the impacts of parental learning talk on children's learning. By and large, there is agreement within the literature that, whilst parental learning talk (such as explaining and questioning) can have a positive impact on children's learning, this is not always optimised or achieved. In her qualitative analysis of family talk at the exhibit face Ash (2004) looks at the conversations of three families and is particularly interested in how parental questions can impact children's learning. The work demonstrates that, to be effective in supporting learning, parental questions must operate in a sophisticated way. As well as encouraging children to think about and elaborate on the exhibits they are looking at, parental questions must also effectively evaluate children's knowledge and readiness to learn. Where parents are able to pose appropriately-gauged questions, children's learning conversations are increased; where questions are too difficult, asked at the wrong time, or answered by parents too quickly, children's learning is reduced, as has also been shown in school-based learning (Ash, 2004).

The careful balance parents must achieve in their learning talk, if it is to support their children's learning successfully, is a notion replicated by Geerdts, Van de Walle, and LoBue (2015). In their paper, the authors illustrate how parents simultaneously accomplish and fail at science learning talk with their children at the exhibit face. Whilst parents are able to effectively hypothesise and predict and this can promote children's understanding of scientific processes, they frequently fail to explain the observable features or facts of science exhibits, which can limit children's learning. Though focused on the context of the art museum, Knutson and Crowley (2010) also conclude that parental talk often fails to achieve higher levels of learning because, though able to make personal

connections with artworks, give an opinion on them and talk simplistically about their creation or context, parents rarely join these areas of learning together to interpret or analyse artworks. The implications of the research examining parental learning talk on children's learning underline the important role of this parental practice children's learning but also suggest that assisting parents in their learning talk could be a fruitful way of increasing and improving the learning potential of museums for children.

Analysing the relationship between parental talk and children's learning does give an insight into family learning practices in the context of the museum, however, there is scope to broaden this approach by focussing on other family roles in museum learning. Zimmerman et al. (2008) argue that family learning in museums operates through distributed knowledge; that is, through family members sharing their knowledge about an exhibit to support each other in their learning. This idea goes someway to recognising the fact that different members of the family, including children, may have relevant knowledge that could help build learning within the family group. This disruption of the hierarchies of knowledge within families, that may be based on the model of parent as expert and child as novice, could empower children and reconfigure learning outcomes to include learning for non-child family members. Whilst Zimmerman et al. (2008) recognise the potential of children's knowledge in the learning process, scope remains to examine the impacts of, for example, sibling talk on learning, the impact of children's talk on parental learning, or the role of parent as facilitator, all of which could contribute to a more detailed understanding of situated family learning practices.

2.2.3.3 Other Agents in Family Museum Learning Talk

The impact of talk between families and museum staff on family learning has also been analysed. Like parental talk, museum staff talk can positively impact family learning. However, as with parental talk, there is a sense that museum staff talk does not always achieve a positive impact on family learning. In cases where staff talk fails to improve family or children's learning, this might be because families include children with additional needs that members of museum staff feel unable to meet (Kulik & Fletcher, 2016; Langa et al., 2013).

In other cases, parents may act as gatekeepers by preventing or enabling their children to communicate with members of museum staff (Pattison & Dierking, 2012; Pattison et al., 2017). These papers have a practice-related outcome in that they argue the positive impact of museum staff talk on family learning could be increased through the provision of better training for members of museum staff. Affording the opportunity for members of museum staff to develop specialist communication skills could help them better engage with families where children or adults may have additional needs. Additionally, members of museum staff could develop effective strategies for successful intergenerational engagement that circumnavigates some inhibitive family practices such as gatekeeping.

One limit of the literature approaching family learning in museums according to family talk is that the data analysed is normally generated only at the exhibit face. This is perhaps a pragmatic approach to take since analysing family talk at the exhibit face means that, to some extent, the exhibit itself is an agent in the conversation. This not only means that the exhibit can be evaluated for effectiveness in affording learning conversations, but that there can be comparative analysis with other exhibits. However, by limiting the analysis to what happens at the exhibit face it is possible that learning that happens between exhibits, as Zimmerman et al. (2008) suggest, is not accounted for, or that cumulative learning throughout visits is neither recognised nor reported.

The scholarship approaching family engagement in museums through the lens of socially-mediated learning is united in its assumption that learning can be understood according to multiple planes. Socially-mediated learning assumes that learning is cognitive, situated and social; learning depends on intellectual resources as well as the situated social and material actions of learners and their cultural contexts and backgrounds (Callanan et al., 2017; Zimmerman, Reeve, & Bell, 2010). Though this approach to family engagement in museums accepts the phenomena as overlapping and multi-layered, more often than not it is the individual cognitive gains of learning that are the subject of interest. This suggests that further research to understand, support and integrate material and cultural aspects could be fruitful and offer a way to understand museum learning at the level of family.

2.2.4 Non-Cognitive Learning Processes and Outcomes

There are some scholars that do engage with the material and cultural aspects of family museum engagement (e.g. Archer et al., 2016; Archer & DeWitt, 2012; Archer et al., 2012; Hackett, 2014; Hackett, 2016). A subsection of this body of knowledge, which is interested in changed aspirations as an outcome of family museum engagement, will be discussed in Section 2.4.4 of this thesis. For now, the subject is literature relating to how material aspects of family museum engagement might impact learning.

It is increasingly recognised that museums provide different types of learning. Learning in museums may well have cognitive outcomes, but equally, learning experiences may be non-cognitive and be concerned instead (or as well) with social, emotional and behavioural learning processes. At Tate, for example, learning is rarely conceptualised traditionally. By analysing how Tate's senior staff members perceive the theory and practice of learning, Pringle and DeWitt (2014) build an institutional stance on museum education. They suggest that learning at Tate is understood and constructed as a disruptive process informed by ethical values such as respect, democracy, inclusivity and equality and which shares qualities and principles with artistic practice. At Tate, knowledge transmission plays only a minor role in learning, whilst the ultimate goal of learning at Tate is to, 'facilitate new ways of thinking about and experiencing art' (Pringle & DeWitt, 2014, p. 18). Though constructivist and socio-cultural learning models may well be suited to understanding non-cognitive learning processes, they have been used less to evaluate other types of museum learning such as that articulated by Tate. This has led to calls within the research and practice fields of family museum engagement to document and analyse non-cognitive learning in museums in new ways (Moussouri & Hohenstein, 2017).

For instance, Hackett (2016) argues that analysing very young children's embodied experiences of museum can help us to understand museum learning. Though Hackett specifically focuses on very young children, these types of museum visitors often (and sometime exclusively) visit in family groups.

Therefore, parenting and other family practices are periphery but important considerations in Hackett's work. Using Ingold's (2015) theory of wayfaring, which suggests place is produced through movements and perceptions and thus is continually changing over time, Hackett (2016) is interested in how children make sense of museums over multiple visits. This approach is an important development in the study of family museum experience, since it looks at family museum visitation over time and considers different spaces within museums. Hackett's analysis of very young children's embodied experiences of museums underlines how, over time, children develop habitual museum walking routes, sensory experiences and movements, eventually modifying these to make sense of previously unvisited parts of the museum.

The use of alternative methodological approaches, however, can still lead to the reinforcement of understandings of traditional learning hierarchies, rather than new understandings of families in museums. Hackett (2014), also focusing on embodied experiences of museums, has considered parental roles in family sense making practices or learning in museums, arguing that parents employ particular behaviours to enable or constrain the behaviours of their children. The parental behaviours, Hackett argues, are related to parenting strategies and agendas and can be connected to parental motivation to ensure their very young children are adequately prepared (or 'school-ready') for formal education (see Section 2.2.1). Birch (2018) suggests the need for an alternative rhetoric to understand how children experience museums which should unpackage children as learners and repackage them, along with adults, as 'experiencers' or 'players'.

Hackett (2016) is also interested in the spatial affordances, or the social norms and conventions, that define how material spaces are used. Hackett's application of the term affordances is particularly useful in the context of this research, not because it deviates significantly from Gibson's (1979) original definition of affordances as what things let users do, but because she is interested in the affordances of the particular space of the museum. In addition, Hackett is also interested in how these affordances might change over time for child users of museums, contributing to the development of skills such as

confidence. For Hackett then, wayfaring, dwelling and what the museum lets its users do can shed light on the non-cognitive learning potential of museums.

Hackett's approach underlines two things that are important since they suggest the possibility and potential reward of using integrated lenses to understand family museum learning, and more general family museum engagement. First, Hackett successfully centralises materiality and physicality in her approach, rather than cognitive ability. Second, she positions embodied learning within a wider context of social and cultural expectations of learning, namely parents' developmental and cognitive approach to learning. Hackett's work suggests that non-cognitive learning is a useful way of understanding the processes of family museum learning and that connecting this to other learning models and patterns can increase our understanding of, for example, how parents might view and realise their children's learning needs.

As a final point, meaning making is an established way of describing learning practices that has the breadth and flexibility to incorporate different types of learning (Hackett, 2016; Hubard, 2014; Silverman, 1995). As Hackett (2016) writes, '[M]eaning making is therefore both something people (including children) transmit (communicate to others) and something people do with the experiences they encounter (being in a place and making sense of it)' (p. 169). In this sense, then, meaning making is a good way of describing the different types of learning that occur during family experiences of museums.

2.2.5 Implications of Learning Literature

Much research of family engagement in museums has focused on the evaluation and evidence of learning. In other words, research asks what families learn in museums and how this learning can be identified at an individual and sometimes family level. As we have seen, though there tends to be agreement that family learning in museums is an informal way of learning that centralises the learner, museum learning is at least to some extent shaped and influenced by disciplinary-related epistemologies and traditional knowledge hierarchies.

The complexity of the family as a unit of analysis also has implications for how learning is imagined, evaluated and evidenced. Children, it seems, remain or at least are perceived to be the core learners in family groups, potentially limiting non-children from learning experiences and reducing the agency of children based on their abilities or perceived lack of abilities. This also suggests that children, in the context of museums, are operationalised as pre-school or school-aged learners, or as relative to other family members, who might include parents, grandparents or other domestic adults. Socially-mediated learning is a good way of understanding family learning, since it focuses less on learning outcomes and more on the process of learning through talk as an overlapping family and learning practice. Despite this, and the recognition that learning is cognitive as well as socially and culturally situated, focus, by and large, remains on cognitive outcomes. Using embodiment and spatial practices to approach family museums research is one pioneering way to understand the role of learning in museums that can reduce typical familial learning relationships and emphasis learning as a family practice, this will be explored further in Chapter Three.

2.3 Cultural Consumption

This section outlines and analyses how family engagement in museums relates to museums as sites where family cultural consumption is practiced. Many of the approaches to the study of family engagement in museums are concerned with understanding how to identify family museum audiences and their specific needs, and how this can be translated into practice to increase the volume of (and retain existing) family museum audiences.

2.3.1 Identifying Family Through Audience Segmentation

Most often, families engaging in museums are understood as a discrete audience type, generally based on visitor identity modelling. Visitor identity modelling considers the quantitative rather than the qualitative dimension of family identity. Rather than focusing on the interactions between family members, and their behaviours towards one another, families are often identified according to their motivations for visiting the museum. These

motivations normally relate to the aim to achieve greater family cohesion through time spent together and increased social, intellectual and emotional development for children. In these cases, then, families are categorised as 'facilitators'; that is, as intergenerational groups visiting a museum for social and educational reasons (Falk, 2008). Whilst such categorisation can contribute to meeting the needs and expectations of particular audience types, they can fail to account for the multiple realities of everyday life.

The use of audience segmentation is a common but contentious way of approaching the study of museum visitors. In general, the approach focuses on developing visitor categories according to identity-related needs that are able to inform decision-making around strategies to increase museum visitation. As one of the leading proponents of this approach writes,

> [B]y better understanding, identifying, and responding to each visitor's identity-related needs and motivations, museum professionals should be able to enhance the quality of the visit experience, which will lead to increased visitor satisfaction and use of the institution (Falk, 2008, p. 27).

Due to their close relationship to consumer identity models, visitor identity models are a way that museums can establish themselves within a competitive museum market and the wider leisure industry (Black, 2005).

Though family visitors can have very specific and pressing identity related needs, the diversity of family, both within individual family groups and of family more generally, means audience segmentation approaches could be insufficiently flexible to account for family visitors. In Falk's (2009) model, museum visitors are either explorers, facilitators, professional/hobbyists, experience seekers or spiritual pilgrims. For Falk, family museum visitors, overwhelmingly, are 'facilitators'; that is, family museum visitors are socially-motivated visitors who are focused on enabling the experience of learning for group members. The motivations and strategies on which visitor identity models are based, it is crucial to note, are based on individual adult self-reporting data generation procedures. For family and families however, where

split intra-group identities are likely, this method of establishing an identity is problematic.

There is a call to integrate visitor identity modelling with contextually orientated approaches to visitor studies. Dawson and Jensen (2011) argue that visitor identity models lack the pluralism required to effectively understand museum visitors because their primary focus tends to be the museum and the museum visit, rather than the lives of visitors. They advocate that research approaches should,

> [A]cknowledge complexity, change over time, and the interwoven, developmental nature of sociocultural variables influencing visitors' appropriation of new ideas encountered in a cultural institution. Such research would be inclusive, rather than exclusionary, and sensitive to difference as an important issues for cultural institutions to face' (Dawson & Jensen, 2011, p. 137).

Dawson and Jensen's antidote to the reductionist nature of audience segmentation and visitor identity modelling, at least in part, is based on an acknowledgment that museum visits are part of people's everyday lives, and, as such, are influenced by socio-cultural factors and individual difference.

Some work to integrate visitor identity models with contextual understandings of family visitors has been attempted (Dawson & Jensen, 2011; Moussouri & Roussos, 2013). This work demonstrates the empirical value of visitor identity modelling and shows how, at least to some extent, such models can be adapted methodologically to increase sensitivity to contextual and socio-cultural factors in the context of family.

Using the Zoological Society of London's London Zoo as research object, Moussouri and Roussos (2013) recruited 46 family research participants visiting the zoo on one day. Before entering the zoo, all research participants were asked to complete a personal meaning map (PMM) designed to elicit their attitudes towards their zoo visit, as well as any expectations and values attached to the place and visit. PMMs provided the basis for short, semi-

structured pre- and post- visit interviews designed to generate further elaboration of families' visit motivations. During their actual visits, each family carried a mobile device that automatically timed and tracked their route through the zoo. The research findings suggest that family visitors can be separated into two distinct groups, those with social motivations for visiting the zoo and those with education/participation motivations for visiting the zoo. Moreover, findings suggest that these motivations could predict the type of route families would take during their visit. Socially-motivated families spent at least one quarter of their time in non-exhibit related parts of the zoo such as cafes, shops and playgrounds, whilst education/participation motivated family visitors only spent time in exhibit areas.

Moussouri and Roussos (2013) develop a visitor identity model that is, to some extent, more sensitive to families than models such as Falk's, discussed above. PMM is a method that allows all members of the family, providing they can write (or communicate what they want to write to a scribe) to contribute to a wider picture of family motivations, which potentially mitigates the risk of family research participants being understood according to, generally dominant, parental voices. However, the timing and tracking method used in conjunction with PMM and pre- and post- visit interviews was able to track only one member of each family group, meaning that there was limited scope to understand fractured family routes through the zoo. It is very possible that, as Hackett (2016) has observed in other museum settings, families at the zoo on this day did not take a united route through the zoo and therefore may have entered parts of the zoo which were not recorded and included in analysis. In essence, then, though accepting of the role of socio-cultural factors in museum visitation patterns expressed through the notion of cultural itineraries, and developing methods sensitive, to some extent, to family difference, Moussouri and Roussos remain focused on the museum visit itself, rather than on the intersection of family life and museum visitation.

In essence, then, the problem of visitor identity models in the context of family museum visitor studies is their inability to account for the pluralities of family and the pluralities within family groups. Since audience segmentation relies on dominant voices, segmenting audiences according to their family status has

limited scope to account for families that do not conform to the values shaping the family audience categories. This is particularly problematic in light of the fact that the analysis of under-represented museum audiences is a key aim of current museum visitor studies (Black, 2016). In addition, visitor identity models also have the potential to reduce families to a single voice, which could obscure the needs of individual family members. Appraisal of how visitor identity models might work in terms of family museum visitors, then, has significant methodological implications for this thesis, which will be discussed more fully in Chapter Three. However, it also raises important methodological questions about the nature of family voice; is family voice the voice of the mother who works to maintain family life, making decisions on behalf of all family members, for example, or is family voice an amalgamation of all family members? In essence, then, family visitor identity modelling is an important indicator of how families behave in museums but also underlines how museum and visitor studies retain family as a socially-structuring concept and opens up questions about the nature of family in general, as well as the nature of family in the specific context of the museum.

2.3.2 Visit Trajectory and Dwell Time as Measure of Family Identity

As well as relying on participants to report their motivations and expectations around museum visitation, building museum visitor identity models also tends to rely on measuring how museum spaces are used by families. The example given in Section 2.3.1 of the work carried out at London Zoo by Moussouri and Roussos is an example of how this approach is used effectively. In other work, however, data relating to museum visit trajectories and dwell times are collected through interview (e.g. Falk, 1991, 2008) or observation (e.g. Hackett, 2016; Heath & vom Lehn, 2004). Visit trajectory and dwell time, where people go when they are in museums and how long they stay in its different spaces, is seen as a way of measuring visitor engagement that can contribute to understanding family museum visitor identities.

However, Heath and vom Lehn (2004) advocate that simple dwell time or visit trajectory is not an adequate measure of why museum experiences might be significant. They argue that, whether a person or group of people dwells in front

of an exhibit for one second, one minute or one hour, betrays little, if anything, about learning, meaning making or any other potential experience during a museum visit.

Rather, Heath and vom Lehn are interested in engagement at the exhibit face; that is, they are interested in what happens when people in museums dwell in front of particular objects or exhibits, and in establishing how this time can be optimised. Like the literatures examined in Section 2.2.3.1, Heath and vom Lehn turn to conversation as a means of understanding the nature of dwell time. Using conversation analysis techniques, which include the analysis of gestures and movements, as well as utterances, Heath and vom Lehn suggest that the body mediates between exhibit and meaning making. Actions such as reading labels out loud to a companion, as well as general conversation and movements towards and away from exhibits, can give a more complex understanding of visit trajectory and dwell time that does not only rely on the measurement of time. This idea is also explored by Knutson and Crowley (2010), who note the significance of pointing gestures in the way that families talk about art in museums.

The literature focusing on dwell time and visit trajectory as methods of understanding museum engagement show that these measures can be used in quantitative and qualitative senses. Measured in time and distance, visit trajectories and dwell times in particular spaces can be useful ways of informing visitor identity models and thus museum management practices. In another sense, however, the times and spaces of museum visitation can also be subjected to in-depth qualitative analysis to provide a detailed understanding of why and how certain spaces in museums, normally those in front of exhibits, are significant (or why and how they are not).

Hackett's (2016) ethnographic research in museums pays particular qualitative attention to visit trajectories and dwell times of very young children and their adults. Her work illustrates how, over the course of repeat visits to museums, the intersection of very young children's movements with the spatial affordances of the museum, help children to increase their sense of belonging and confidence in museum spaces. For Hackett, spatial affordances are the social

and material norms and conventions that define how spaces are used, thus her work represents a further step in the development of understanding museum visit trajectory and dwell time, since, in addition to paying attention to individual experiences, it recognises the role of museum interior architecture, exhibition design and social conventions in shaping meaning in museums.

The idea that meaning is produced in situ through people's own movements in conjunction with the museum and its contents, however, is opposed to the museum as a site of representation. Duncan (1995), for example, writes,

> [W]ithout rejecting his [Bourdieu's] valuable sociological insights, I treat museums not only as socially[-]distinguishing forms but also as structures with substantive cultural content, a content that is not always or not entirely subject to sociological or political description' (p. 5).

The socially-distinguishing nature of the art museum and its politicised cultural contents, Duncan suggests, means the art museum can be conceptualised as stage set, script and *dramatis personae*, or as an institution producing audiences according to a complex interplay of cultural, sociological and political agendas. In this sense, then, art museums are totalising spaces potentially leaving little room for audiences to produce meaning on their own terms, in their own ways.

Writing about Tate Modern's Turbine Hall, the architectural theorist Colomina (2016, pp. 55-56) also suggests the totalising nature of the museum by stating,

> It [the Turbine Hall] is a kind of utopian ideal of the street, stripped of cars, potential violence, cacophonous sounds, smells, street vendors, the weather, the homeless. The museum today is a hyper-controlled, theatrical space, a contemporary image of 'public space' where people perform for each other, and broadcast that performance through social media.

In this description, the Turbine Hall is no longer an art museum, but a space akin to a 'safe' street or public space, a space where the private has given way

to the public, assisted by social media. Encountering art, in this museum at least, is a public activity secondary to and possible because of the spatial affordances of its built environment. Colomina's reference to the theatricality of the Turbine Hall is reminiscent of Duncan's art museum as a stage, set and *dramatis personae*, or the art museum as a controlled and controlling space.

As Barlow and Trodd (2000) point out, however, museums are not included by Foucault in his analysis of institutional discourses of power. Instead of mechanisms of power, Foucault (1986) suggests museums as heterotopic spaces, or as other cultural spaces. Foucault understands the concept of heterotopic space according to the concept of utopia. Utopias, though connected with society insofar as they afford its perfect version, have no place in reality. Heterotopias, on the other hand,

> [A]re something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested and inverted' (Foucault, 1995, p. 24).

This helps us to understand the discord present in defining the space of the museum. The museum, then, a real site aiming to categorise and display cultures might well be a totalising space producing audiences according to historical and political agendas whilst simultaneously inviting questioning, criticism and debate, or, being produced through the practices such as dwelling it affords its visitors.

2.3.3 Museums and the Family Leisure Market

There is a subsection of the body of knowledge concerned with approaching family museum experience through the lens of cultural consumption that considers how the museum operates as a site of family leisure practices, and what this might mean. There is consensus in this subsection that museums can be situated in the competitive leisure market because of their income generating activities, which include ticketing for special exhibitions, membership, marketing, fundraising, retail and catering work. However, there is

also consensus that these activities can be problematic in the context of the museum, because, though aiming to increase visitor numbers and visitor spending, this can reduce the ability of museums to engage in authentic social and cultural critique and inclusive practices.

Like this thesis, Stallabrass (2014) employs Tate as an intrinsic and instrumental case to shed light on how museums are used and understood. Through his photo essay he illustrates the pervasive nature of Tate's corporate branding, highlighting how visitors are systematically confronted with Tate's brand both explicitly, as on a souvenir pencil or limited-edition poster available to buy in the museum's many gift shops, and implicitly, as the font and style of the texts accompanying exhibits. Tate's branding, as a product and necessity of global neo-liberalism, Stallabrass argues, has serious implications for the function of the museum and its ability to engage on equal terms with the social and cultural critiques that are often at the heart of museums.

Perry (2013) also problematises the museum's position in the competitive leisure industry, particularly in respect to women, a term she uses as short hand for mothers, and thus we might imagine, family. Like Stallabrass, she argues that museum branding is emblematic of the museum's commitment to consumer leisure markets and impacts its ability to engage with critical concepts, a problem that has a disproportionately negative impact on under-represented audiences, specifically women museum visitors with limited financial means. Also using Tate as a case, Perry argues that whilst the highly commercialised spaces of Tate, namely the shops, cafes and heavily-marketed entrance fee paying-exhibitions, go some way to making women who have the means and desire to engage in consumerism more comfortable, they can be problematic for women who do not have these means. Even women who have access to disposable income, Perry notes, might hope that museum environments could be divorced from the consumerism apparent in most other aspects of their lives. It is ironic, Perry notes, that though it is women without disposable income that Tate and other museums seeks to attract as part of their audience widening strategies, such institutions adhere to potentially alienating consumerist agendas.

In one sense, Perry's feminist critique of Tate as a space for women could be expanded to further understandings of family experiences of museums, a point that is returned to in Section 2.3.4.

Positioning the museum as a site of leisure then, exposes the juxtaposition of curatorial integrity and financial sustainability that museums can face. On the one hand, engaging in consumer practices associated with the leisure market could reduce any effort made by museums to engage in social, political or cultural critique (or provide space for such activity) and could therefore be perceived as hypocritical. On the other hand, UK museums, at least find, themselves in an environment of financial austerity and must seek to ensure their financial sustainability.

However, Black (2016) suggests that the leisure agenda, and the drive to attract more visitors, could, in fact, threaten the existing visitor base of museums, and thus its income. Black argues that museums must continue to attract their core audiences, in general those with professional occupations, but by positioning themselves as leisure destinations rather than intellectual experiences, core audience numbers may fall. In this sense, then, curatorial integrity is aligned with the protection of visitor numbers, and thus of revenue.

The relationship between museums and leisure, then, is contentious and there is room to investigate the impact of situating museums within the leisure industry on different museum audiences, particularly on children and their adults and what the impacts of practicing family in the context of leisure environments might be.

2.3.4 Family Leisure Models

Family leisure is a somewhat complex term. By and large, traditional definitions of leisure are insufficient ways of categorising family leisure, since they are usually modelled on how leisure is experienced individually or within general social groupings. This challenge reflects the contentious nature of family (the subject of Chapter Four) and has led to the development of specific models of leisure consistent with various understandings of family. This section of the

chapter, therefore, reviews the literature relating to family leisure that examine and analyse how families might experience the museum as leisure.

Though there are various ways of defining and understanding the concept of leisure, none are adequately able to account for the notion of family leisure. By and large, social psychological perspectives have dominated understandings of leisure (Elkington & Gammon, 2013; Mannell & Kleiber, 1997; Shaw, 1985). This has led to the prioritisation of individual agency, intrinsic motivation, quality and enjoyment and freedom of choice as the prerequisite characteristics of leisure (Shaw & Dawson, 2001). Clearly, this definition of leisure is difficult to translate into the sphere of family, since family comprises multiple agents each with their own motivations and versions of quality, enjoyment and choice. In other words, what seems like leisure for one member of a family, may not to other members. Traditional social psychological definitions of leisure, then, seem to be an inadequate way of approaching family leisure since they are unable to account for the social relationships and multiple realities that constitute family leisure.

Socially-orientated conceptualisations of leisure are also unable to sufficiently account for family leisure. Though conceptualising leisure as a social activity encourages the analysis of practices,relationships and co-participation, which could be applicable to family recreational activities, Shaw and Dawson (2001) argue that the emotional commitment displayed by mothers and fathers when ‘doing’ family leisure often goes beyond that displayed when ‘doing’ conventional leisure. Family leisure, it seems, has a particular set of meanings, at least for parents, and warrants its own definition.

There are some literatures dealing with family leisure in museums that focus on the meaning of leisure for individual family members. This approach, McCabe (2015) suggests, is a way in which leisure scholarship can contribute to the sociology of family. Analysis of family leisure experiences in museums, for example, has helped to shed light on gendered parenting practices. Garner (2015) suggests that in museum spaces, mothers tend to routinise visits to museums for their children by not meeting demands for souvenirs and spending time managing the behaviour of their children. Fathers, on the other hand, tend

to romanticise their visits to museums and spend time playing with their children. This view is corroborated by Fountain et al. (2015) when they underline the typical role of fathers as entertainers during family visits to museums and the emotional labour that features as part of mothers' experiences. Though acknowledging the idea that, for mothers, a family visit to a museum is not necessarily experienced as leisure as it demands increased parental responsibilities, Fountain et al. (2015) also show how the museum has the potential to allow family members, including mothers, space to pursue their own interests, often away from the family group. Though in many ways these findings show an adherence to traditional understandings of family (understandings that rely on the presence of mothers and fathers) within museum visitation Fountain et al. (2015) note the small proportion of family group visitors comprising single fathers and very young children, suggesting the reason for this could be of a practical nature. Together, these scenarios illustrate both the child-centred nature of family leisure and the relationship between parenting and family leisure. Reflective of this is an observation made by Perry (2013), who notes that the original plans for Tate Modern included the provision of creche space in what is now known as the Turbine Hall, provided as a way of allowing parents to experience the museum independently. The decision not to include creche facilities perhaps implicates Tate in the unwaged status of maternal childcare and removes the option for parents to focus solely on art by emphasising the centrality of children to family museum experiences. In essence, then, it seems that experiences of family leisure are sensitive to family roles and responsibilities.

Following qualitative analysis of parents' perceptions of family leisure, Shaw and Dawson (2001, p. 217) thus define leisure as purposive family leisure, or as, 'organised and facilitated by parents in order to achieve particular long- and short- term goals relating to family functioning and positive learning outcomes for children.' These long- and short- term goals include improved family functioning through increased communication and cohesion within the family group and the development of a shared and compelling sense of family identity. In addition, parents perceive cognitive, physical and moral improvements in children as critical goals of family leisure. This approach to family leisure acknowledges the fact that parents may well be the shaping-force behind family

leisure and highlights parental prioritisation of learning as a critical feature of family museum experiences. This reflects and supports the suggestion made in Section 2.2.1 of this thesis that the choice to visit a museum, and the choice to engage in learning whilst there, is not available to all family members. Whilst defining family leisure as 'purposive' may well reproduce the parent-child dyad of expert/novice this definition is useful because it underlines how family leisure is characterised by the improvement of immediate family life, the safeguarding of future family life and the adequate preparation of children for successful adult life.

Importantly, it is recognised that purposive family leisure can be aligned with middle class cultural contexts, because many of the practices of this type of family leisure rely on a disposable income and the availability of free time (Wheeler, 2014). In line with this, Choi (2016) suggests that whilst domestic family leisure is valued in the same way by parents regardless of social context, leisure outside of the home setting can be sensitive to household income. Whilst this may have implications for family leisure destinations that have an entrance fee, for museums like Tate which offer free entry, this research replicates the Bourdieusian idea that free entry policies have a limited impact on efforts to increase the amount of museum visitors who are from non-middle-class backgrounds. In other words, the families participating in Choi's research are unable or unwilling to take advantage of family leisure opportunities outside the home, even if they have no associated cost.

Other models of family leisure have been developed in response to the need to account for the complex concept of family. The core and balance model of family leisure functioning, for example, is based in family systems theory. Family systems theory (Braithwaite & Baxter, 2006), as a derivative of general systems theory (Von Bertalanffy, 1951), believes systems are more than a sum of constituent parts and thus must be studied as a whole. Family systems theory approaches are therefore sensitive to the interactions and behaviours of family members within the context of the family unit (Schwab & Dustin, 2015). Family systems theory is the basis for the Circumplex Model of Marital and Family Functioning, which advocates a balance of cohesion and flexibility, or core and balance, in achieving good family functioning (Olson, 2000).

According to this model, cohesion within families ranges from disengaged and separated to connected and enmeshed. Flexibility ranges from rigid and structured, to flexible and finally chaotic. Healthy family functioning occurs when each of these scales balance, that is, when families are connected and flexible, theoretically meaning they are simultaneously stable and adaptable.

Within this model, then, family leisure is understood in terms of how it might relate to family cohesiveness and flexibility. By and large, research suggests that family leisure experiences can assist healthy family functioning (Hodge et al., 2018). Leisure activities occurring in the home, for example cooking and eating a meal together or playing in the garden, might be perceived as 'core' leisure activities that contribute to stable and structured family lives. On the other hand, activities such as tourism or community-based events are leisure activities that can meet the need for novelty and change within family lives. Like the purposive family leisure model, the core and balance model has only been applied to the museum context to a limited extent. Therefore, by framing research of family experiences of museums in this section of the literature, this thesis extends the application of, and thus tests, both theories.

Purposive family leisure and core and balance family leisure, then, simultaneously converge and diverge. Both models acknowledge family life as complex and with specific meaning and practices that impact leisure. Furthermore, family cohesiveness is an important outcome of both models; leisure activities are undertaken by families because of their ability to afford increased family communication and time spent together. However, whilst the core and balance model of family leisure includes the need for novelty and difference, purposive family leisure focuses more closely on how family leisure activities can prepare children for a successful adult life, in other words, on children's intellectual, social and emotional development. Therefore, whilst both models of family leisure are interested in the immediate nature of family leisure, purposive family leisure is additionally interested in the future gains afforded by family leisure.

2.3.5 Implications of Cultural Consumption Literature

The literature reviewed in this section of this thesis relates to museums understood as sites of cultural consumption. Marxist critique of contemporary museum culture, highlights that, for families with limited disposable income (which are audiences the museum is keen to attract) the museum and its multiple retail and catering outlets can be alienating. However, understanding the museum in terms of cultural consumption recognises some of the financial challenges facing cultural institutions; visitor identity models are one way of attempting retain and increase visitors to museums, and thus protect visitor income. The usual methods used to build visitor identity models (which tend to group family visitors as 'facilitators') however, are not adequately flexible to be able to account for the complexities of family and family life, and crucially, of family understood as practice. This calls into question the way in which family is operationalised within the context of the museum and invites consideration of how the indicators of visitor identity, visit motivations and the spatial-temporal trajectories of museum visits, can be considered qualitatively. Family leisure is another way of understanding the museum as a site of cultural consumption. Family leisure has been subject to various modes of interpretation, and, whilst the museum is cited as a potential context for family leisure, there is little research to explore this. Testing existing models of family leisure in the museum, a site with specific social and cultural practices, therefore, is an important contribution of this thesis. This approach, as McCabe (2015) argues, could be a good way of contributing to the theoretical development of family as a sociological term.

2.4 The Sociology of Family

2.4.1 Sociological Conceptualisation of Family

As has been explored in Sections 2.3.3 and 2.3.4, the sociology of family, particularly gendered parenting practices has been, very briefly, explored in the context of the museum. This demonstrates the possibility of overlapping sociological and consumerist lenses to give fruitful insight into family museum practices that can contribute to theoretical as well as empirical developments

within the sociological field. Whilst relating to the sociology of family, the literature which uses family museum experiences to provide a window into family life will not be re-examined in this section of the chapter; this section will instead focus on the literature concerned with the socio-cultural contexts of family, and the impact that these contexts may have on museum visitation.

2.4.2 Bourdieu and Families in Museums

In some cases, scholars have analysed how family practices can influence the role of museums in children's learning. In their small qualitative study of five disadvantaged families' experiences of science museum visits, Archer et al. (2016) examine the role of family *habitus* in the production of museums being perceived as a 'place for me' for family members. *Habitus* is a Bourdieusian concept that describes how practices, particular to social groups, shape and are shaped by everyday life (Bourdieu, 1977). Though focused on two specific visits to one museum, the authors look at how science is produced and enacted in everyday family lives, and how this relates to the way in which families make sense of their visits to informal science learning environments, particularly to the science museum. In essence, the authors suggest that socio-cultural factors governing families' everyday proximity to science, such as profession, level of education and exposure to other science-related activities can impact how families have meaningful experiences in science museums. More specifically, the authors suggest that prior familiarity with science-related concepts gained through family *habitus* can operate as a mechanism by which families are able to feel like science museums are 'a place for us' in which they can make meaning and thus become able to benefit from the supposed benefits of museum visitation, such as improved learning or increased aspirations. The authors suggest that, in order to reduce education inequality, museums must continue to reassess their understanding of what a 'visitor' looks like and develop instrumental approaches to address barriers to education. This, perhaps, could require serious conceptual thought to achieve in practice, since, as Bourdieu et al. (1991) argue, one of the most significant and widely-used instrumental approaches to increasing museum inclusivity, fee entry, is, in fact, 'false generosity', since it is only utilised by those who possess the knowledge of how to use museums and culture, thus failing to increase audience diversity.

Methodologically, this paper is interesting insofar as it does account, to some extent, for individual members of family groups. First, it is important to note that families were selected from a wider, longitudinal research project looking at informal science learning environments and involving ‘disadvantaged’ schools and their pupils as research participants. Disadvantaged schools were selected according to a series of indicators, including relation of examination results to national and local averages and percentage of pupils receiving free school meals or speaking English as an additional language. Within the family participants, one ‘focal child’ and one ‘focal adult’ were selected. Since ‘disadvantaged’ criteria had been met at selection stage, pre- and post- visit interviews with adults were designed to generate contextual information surrounding family life rather than to establish any level of disadvantage. Data was also generated through focus groups with child participants held during school hours and through observations of families during their trips to the museum. Though accounting for different family members, however, this research does not necessarily look at the outcomes of museum experiences at the family level, since it is mainly concerned with the outcomes of museum visitation on focus children rather than being concerned with behaviours orientated from one family member to another.

Bourdieu argues strongly that instrumental measures aiming to increase the amount of non-traditional museum audiences fail because feeling at home in the museum relies on more than having adequate financial means. In a more recent context, this critique has been tested by Leroux and Moureau (2013), who suggest that instrumental policies aimed at benefiting non-traditional museum audiences are not effective and, moreover, that they, in fact, benefit traditional museum audiences.

Bourdieu’s theory of reproduction exposes and explains how specific social practices contribute to the reproduction of socially stratified society (Bourdieu, 1984). The theory of reproduction is explored in the context of European museums by Bourdieu in his statistical survey of museum visitors (Bourdieu et al., 1991). In this work, Bourdieu et al. (1991, p. 111) write, ‘[I]n order for culture to fulfil its function of legitimating inherited privileges, it is necessary and

sufficient that the link between culture and education, at once obvious and hidden, should be forgotten or denied.' This statement is useful in understanding Bourdieu's theory of reproduction in the context of museums in several ways. First, the statement makes explicit the role of culture in underpinning class practices, particularly in how class is transmitted from one generation to the next. Second, the statement makes explicit the link between culture and education, suggesting that cultural tastes and opinions are formed through education. Third, the statement reminds its readers that class reproduction operates invisibly to those excluded from the bourgeois classes and does so precisely because they are excluded. It is useful to recognise that Bourdieu's theory of reproduction exposes how valuing education is indicative of the middle classes, a relationship that will be further examined in Chapter Four. However, for now, what is important is the way in which a Bourdieusian lens can recognise and examine the role of museums in providing equitable access to education.

Using a Bourdieusian lens, however, could be problematic as it can operate hierarchically. As has been discussed previously during this chapter, the hierarchy of expert and novice appears both within museums and within the family group, and as Hattam and Smyth (2015) point out, Bourdieu's model of reproduction can also operate in this way. This is because children or young people are perceived as needing to acquire specific behaviours, practices and cultural education, potentially undermining their agency or existing knowledge.

Rancière (1991), in his parable entitled The Ignorant Schoolmaster suggests the possibility of teaching without the expert/novice hierarchy, a concept that offers an alternative to the reproduction of Bourdieu's sociology of education. In a basic sense, in Rancière's novel, the protagonist schoolmaster Joseph Jacotot lacks a language in common with his pupils and thus is unable to teach them in the usual sense. Despite this lack of explanation or teaching, Jacotot's pupils successfully learn, signalling the possibility of equality of intelligence. As Hattam and Smyth (2015) put it, Rancière foregrounds equality as an axiom rather than conceptualising it as an outcome, or, in Rancière's words, '[E]quality is not given, nor is it claimed; it is practiced, it is verified' (Rancière, 1991, p. 137).' Rancière's alternative mode of education, therefore, offers an attractive

paradigm for analysis of family engagement in museums that is sensitive to the principle of inclusivity and thus could address some of the challenges associated with understanding family engagement in museums according to learning and the sociology of family.

2.4.3 Implications of the Sociology of Family

The literature reviewed in this section of this thesis is concerned with understanding the relationship between the sociology of family and family museum engagement. In some cases, this body of knowledge intersects with understanding family museum engagement and family leisure practices. That is, the museum, as a site of family leisure, is used as a context in which to develop understandings of the concept of family. This approach suggests that the museum is a site of family practices, which, because of the public nature of the museum, can be observed, evaluated and analysed.

In other cases, however, approaches to family engagement in museums according to the sociology of family are interested in how socio-cultural contexts of families might impact museum visitation (or non-visitation). The literature in this area is interested in the relationship between family museum visitation and its outcomes in respect to life aspirations and learning amongst children. In particular, this body of knowledge examines whether the positive impacts of museum visitation recorded for traditional museum visitors can be effectively translated to non-traditional museum visitors.

2.5 Summary

This chapter has set out the existing literature relating to family engagement in museums. This literature has been understood as three bodies of knowledge intersecting around the topic of family engagement in museums.

Learning is one of the key ways in which family museum engagement has been approached, with much attention being paid to identifying, describing and analysing family museum learning practices. Whilst this literature provides evidence for the museum's status and worth as learning environment, its focus remains on children's learning and on learning at the exhibit face. This raises questions around the nature and extent of learning amongst other family members, and in different parts of the museum. Family museum engagement has also been approached according to the logic of consumer culture. This has manifested most overtly in the understanding of family as a museum audience

management category. This approach, however, tends to be reductive since it aims to describe family in singular terms and thus is unable to account for inter- and intra- family distinction, and the plurality of family when understood as a set of practices. Understanding the museum as a site of consumer culture has also led scholars to argue that the marketisation of museums could alienate some mothers and families, particularly those who do not have the means to practice the consumption that is integral parts of the contemporary museum. There is also a small subsection of this approach that suggests the potential yield of understanding museums according to the family leisure market. Whilst museums have been cited as contexts for family leisure, there has been a lack of research to explore this claim, despite the secondary claim that doing so could make a theoretical contribution to the study of family. The sociology of family is the third body of knowledge connecting around the study of family engagement in museums. In general, this approach, inspired by Bourdieu's quantitative work in museums, is interested in the relationship between museum visitation and socio-cultural contexts.

Together, these bodies of knowledge intersecting around the topic of family engagement in museums, raise questions relating to the holistic nature of family experiences of museums. That is, whilst they are effective at understanding specific episodes with family museum visitation, they leave room for understanding how museum visitation relates to the everyday lives of families and how it can be understood as a site and facilitator of family practices. Whilst some research, particularly that taking into account the socio-cultural contexts of families, do achieve an understanding of the role of museum visitation in family life, this may still benefit from considering learning and consumer perspectives, in addition to considering how museum visitation can impact children's aspirations.

One of the key outcomes of this chapter is the exposure of conceptual and therefore methodological nuances surrounding family and museum experiences. This is broadly in agreement with Sterry and Beaumont (2006), who, in their review of the data generation methods in the field, expose two methodological challenges facing the general museum context as well as the particular art museum context. They argue that different theoretical and

methodological approaches to the concepts of family, learning and museums have produced a broad academic and practical field that requires methodological reconfiguration. Within the context of the museum, the concept of family has rarely been questioned or explored (Astor-Jack et al., 2007), despite it being a predominant feature within museum visitor audience research (Falk, 2008). Though there have been some attempts to recognise and account for the pluralities of family this has tended to raise further questions over the exact nature of family in the museum (e.g. Moussouri & Roussos, 2013), particularly around what counts as family in the museum and how family voices might be most authentically heard in the museum. In other cases, focus has remained on understanding family experiences at the level of individual family members (e.g. Hackett, 2016), through, for example, the roles of parenting or childhood. Whilst this research is valid, the complexity of family suggests a need to develop methodological approaches able to account for its multiple realities and to provide analysis at the level of family, rather than of individual.

Chapter Three
Methodological Approach

3.1 Overview

This chapter introduces the theoretical potential and procedural realities of spatial ethnography, in light of the particular research context of Tate. As a methodological approach, ethnography, through the employment of meticulous description and careful analysis seeks to illuminate how things work and how meaning is constructed in everyday life (Watson, 2011). Though ethnography may be described as a method comprising multiple instruments (commonly including observation and in-depth interview) and an analysis phase, ethnography is concerned with the processes of looking, listening, talking, thinking and writing and, as such, is better described as a research approach rather than a research method (O'Reilly, 2009). It is perhaps useful to define the methods at the disposal of ethnographers as tools, or as Van Maanen (2011) suggests, to imagine the ethnographer as *bricoleur*, using what is at hand to configure impressions of everyday realities iteratively and pragmatically. That is, with reflexivity and with acknowledgement of the significance of everyday personal experiences. With these factors in mind, ethnography emerges as a non-linear activity that views research projects as a whole, rather than as constitutive or chronological elements or steps. Spatial ethnography is a subset of ethnography that emphasises the meanings attached to space and place (Low, 2016). This focus is sensitive to emotion and affect, materiality, spatially embodied practices, language and discourse, as well as the historical-political and subjective factors that are usually attended to in ethnographic work. This chapter shows how spatial ethnography, as a methodological framework, has the ability to effectively deal with the complex networks of multiple realities and subjectivities that play in concert to produce family experiences of Tate.

Sections 3.2 and 3.3 provide an outline of the theoretical attributes of spatial ethnographic approaches to research, assessing its relative merits and limitations to evaluate the suitability of the approach in the context of this research. The data generation procedures implemented in this research are set

out in Section 3.4 and ethical considerations, and how they have shaped the research, are discussed in Section 3.5. The final section of this chapter, Section 3.6, summarises how data was managed and analysed in this research. Describing and evaluating the data generation and analysis procedures of this research supports the trustworthiness of any findings. This adds further reliability of results, which can be understood as triangulated, due to the multi-method nature of ethnographic practices (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009).

3.2 Research Design Rationale

3.2.1 Organisational Considerations

At a practical level, Tate's organisational practices have influenced the research design. In 2011, Tate's Learning Department embarked on a project to assess the framework of the institution's learning practices (Tate, 2014). This resulted in the development of a new way of working centred on the interrogation of the operational relationship between research and practice. Thus, since this project was instigated by the Learning Department (the department responsible for family audiences at Tate, see Chapter 4), it was imagined within an environment of research-led practice and qualitative perspectives. Tate's organisational culture and existing approach to family audiences, therefore, shaped the methodological approach to this research. On the one hand, by working qualitatively this project adheres to Tate's organisational practices, potentially lessening the critical distance between research project and scrutinised phenomenon by including the project in institutional agendas and strategic aims. On the other hand, working within organisational bounds encourages participant 'buy-in' and has the possibility to produce wider research impacts, insofar as there is the potential to look at Tate through one of its own lenses, experimenting with organisational ways of working from within. In essence, it is important to recognise the ways in which organisational influences have shaped the research project, specifically its method selection, and to note that negotiations between research design and organisation should be understood as aiming to achieve an optimum rather than maximum critical distance.

In addition, Tate has a well-established and effective audience research department (part of the department known internally as Audiences) which regularly employs external agencies to develop quantitative research to understand visitor patterns. Taking a qualitative approach to this research, therefore, offers an additional layer of understanding of family audiences; one that is in line with the Learning Department and distinct from other internal approaches to the topic. Moreover, since spatial ethnography is able to account for a variety of data, including documentary data, research results and findings generated by Audiences could potentially contribute to any findings of this research.

3.2.2 Implications of Literature Review and Early Data Generation for Methodological Approach

As has been outlined in Chapter One, and as will elaborated in the following sections of this chapter, ethnographic work is rarely a singular process. The literature review aspect of this research, in conjunction with early interviews with practitioner participants strongly suggest the complexity of the concept of family, and the lack of attention that has been paid to understanding the assumptions underpinning the use of family as an audience management category in museums. With this in mind, the methodological approach to the project must be capable of accounting for the complexity of family and museums, by being responsive to multiple individual and institutional voices, and by being sensitive to difference. In essence, any research approach must accept and be able to account for the multiple realities of everyday family life.

3.2.3 Existing Relevant Ethnographic Research

Ethnography appears in the social sciences in multiple guises and across multiple disciplines in time and space; it has a broad scope of applications that this chapter cannot address in full (Ingold, 2014; Madden, 2010; O'Reilly, 2009). Ethnography is also a contested research approach; there is little consensus surrounding the combinations of data generation procedures and optimum timescales required to certify research as ethnographic. There are several instances of research in family museum engagement that rely on observations

or in-depth interviews conducted across a limited timespan that claim to produce ethnographic findings (Ash, 2004; Crowley et al., 2001). It is debatable how far it is possible to describe such research as ethnographic, as the short time scales potentially limit the possibility of achieving ‘rich’ descriptive data able to adequately account for the complexities of the everyday life of the museum (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009).

Ethnography has been employed more fully by scholars working to understand museums (Macdonald, 2002), families (Levey, 2009) and, occasionally both together (Hackett, 2016). These examples illustrate the practical possibility and rich potential of approaching family experiences of museums ethnographically. However, as literature review work shows, these ethnographies are in contrast to the majority of other research dealing with families in museums, which, though sometimes relying on observation and interview methods, are rarely underpinned by broader ethnographic attitudes that might contribute to understanding family experiences of museums in ways that are less child and learning focused (Sterry & Beaumont, 2006).

3.3 Spatial Ethnography

Spatial ethnography is a methodological framework outlined by Setha Low in her book, *Spatializing Culture: The Ethnography of Space and Place* (2016) and, as a subset of ethnography, has several features in common with its parent approach (see also: Low, 2000; Low, 2003; Low, Taplin, & Scheld, 2005). Spatial ethnographies, as Low suggests, take the form of multi-dimensional inquiries that share traditional ethnographic practices but also expand them, in order to incorporate the everyday significances of spaces and places. Low employs spatial ethnography particularly to understand the everyday lives of communities disrupted through globalisation and social inequality, seeing the approach as democratic.

3.3.1 Social Construction and Social Production of Space

Like ethnography, spatial ethnography is concerned with how meaning is made in everyday life. However, ‘the ethnography of space and place… contains all

of these attributes as well as the ability to integrate materiality and meaning of actions and practices at local, translocal and global scale' (Low, 2016, p. 23).

Space and place are, particularly within geography and the wider social sciences, terms that are used in specific ways; place is often related to space in different ways depending upon the theoretical approach. Space tends to be understood as an abstract concept, and place as a subsidiary of this. Place might be understood as space, but with particular, individual meaning. Ingold (2016), for example, develops a theory of space based on the idea of wayfinding; the action of moving through space, of walking, dwelling or meandering, is how meaning is inscribed in space to make a place that is known and understood by an actor. In other senses, however, space and place are not understood as being produced through embodied practice, but through other forces such as design (Mathews, 2010) or socio-politics(Smith, 1996).

Rather than settling on a particular definition of space and place, Low envisages space and place in a more flexible sense, acknowledging a need for an analytical framework but integrating different approaches to the concepts. Low understands space and place as a continuum; simultaneously on axes of global and intimate interrelations (Massey, 1994) and geographic scale (Smith, 1996). Low also acknowledges the use of Lefebvre's tripartite model of space, which accounts for practice, representations of space and representational space (Lefebvre, 1991).

For Low (2016), the overlapping ways in which space and place are socially-produced and socially-constructed are the foundational aspects of spatial ethnographic accounts. Whilst historical and political perspectives aid with understanding how a space or place is produced across temporal and spatial boundaries, attending to the thoughts, feelings, and actions of individuals can illuminate the social construction of space and place. In presenting relevant historical and political narratives within a framework of spatial ethnography, there is often scope for critique of the ways in which power might be enmeshed in specific spatial practices, such as those of the home or of urban space allocation, or the ways in which social control may operate spatially (Foucault & Sheridan, 1977; Lefebvre, 1991). In addition, by taking note of individual

agency and making ‘observations of the material and discursive practices of social actors’ (Low, 2016, p. 191), spatial ethnographic approaches can express how space is constructed and given meaning by individual actors. Crucially, then, spatial ethnographies can contribute towards inclusive understandings of social phenomena, building a dialogical relationship between the social production and social construction of space and place to achieve accounts of the ways in which social lives in cultural settings are generated according to networks of structure and agency. In this sense, then, spatial ethnography is employed in this research because it recognises that the meanings of cultural spaces are simultaneously constructed and produced by those using the space as well as those managing, governing and over-seeing the space and thus has scope for attending to institutional and non-institutional (including audience and non-audience) voices. In terms of this research then, by understanding space and place as overlapping and inter-relating, both family and Tate can be taken as ‘space’ and ‘place’ in their own rights. Tate represents the space of a museum but is also valid as a place where meaning is inscribed by those using it, whether they be staff members, visitors a people passing through (for pedestrians using the Turbine Hall as a short cut from Southwark Street to the Southbank, Tate is a convenient public right of way, or a pavement). Family, too, is both space and place, as an abstract concept governed by social norms whilst also being produced by family members through practices and behaviours orientated towards other family members.

3.3.2 Democracy and Inclusivity in Spatial Ethnography

A key feature of spatial ethnography is its claim to produce democratic understandings of space (Low, 2016). Whilst much of Low’s work, and other work in the spatial ethnographic tradition (e.g. Jones, 2013; Jones, 2014), does indeed afford marginalised groups and marginalised research participants voices, its claim to be a democratic research approach is problematic. This is because of the role of the researcher, who, even in qualitative and reflexive research, may maintain a greater position of power than most research participants (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009). With this in mind, this research chooses not to describe spatial ethnography as democratic, rather as inclusive.

In addition to the social production and social construction of space and place, which can be attended to through ethnographic practices of in-depth interview and observation Low (2016) advocates several other approaches to data generation and analysis capable of increasing and augmenting the inclusivity of spatial ethnography. The following sections outline and appraise these approaches.

3.3.3 Embodied Practices

Embodiment is one of the additional data generation procedures of spatial ethnography, and it is employed to take into account the role of movement in the production of space and place. Paying attention to embodied practices such as walking, dancing, gesturing, posing, or any other form of movement, acknowledges the body and its environment as a site of meaning. From within the anthropological tradition, Ingold (2015) has pioneered the use of embodiment and embodied spatial practices in ethnography, opening ethnographic work up to phenomenological ways of thinking, conceptualising the way in which beings move through the world as ‘wayfaring’. This idea suggests that meaning is made through the relationship between the human body and its environment. In other words, meaning is produced through situated movements.

Hackett’s (2016) work is a good example of how methodologies and data generation approaches that are sensitive to embodiment can effectively challenge networks of power and agency within family groups in museums (Birch, 2018). Hackett employs wayfaring to analyse how very young (pre-lingual) children experience museum space (see Section 2.2.4). Her work suggests that the running, hiding, holding back, noises and route-finding of toddlers in museums can illuminate the way in which they come to know and be confident users of the space in question. This work suggests that, in recognising that meaning is made through movement in space, data generation techniques sensitive to embodied practices can increase the agency of pre-lingual research participants, since they do not have to be accounted for by their guardian in verbal terms. It should be remembered, however, that research participant consent for pre-lingual children (and children in general) is

given by parents or guardians, and so the agency of children as research participants is potentially reduced, as is discussed in depth later in this chapter.

As well as, to some extent, increasing the agency of pre-lingual research participants, it is possible that sensitivity to embodied practices can contribute to finding an inclusive family voice. As will be discussed in greater depth below, finding an authentic family voice is challenging because one family member may make and communicate decisions on behalf of the whole family (Jeanes, 2010). It is therefore not only pre-lingual children, but other family members, who may be excluded from data generation techniques that rely on verbal means. It is possible that sensitivity to embodied practices, therefore, potentially reduces the dominance of, what are in general, parental (and usually mothers, who often undertake the emotional labour of family) voices in family research (Jeanes, 2010).

This ability to include pre-lingual children as research participants (at least to the extent that they assent to participate) is an important factor in employing spatial ethnography instead of other research approaches. Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA), for example, though a research method capable of, and in fact designed for, accounting for multiple realities (Smith, Larkin, & Flowers, 2009), relies on in-depth interviews to generate data and thus excludes pre-lingual children from participating. Whilst the possibility of integrating embodied approaches into IPA has been suggested, it has not been tested or adequately theorised (Larkin, Eatough, & Osborn, 2011).

3.3.4 Language and Discourse

Language and discourse are another framing concept capable of contributing to ethnographic and spatial ethnographic accounts in the sense that, ‘everyday communications produce, manipulate and control spatial meaning’ (Low, 2016, p. 316). Organisational vocabulary, language and the systematic ways this is institutionalised within and outside the organisation may come under ethnographic assessment in this sense. A particularly interesting, at least in terms of this project, function of language and discourse within spatial ethnographic work is the way that it theorises the use of signage and maps, or

‘ambient texts’ as Low (2016, p.320) terms them, in the context of how we experience space and place. Low draws on the work of Latour (2005) and Cardona (2016) in showing how this type of written communication can be understood as an agent within a social network, for example a poster advertising family activities within a museum space, insofar as it is able to influence, manage and shape experiences of space and place.

3.3.5 Other Modes of Inquiry

Other methodological modes of accessing, describing, and analysing the different layers and perspectives of the experience of space and place include emotion and affect and materiality. Emotion and affect, Low (2016) suggests, is a nascent methodology which relies on understanding the ways in which spaces and places illicit, and are construed of, emotional responses. Materiality, when incorporated into the wider framework of spatial ethnography, can help to integrate material perspectives into any subsequent findings but, in the case of this project, materiality as an approach might best be seen overlapping with other elements of spatial ethnographic enquiry.

For example, historical-political discourses shaping art museum practices are well rehearsed (see, for example: Colomina, 1994; Dercon & Serota, 2016; Duncan, 1995) but, perhaps because of the nature of the subject, the materiality of art and architecture is often discussed in conjunction with historical-political factors. So, whilst Low makes ample room for multiple readings of the multiple layers comprising the ways in which social lives occur within space and place, and the implications of this for the generation of ‘culture’, it is also clear that the multitudes of methodologies are overlapping and complimentary. However, it seems possible that some approaches to data generation, in particular circumstances, might be subsumed by others.

Spatial ethnography, because of its ability to account for multiple and overlapping layers of meaning, is a particularly appropriate approach to this project’s aim to develop deeper and wider understandings of how families experience museums. The way in which spatial ethnography seeks to integrate multiple perspectives is useful as it recognises that family experiences of

museums are simultaneously societal and social, that is, they are enmeshed in the familiar opposition of structure and agency. Additionally, and as we have seen, the willingness of spatial ethnography to augment understandings of the social production and construction of space through sensitivity to embodiment and language and discourse amongst other factors, is particularly useful in approaching family research, since it provides a way of exposing and addressing intra-familial networks.

3.3.6 Limitations of Spatial Ethnography

Uniting all methodological approaches to social sciences, perhaps, is the inconvenience of limitations, or how methods delimit the processes and outcomes of research. The inability to generalise is the most common limitation attributed to ethnography (Ingold, 2014; Madden, 2010; O'Reilly, 2009) and by extension this might be applied to spatial ethnography too. However, though the findings of ethnographic and spatial ethnographic are context specific and it is therefore not easy to claim generalizability that is not to say that ethnography has no role in the development of theory. As one scholar points out,

> [E]thnography is well positioned for investigating a series of competing, overlapping claims in various field sites, to be sure. But the road back is crucial, in that by problematizing, refining, and recasting received bodies of theory we are opened up to making claims – to doing theory itself' (Fairbanks, 2012, p. 562).

In addition to this general limitation of ethnographic practice, a more specific limitation of spatial ethnography is its failure to account for sound. Whilst talk, as one type of sound, is clearly attended to within spatial ethnography, other types of sound are not addressed by the approach. In the context of the museum, other types of sound might relate to audio-visual artworks, the general sounds of public space but also the absence of sound, silence, and how this may be disrupted. Whilst museums are often understood as quiet, contemplative spaces (Duncan, 1995), sound, or the lack of sound, could be an important way of understanding how museums are used.

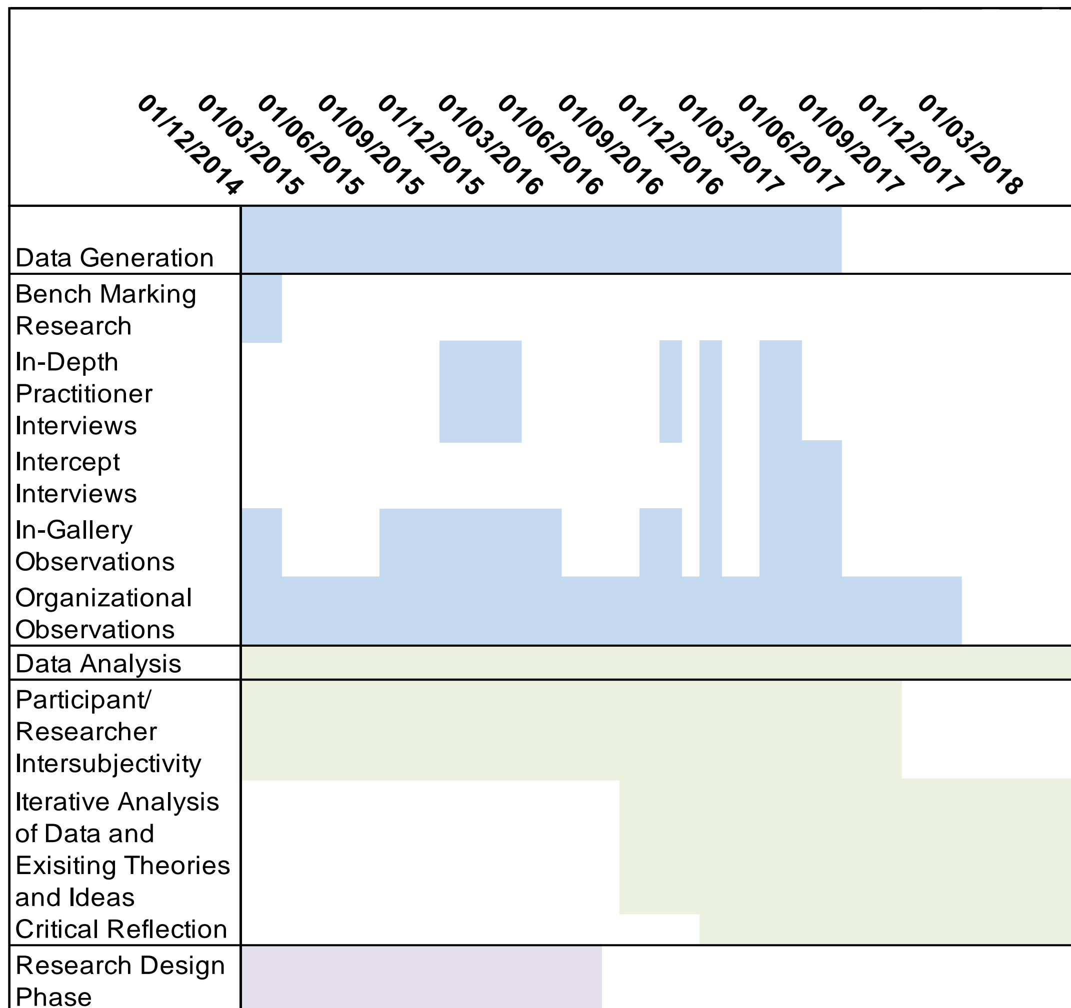
3.3.7 Summary

This section of the chapter has described spatial ethnography, outlining its theoretical potential and evaluating why the methodological approach is suitable for this research project. As has been discussed, ethnography and spatial ethnography are not defined sets of methods that can be employed by a researcher in a linear fashion, rather they are ways of approaching research problems that rely on various overlapping ways of generating useful data. In addition, ethnography and spatial ethnography do not conform to standard models of developing survey instruments, conducting data collection, and completing data analysis but are iterative and flexible in order to allow for the multiple perspectives with which it is concerned. Ethnography has been used with success within the context of museums and family research to a certain extent providing this project with practical guidance. In essence, spatial ethnography has been selected as a research approach because it is theoretically and practically able to account for the multiple realities apparent in this research. The next section of this chapter goes on to describe and discuss the procedural realities of spatial ethnography in the particular case of this project.

3.4 Data Generation Procedures

In line with ethnographic and spatial ethnographic practice, data generation procedures sometimes overlapped and were employed iteratively over time. The following table (Table 3), provides a visual outline of the data generation period, as well as how it connected to the emergent research design.

Table 3 Timeline of Research Design, Data Generation and Data Analysis


01/12/2014
01/03/2015
01/06/2015
01/09/2015
01/12/2015
01/03/2016
01/06/2016
01/09/2016
01/12/2016
01/03/2017
01/06/2017
01/09/2017
01/12/2017
01/03/2018
Data Generation
Bench Marking Research
In-Depth Practitioner Interviews
Intercept Interviews
In-Gallery Observations
Organizational Observations
Data Analysis
Participant/ Researcher Intersubjectivity
Iterative Analysis of Data and Exisiting Theories and Ideas
Critical Reflection
Research Design Phase

3.4.1 Institutional Access

This research project is the result of a formal collaborative doctoral partnership between the University of Exeter and Tate. The partnership is governed by the two institutions, as well as the project funders, the ESRC. The partnership was managed through a studentship agreement between the university, Tate and the student (Appendix 1). As part of this 'agreement', the student was supervised by a member of staff at both the university and at Tate, thus providing formal, 'in principle' access to Tate.

3.4.2 Time and Location of Data Generation

The data generation phase of this research took place over 29 months, from November 2014 – April 2017, predominantly at three of Tate's sites. Appendix 2 includes a list of all data generated.

Limited data was generated at Tate St. Ives because for the majority of the data generation period, the museum was closed to the public for renovation. Data generation procedures were restricted to in-depth practitioner interviews and documentary analysis. In some respects, this represents a missed opportunity since, as noted in Chapter One, Tate St. Ives has a higher proportion of family visitors than Tate's other museums. The decision to include Tate St. Ives in data generation procedures as far as possible rests on the idea that ethnography often seeks unusual or extreme cases in order to achieve the rich description necessary for ethnographic analysis (Van Maanen, 2011). Put another way, then, Tate St. Ives now represents an opportunity for further research about family experiences of art museums, and it may be particularly interesting to consider in terms of the findings and discussion presented in Chapter Six surrounding family museum experiences and family leisure practices.

The geographical spread of the sites where data was generated was an important consideration during the research design process. Though Tate comprises four sites, each with their own identity as described in Chapter One, the sites share a collection, ethos, staff, leadership team, branding and visitor

base. This configuration of sites, which is simultaneously local, national and international, requires a methodological approach sensitive to spatial difference. Whilst multi-sited ethnography may be one way of approaching Tate's configuration, this approach tends to focus on different locations at different times, for example, in research on ex-patriot or migrant communities (Marcus, 1995; O'Reilly, 2009). Though useful, this approach is unable to account for the fact that 'Tate' can simultaneously be 'found' in different places. This phenomenon is easy to imagine in the context of organisational language and discourse, which is something institutionally constructed and managed and that appears simultaneously at all Tate sites, but probably with local variance. This trans-locality, or, the ability for social actors to inhabit more than one place at a time, is something for which spatial ethnography, through its acceptance of multiple realities, is capable of accounting (Low, 2016). For this reason, spatial ethnography is more appropriate than multi-sited ethnography, another way of configuring the research approach to work across space, because of the nature of Tate's community, which is geographically spread, partly comprises visitors (necessarily transient) and partly comprises constant actors such as staff and branding. This also accounts for the approach to the structure of this thesis; rather than having chapters dedicated to each of Tate's sites and undertaking comparative analysis, thematic analysis is the chosen approach, since it recognises Tate as a coherent organisation, albeit one with simultaneously local, national and international presence.

Working across sites, it should be noted, demands that the amount of attention paid to each site is accounted for in any findings and analysis. The researcher spent most time at Tate Modern and Tate Britain and the least time at Tate St. Ives. This reflects overall visitor figures, with the researcher spending the most time at the busiest sites. It should also be noted that the researcher concentrated periods of data collection, particularly observations, around school holidays and weekends, in line with the project's pragmatic understanding of family discussed in Chapter Four, to ensure a reasonable amount of family visitors were able to participate in research.

3.4.3 In-depth Practitioner Interviews

In-depth interviews were conducted with practitioners working at all Tate sites. Practitioners are defined as individuals with an active professional interest in Tate's work with families and included Tate staff as well as a freelance artist. However, some participants drew on their experiences of Tate as a family visitor, as well as their professional experiences of Tate, during interviews. Likewise, several intercept interview participants (i.e. visitors) drew on their professional experiences as teachers, artists and (coincidentally) a former employee of Tate. This blurs the categories of practitioner and visitor and was considered during the analysis work of this research. In total, 12 practitioners participated in in-depth interviews and several participated more than once. Though working in a variety of roles from across the Tate estate, all had particular responsibility for working with family visitors. All practitioner participants were female and white, an issue addressed explicitly by two of the participants during their interviews. Appendix 3 provides profiles of all practitioner participants. The sample was purposive; in other words, it was not representative but sought to generate expert data (Symon & Cassell, 2012). This connects to Research Objective One, to determine Tate's institutional definition of family insofar as it sought data from those responsible for devising and delivering the 'family' offer at Tate. Interviews were designed to illicit practitioner narratives of how family is constructed through their role and work, how this connects to the wider strategies and agendas of Tate.

In-depth practitioner interviews were conducted across the data generation period (see Table 3) and some practitioners participated more than once. Eight practitioners participated in in-depth interviews between November 2015 and February 2016, three in October 2016, and three between February and April 2017. This time frame was useful as it afforded time to build trusting relationships with research participants and provided a mechanism to capture variance in discourses and perspectives caused by time. Conversations with these practitioners also happened between in-depth interviews and were recorded as fieldnotes, as part of organisational observation data generation (Section 3.4.4.).

Practitioner in-depth interviews were conducted by the researcher; the shortest lasted 15 minutes and the longest lasted one hour and 30 minutes. In all but one case the interviews were audio recorded and transcribed by the researcher; at the request of Participant L, no audio recording was made of their interview and the researcher made written notes instead. Three participants were interviewed using Skype, with the remaining participants being interviewed face-to-face in informal but quiet settings within Tate.

No in-depth interviews were conducted with practitioners who had no explicit responsibility to work with family visitors. However, views and opinions on family at Tate were sought from a more general section of Tate staff. These were solicited during in-gallery observations and organisational observational phases and thus are reported as fieldnotes (see Section 3.4.4 and Appendix 4 for information about and examples of fieldnotes). The sample of general Tate practitioners was not representative but self-selective, in order to generate data from participants who had particular interest or expertise in the area of family (Cassell & Symon, 1998). Three members of Tate staff chose to share their views on family experiences of the museum with the researcher. These were visitor-facing staff and were able to share their tacit knowledge of how families use and understand the museums. Two members of staff were female and black and drew heavily on their professional experiences as well as their personal experiences of being mothers. The third member of staff to contribute in this way was male and white; he drew on his previous experience of working with children in his former role as a teacher.

3.4.4 Observations

Observations took place at Tate Modern, Tate Britain and Tate Liverpool across the data collection time phase and took place in the gallery spaces during open hours but were concentrated according to school holiday periods and weekends to take advantage of increased volumes of family visitors. Observations also took place in organisational meetings and briefings across the data generation period (see Table 3).

In-gallery observations were conducted by the researcher and were sensitive to family groups. The researcher wore a Tate identification card, similar to that worn by Tate's visitor-facing staff and was therefore able to roam freely through the museums. Whilst this provided the researcher with a sanctioned presence, it also led to general interactions with museum visitors. Though some of these were relevant to the research, others were not and therefore some in-gallery observations lacked a family focus. Due to the already large scope of the research project, observations relating to general visitors and general visitor interactions, were excluded from analysis and thus present a future research opportunity, perhaps to examine the relationship between non-family museum visitors and family museum visitors.

Observations were recorded in fieldnote format, numbering approximately 55,000 words and including 84 specific episodes transcribed in detail (see Appendix 4 for examples). Conducting in-gallery observations provided the researcher with an additional opportunity to listen and talk to front of house staff, volunteers and families, gaining insight in a less formal manner than in-depth interviews and intercept interviews.

Organisational observations were conducted at Tate Britain and Tate Modern and were conducted during relevant meetings and briefings; these observations were recorded in fieldnote format, numbering approximately 10,000 words.

3.4.5 Intercept Interviews

Intercept interviews were conducted with family visitors at Tate Modern, Tate Britain and Tate Liverpool during and around the school half term holidays in October 2016 and February 2017. There is little data surrounding the profile of family visitors at individual Tate sites, thus no particular family profile was expected or sought by the researcher. The discrete time frame of the intercept interviews was selected to minimise disruption to Tate's business needs and to coincide with increased family visitor numbers

The researcher intercepted potential participants throughout the museum spaces, before offering a brief overview of the research project and an outline of

the role of research participants. Consent to participate was verbal and is discussed in more detail in Section 3.5 of this thesis. The researcher aimed to recruit a diverse spectrum of participants, including families of different sizes, constellations and ages. This was achieved as far as possible from a necessarily immediate judgement. The sample was not random but sought unusual and varied cases in line with ethnographic practice (Becker, 1998).

Overall, 44 visitors participated in intercept interviews, which ranged in length from 90 seconds to 20 minutes. Intercept interviews were designed to collect basic information about participants and to illicit narrative accounts of their family experiences of Tate. Discussion of museum visiting practices served as an ice-breaking exercise and a socio-economic marker (Archer et al., 2016; Bourdieu et al., 1991). The researcher conducted all intercept interviews; all but one (which included 2 research participants) were audio recorded and transcribed by the researcher.

3.4.6 Other Sources

Other resources used in this research include photographs taken by the researcher during in-gallery observations used in their own right and to augment fieldnotes, visitor maps and gallery signage, printed resources for families and organisational policies, evaluations and reports. The types of data are referred to as documentary data. Where such data is publicly available, for example, where Tate's policies are published online, or where reports are available via the institution's archive service, data is included in the list of references of this thesis for transparency.

3.5 Research Conduct and Ethical Considerations

This section describes in detail the procedures to ensure the project met and satisfied ethical standards, particularly pertinent since children are considered to be a constituent element of families and are vulnerable members of society (Farrimond, 2013). In addition, it examines how such ethical considerations influenced the development and delivery of the research project.

3.5.1 Working with Vulnerable Participants

In line with academic practice, the project was submitted to and approved by the University of Exeter Business School Ethical Review Panel. Following early data generation work, the procedure to gain consent from visitor participants was changed; details of this change were submitted to the same panel and also approved.

Furthermore, this project adheres to Tate's established protocols for members of staff working with children. The researcher completed Tate's 'Risk Assessment for Regulated Activity', designed to establish what type of contact a member of staff is likely to have with children visiting Tate. In turn, this establishes whether a Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS) report is required. In the case of this project, no DBS report was required as the researcher did not work with children unsupervised and was not in a position of care. However, in light of the vulnerable status of child research participants, it was the researcher's responsibility to ensure ethical considerations were foregrounded throughout the project and that they did not enter into a situation during the course of the research that would normally require them to have a current DBS report (Farrimond, 2013).

3.5.2 Consent and Assent

Informed verbal consent from adult intercept interview research participants was attained prior to conducting interviews. The researcher explained the nature of the project to all participants and was also able to supply written information to participants upon request (Appendix 5).

During in-gallery observations, no consent was obtained from participants due to Tate's status as a public institution. In some examples of in-gallery observations, signage is placed to notify visitors of observations (e.g. Patel, Heath, Luff, vom Lehn, & Cleverly, 2016). However, due to the floor space of Tate Modern and Tate Britain, and the presence of multiple entry and exit points, it was deemed more useful for the researcher to carry written project information sheets to provide to visitors upon request, and to maintain an

approachable demeanour and answer any questions from members of the public. This meant that visitors did not need to rely on seeing and understanding specific signage within a larger network of gallery signs and printed information.

Consent forms were also deemed inappropriate for practitioner participants as no sensitive topics were discussed (Farrimond, 2013) and the relationship between researcher and Tate staff was managed formally as well as informally through a researcher agreement. Contact was made with potential practitioner participants via email and initial contact included an outline of the project and the requirements of participants; email responses therefore acted as consent to participate. Before in-depth interviews took place, a recap of the project was provided, and it was noted that the interview could be terminated at any point.

3.5.3 Family Voice

It has been suggested that though children may not be able to consent to participation, they should be able to assent; to know the implications of the research and that taking part in the research project is a decision they can make (Farrimond, 2013). This concept goes someway to ensuring that children are afforded autonomy as far as possible, and to limiting the impact of the parent-child hierarchy that has been discussed in Section 2.3.1. Though child participants do not always partake in research projects through their own choice and with a detailed understanding of the project, they can be involved and given an amount of responsibility that dovetails with the responsibility a parent is assumed to have over them. Intercept interviews with families, as the research observed, afforded children with a natural means of assent as, in many cases, children who did not feel comfortable with participating removed themselves from the immediate vicinity of the interview. However, the actions of families during intercept interviews foregrounded the complexities of childhood (and adult) autonomy within family groups. In some instances, children participating in interviews did not speak independently, but spoke only following encouragement from other family members. In these cases, family might be understood as being a supportive or oppressive environment for children, something that this research has little scope to address. However, brought to

the foreground is the issue of best practices in understanding family dynamics and, particularly, the task of finding an authentic or inclusive family voice (Bragg & Manchester, 2011).

3.5.4 Summary

In summary, then, this project's interest in family, and by extension in children, means that ethical considerations necessarily play a formative role in the research design phase rather than being only secondary considerations. In addition, though priority must be given to meeting proper levels of child protection, ensuring that the project is flexible enough to attend to children's voices and behaviours and that children are given an opportunity to assent to participate in the project have been other significant considerations that have contributed to the selection of spatial ethnography as the project's research approach.

3.6 Data Analysis

This section of the chapter provides an overview of ethnographic analysis and outlines the project's data analysis procedures, describing how data was managed, checked and interpreted.

3.6.1 'Doing' Ethnographic Analysis

First, it is important to note that ways of 'doing' ethnographic analysis are flexible. Some ethnographic work relies on discourse analysis, particularly where there are large amounts of text or language to analyse (Gibbs, 2007). In other cases, content or thematic analysis is the chosen method of producing results from ethnographic data generation (O'Reilly, 2009). Low (2016) suggests that, in accordance with the multiple methods of data generation comprising the spatial ethnographic approach, multiple modes of analysis and a synthesis stage are required. Using methods of analysis bespoke to the method of data generation ensures that all data generated is accounted for in the most appropriate way. For example, documentary data might be subject to historical or discourse analysis, or even visual analysis in the case of the maps

and resources relevant to this project. In essence, analysis techniques in ethnographic work are selected according to their suitability for different forms of data.

However, it is less useful, perhaps, to define ethnographic analysis as a discrete step in the research process, since, more often than not, ethnographic analysis is iterative and happens in conjunction with data generation and writing (O'Reilly, 2009; Van Maanen, 1988). Fieldnotes are a good example of how data generation, data analysis and writing overlap. In their first form, fieldnotes might be seen as a re-expression of reality, holding interpretation in themselves. Writing up fieldnotes, a process many ethnographers employ, allows continued interpretation, possibly in light of other pieces of data or ideas. Fieldnotes then become the basis for more formal analysis techniques, such as those mentioned above, and are frequently re-used to illustrate the researcher's arguments in books, papers and theses. In another sense, the iterative nature of ethnographic research might be illustrated through the process of going backwards and forwards between theory and data (O'Reilly, 2009).

3.6.2 The Data Analysis Process in this Research

In the case of this project, data generation always resulted in text (either interview transcripts or fieldnotes that included descriptions of visual or documentary data) and in line with ethnographic principles, data analysis took place throughout and beyond the data generation period (O'Reilly, 2009) (see Table 3). This meant that emergent lines of analysis were being continuously checked and re-checked according to more recent data, in other words, the first stages of analysis looked for and explored consensus and dissonance in the data. To a certain extent, this afforded research participants greater equality in the process, since participants were asked to critique existing data and ideas (Kirby, Greaves, & Reid, 2017).

Fieldnotes made during in-gallery and organisational observations were initially written by hand in small notebooks and tended to include general observations as well as detailed descriptions of specific observations. Documentary evidence, such as museum resources for visitors, gallery signage, photographs

taken by the researcher and meeting minutes or papers, were often collected during the course of observations and, as such, augmented written fieldnotes. In the case of in-gallery observations, some intercept interviews were recorded during the observation period. As soon as possible after each period of observation, fieldnotes were 'written up' by the researcher and any recorded interviews transcribed. Documentary data was also, in effect, 'written up' as it was generally described and commented upon in the final version of the fieldnotes. Initial and written up field notes can both be seen as stages of analysis, since they offer an interpretation of the realities being considered in the research.

With written up data in hand, as well as interview transcripts, all data was coded thematically (Table 4). Since the aim of this research was not to generate theory rather to develop deeper and wider understandings of family experiences of museums the themes that had been identified during the literature review stage provided an initial basis for the coding structure, but attention was also paid to the possibility of emergent themes (Gibbs, 2007).

Table 4 Coding Structure. Source, author.

Theme: Developing and presenting a family identity

Category: Learning
- Subcategory 1: Intergenerational learning
  - Code: dispersed knowledge
  - Code: adult learning
- Subcategory 2: Children's learning
  - Code: school connections
  - Code: parental desire for children's learning
  - Code: child development
  - Code: non-cognitive learning
  - Code: seeing an artwork known to a family member
- Subcategory 3: Art learning
  - Code: art practice/being an artist
  - Code: thinking about art and art practice

Category: Family Dynamics
- Subcategory 1: Family cohesion and dissonance
  - Code: spatial togetherness
  - Code: independent visit trajectories
  - Code: family conversation
  - Code: family 'looking' at art
- Subcategory 2: Family roles and responsibilities
  - Code: parenting
  - Code: mothering
  - Code: fathering
  - Code: siblingship
  - Code: behaviour management
- Subcategory 3: 'Domestic' behaviours
  - Code: playing
  - Code: eating
  - Code: sleeping
- Subcategory 4: Extra-familial
  - Code: caring for other children
  - Code: meeting other families
- Subcategory 5: Family constellations
  - Code: heteronormative
  - Code: heteronormative alternative

Category: Maintenance of Family Life
- Subcategory 1: Shared time
  - Code: 'time out of everyday'
  - Code: time with all family members
  - Code: shared ideas
- Subcategory 2: Documentation/Photography
  - Code: whole family photos
  - Code: photos of individual family members by other family members
  - Code: family 'selfies'
  - Code: reviewing photos
  - Code: staging/setting up photos
- Subcategory 3: Management of family/family logistics
  - Code: organising family
  - Code: managing family members' physical needs

This approach not only drew out similarities in data, but also emphasised special cases which were effective at providing alternative view points for analysis and interpretation (for example, see Section 4.2.2.1). Simultaneously, data was considered in terms of existing theories; this meant the researcher moved backwards and forwards between theory and data (O'Reilly, 2009), reviewing data in light of relevant literature. The final aspect of the ethnographic analysis was critical reflection (Kirby et al., 2017); in other words, using the data generated throughout the research to question the assumptions underpinning existing knowledge about family experiences of museums.

3.6.3 Researcher Reflexivity

Reflexivity is understood as the process of paying consistent and careful attention to the contextual underpinnings of data interpretation. This attention is necessary because, 'how we interpret phenomena is always perspectival and [that] so-called facts are always theory-laden' (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009, p. 3). Reflecting on the perspectives and theories inherent in interpretations recognises, at least to some extent, that they can contribute to qualitative research that is accurate and useful and, as Alvesson and Sköldberg (2009) put it, 'good'.

To some extent, ethnography and reflexive approaches are natural partners. Certainly, the key considerations for reflexive research outlined by Alvesson and Sköldberg (2009), systematic research procedures, clarification of the primacy of interpretation, political-ideological nature of research and the challenge of representation of authority, are common to ethnographic work (O'Reilly, 2009). This research takes a reflexive approach, and in addition, encounters reflexivity during data generation procedures with practitioners.

In essence, this research does not hold a mirror up to the way reality functions but maintains, 'the belief that the study of suitable (well thought out) excerpts from [this] reality can provide an important basis for a generation of knowledge that opens up rather than closes, and furnishes opportunities for understanding rather than establishes 'truths'' (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009, p. 9).
It is, therefore, important to outline and briefly evaluate the subjectivities of the researcher, since these have necessarily shaped the research design and data generation and analysis procedures. The researcher is female, white-British, heterosexual, aged 27 and with no dependants. In a more contextual sense, the researcher is comfortable in museums and believes in the intrinsic value of museums. The researcher is in a privileged position in general and in terms of museums, in the sense that they are highly familiar spaces; further, and because of this, they were able to integrate into the spaces of Tate, and to some extent, the spaces of family, with little difficulty. Whilst this had a positive impact on data generation procedures, it was important to refocus

interpretations throughout the research to account for these subjectivities, ensuring attention was paid to the way results were generated.

One preliminary reflection of the research relates to the exploratory nature of the project, and the challenges and merits of this approach. The parameters of this project are sensitive to an institutional need to better understand a particular audience type. Though this audience type has been somewhat neglected within the institution's own research and, in a wider sense, within the academic literatures dealing with museums, an incredibly broad range of literatures bear relevance to the project. Though this is discussed more thoroughly in Chapter Two, it is important to note that this feature of the families in museums landscape has contributed to the exploratory nature of this thesis. This thesis does not draw from one or two theories but, like museum studies more generally, draws from multiple areas of knowledge in an attempt to unpick a cultural space that seeks to comprise a multitude of cultures and cultural practices (Foucault, 1986). Working in an exploratory fashion, then, and constantly opening up knowledge to further questioning and debate, though untidy in a research sense, is a symptom of researching in museums, and perhaps indicates that museums are succeeding in their attempts to facilitate debate.

3.6.4 Managing Data

As previously described, all data generated resulted in text. Where data was material, such as in the case of printed resources for visitors, museum signage, or, indeed the architectural fabric of the museum, data was incorporated in fieldnotes through detailed, systematic description. Data management began as soon as data was generated. For example, immediately following in-depth and intercept interviews, audio recordings were transcribed using word-processing software. Equally, fieldnotes were transcribed as soon as possible after generation using word-processing software. As set out in the ethical review, data was held on the researcher's hard drive and the University of Exeter's cloud storage system. Where possible, documentary data such as signage and visitor resources were collected or photographed, or digital copies were provided by Tate. Data was organised using a bespoke database

designed by the researcher using Microsoft Excel (Appendix 6). Microsoft Excel provides useful sorting, searching and filtering tools and affords the opportunity to display data in tabular and descriptive form; it was also capable of holding digital images thus allowing the augmentation of fieldnotes. In other words, the database allowed the researcher to see data generated from across the time and space of the data generation phase in different configurations in order to subject data to thematic descriptive and theoretical analysis models.

3.6.5 Summary

Data was generated according to a variety of methods over time and across space, adhering to the spatial ethnographic principles of multi-dimensional enquiry based on employing a variety of perspectival frameworks (Table 5). Data takes the form of practitioner interviews, intercept visitor interviews, in-gallery observations, organisational observations as well as documentary data. This allows the integration of material factors, embodied practices, social, historical and political narratives.

Table 5 Data Generation Methods and Perspectival Frameworks

Perspectival Frameworks/Data Generation Methods	Historical	Political	Individual	Language and Discourse	Embodied	Material
In-Gallery Observations			■	■	■	■
Organizational Observations	■	■	■	■	■	■
Intercept Interviews			■			
Practitioner Interviews	■	■	■	■		
Gallery Resources					■	■
Archival Research	■	■				

Whilst spatial ethnographic principles were adhered to throughout the data generation period, visitor intercept interviews complied with them only as far as possible. This is because, though in-depth interviews with visitors may have provided richer or more detailed data, in-depth interviews with adults and children in the context of the museum showed have been shown to be problematic, since children's participation tends to be limited (Cox et al., 2000) (O'Reilly, 2009). Intercept interviews, therefore, represent a compromise in that they were designed to generate qualitative data from all family members, but in a shorter format and thus potentially generating a smaller volume of data than in-depth interviews.

Spatial ethnography makes no reference to how sound can be used as data; this is problematic in conducting spatial ethnography in museums, since they have been traditionally understood as places of quiet contemplation (Duncan, 1995). Whilst some sounds emitting from or produced by humans may be understood as embodied and therefore can be accounted for by paying ethnographic attention to embodiment (Hackett, 2016), other sounds, particularly general 'hubbub' sounds relating to public spaces such as museums, might not be accounted for in this way. Sound observations were recorded in this research as fieldnotes and offer an additional perspectival framework to those cited in existing spatial ethnographies.

There were limits to the design of the research, which connect to discussions presented in Chapter Eight relating to the conditions of family and the spatial and temporal boundaries of this research.

Chapter Four

Family Practices at Tate

4.1 Overview

This chapter addresses Objective One by presenting an account of and analysing Tate's institutional definition of family. The following spatial ethnographic account is based on institutional manifestations of family at Tate, effectively illustrating how family is defined and utilised as an audience management category paradoxically. On the one hand, family is operationalised as a category by which audience needs can be identified and met, simultaneously benefitting the visitor and the institution. Yet on the other hand, family is seen as a fluid, inclusive grouping that illustrates Tate's understanding of family as a set of practices. This duality of understandings of family at Tate, then, demonstrates the institution's commitment to critical engagement with society and sociological concepts. Tate's approach to family is therefore pluralistic, pragmatic and sophisticated and is a term used in the museum in specific ways to achieve distinct outcomes.

In essence, this chapter illustrates the paradox of family at Tate and uses the concept of organisational ambidexterity to demonstrate the implications of defining and utilising family in contradictive ways (O'Reilly & Tushman, 2004). Paradox is not an uncommon feature of organisations, and it is understood as the presence of contradiction. It is different from inconsistency or discrepancy since, in the case of paradox, each perspective or outcome happens despite the presence of the other (Quinn & Cameron, 1988). In other words, at Tate there are multiple definitions and uses of family that coexist and this results in unanticipated and sometimes perverse outcomes.

Though an analysis chapter, this chapter differs from others because it presents a foundational step in the research project, with methodological and conceptual implications for the rest of the thesis. In illustrating and analysing Tate's definitions of family, this chapter underpins some of the methodological decisions surrounding recruiting family visitor research participants. For example, for practical purposes, family at Tate is sometimes defined as children

visiting with their domestic adults. This definition of family allowed family visitors to Tate to be identified by the researcher through observation only, thus affording the researcher the ability to quickly assess which visitors were ‘family’, and which were not. The non-chronological nature of this arrangement is a natural symptom of the iterative and non-linear manner of ethnographic work. As well as having important methodological implications, this chapter provides a conceptual foundation for the rest of the thesis that is aligned to Tate’s everyday work.

In addition to its foundational scope within the thesis, this chapter also represents an empirical contribution to visitor and museum studies literature. In providing a view of Tate’s approach to a particular audience type, this chapter invites comparative and analytical work beyond that found in this thesis and contributes to the on-going work to understand family audiences in museum studies. In addition, there is a lack of organisational ambidexterity literature dealing with the context of the public museum and this chapter therefore makes an original empirical contribution to this body of knowledge as it considers how organisational ambidexterity manifests in non-profit organisations (O’Reilly & Tushman, 2013).

4.2 Manifestations of Family at Tate

The results section of this chapter presents a spatial ethnographic account of how family is conceptualised institutionally at Tate. The account is based on data from multiple sources that provide institutional history and policy perspectives and practice-based and material perspectives on the concept of family at Tate. The inclusion of multiple perspectives generated from a range of ethnographic approaches to participants and sources corresponds to spatial ethnography and provides a holistic, inclusive view of how family manifests institutionally at Tate. The data is presented according to its perspective (historic/policy, practice, material) rather than thematically as in subsequent analysis chapters. This is because the data utilised in this chapter tends to correspond to a single perspective, rather than being an intersection of multiple perspectival frameworks.

4.2.1 Social Construction of Family at Tate

4.2.1.1 Strategic Vision

Organisationally, it is clear that increasing and improving family audience visitation is a long-term strategic ambition at Tate. The current director of Tate, Maria Balshaw (2017 – present), has cited the development of family audiences as a key strategic area of work:

> The second area I want to focus on is audiences, particularly targeting young people and families. These groups are naturally more diverse, and there is massive growth potential there. Some of the things we'll implement over the next few months include a new young membership scheme, a major artist-led project connecting schools across London, and really developing the family offer at all sites. In London and Liverpool and St. Ives, it's also about growing our local audience. I want a sense of each Tate feeling like a city or a town's own gallery. So when nearly all of the other regional galleries are free, in terms of their exhibitions as well as their collection displays, we want to examine whether that's possible in St. Ives and Liverpool. (Balshaw, 2017, p. 1).

Though focused on audiences, Balshaw's ambition is not to meet the needs of existing audiences, rather it is to attract new audiences comprising young people, families and local audiences. Perhaps unsurprisingly, given the commitment within the UK cultural sector to the provision of free entry to museums (DCMS, 2016), Tate's pricing structures (entry fee and membership fee) are cited as mechanisms which could be used to encourage growth amongst the priority audiences of young people, families and local audiences. The singular 'family offer' available at each Tate site, though potentially being developed, perhaps betrays Tate's commitment to family as a singular audience with needs that can be met in a single offer. Additionally, Balshaw states that young people and families are audiences that are 'naturally more diverse'. Whilst it is unclear what 'naturally more diverse' means in practice, if family audiences are understood in such a way it is difficult to see why Tate would provide only a singular family offer.

4.2.1.2 Organisational Division and Distribution of Responsibility for Family Audiences

Organisationally, it is the Learning Department at Tate that takes responsibility for non-core audiences, which includes family audiences as well as other non-traditional audiences such as Black, Asian and minority ethnic (BAME) audiences and socially-disadvantaged audiences. This clearly indicates an assumption that family has historically been, and continues to be, a learning audience. To a certain extent, referring to specific audiences as non-core audiences is exclusionary, and managing them through a specific and separate department, indicates that family is not a mainstream, embedded, cross-cutting concern. However, some organisational work has been carried out to distribute responsibility for family audiences.

One of the key ways in which the responsibility for family audiences is distributed between departments is through Tate Modern and Tate Britain's joint Family Implementation Group. This steering group, operating at the London sites only, met monthly throughout the data generation period to discuss family audience related work; the group's terms of reference were restated in December 2016, and are:

> [T]o implement the audience strategy in relation to families across departments. The aims of the group are to attract and retain families at Tate by delivering an excellent, coherent and sustained audience experience across all touch points. (Tate, 2017b, p. 1).

In essence, the group aims to deliver Tate's audience strategy to families and aims to achieve this through collaborative and consistent work. Such terms suggest work to improve and increase family experiences of Tate had previously been challenged by incoherent and sporadic approaches. The steering group comprises approximately 29 members of Tate staff, generally working in middle-managerial roles. Members are drawn from a variety of Tate's departments, including those responsible for: marketing; security; visitor welcome; visitor information; digital and online outputs; and, learning. There is

limited representation within the membership of research, curatorial and conservation staff. Chairship of the group was fluid due to long-term staff absences relating to parental leave and sickness. Meetings of the group were held monthly, though were cancelled on at least five occasions throughout the data generation period. Much of the business of the meetings is dedicated to sharing knowledge about family audiences, and to ensure that family audience needs can be met throughout the museum. For example, events for families might be previewed in these meetings and if family events developed and delivered by the Learning Department are due to take place at specific times, other departments may be asked to deliver complementary offers. The form and content of the Families Implementation Group meetings suggest that the concept of family remains within the domain of the Learning Department and as such is understood as an administrative group. However, the meeting also suggests that the concept of family at Tate is being opened up to change and development, through engaging members of staff and enabling the organisation to work in new ways (Kotter, 2012).

Though Tate Britain and Tate Modern departments might have family audience 'champions' who attend meetings of the Families Implementation Group, some departments have members of staff or volunteers whose primary responsibility is towards family audiences. Many of these roles are within the Learning Department, underlining the historic and current cross-estate responsibility for family audiences held by this department. However, within the Visitor Information Team there are voluntary roles principally-orientated towards family visitors. The Family Visitor Host roles are the result of a pilot scheme held in 2016 at Tate Modern and Tate Britain. Approximately ten volunteers joined the Visitor Information Team with a specific remit to help families to optimise their visits to Tate; these volunteers were easily visible to families but also actively approached family visitors, helping them to plan their visits by directing families towards learning resources or particular galleries. The implementation of these roles suggests an active commitment to the distribution of responsibility for family audiences and the potential that the specificities of family audiences are beginning to gain wider recognition at Tate. However, the voluntary nature of these roles suggests they are non-core roles, and the signposting of families

towards Learning Department resources highlights a deeply ingrained sense that family audiences require learning support during their visits.

Tate's strategic ambition, as articulated by Balshaw, and the organisational division of responsibility for family indicates the conflation of several audience categories, adding complexity to understanding how family is defined at Tate. On the one hand, family is recognised as a discrete audience category with its own particular needs and there is clearly institutional commitment to ensuring these needs are adequately met across the museum. On the other hand, however, family is part of a wider discourse of diversity within Tate that includes socio-cultural factors such as ethnicity, race and locality to Tate. This suggests the possibility that, at Tate, family is produced as a category that is awkwardly connected to other socio-cultural factors. In other words, it seems taken for granted that family visitation of museums does not vary according to locality to Tate, race, ethnicity or any other socio-cultural factor.

4.2.2 Social Production of Family within Tate

4.2.2.1 Staff Talk

The following results were generated from in-depth interviews with practitioners. The results focus on staff talk about family, an approach based on a discursive view of talk that sees it as a constitutive part of practice (Shaw & Dawson, 2001). Thus, this section of the chapter presents a definition of family at Tate based on how it is produced socially through practice.

A primary result from attending to staff talk is that there is no single, established meaning of family; no singular, common or corporate approach has been communicated. This fluidity is evident in the ways in which members of Tate staff talk about family and becomes more acute when participants reflect on how they understand family in relation to the responsibilities pertaining to their roles and, in some cases, the institution more widely. In a direct sense, many of those participating in in-depth interviews spoke of and consistently reiterated the difficulties faced in establishing an effective, single definition of family. This was typified by a senior leader at Tate:

> I think family is really quite complicated at Tate, I think the notion of family is [erm], is both understood in quite traditional terms, it's, it's mum and dad or two carers, not necessarily two parents, and small children [erm], and [erm], you know, it's it's it's that unit coming to the gallery and having experiences. But I think in more recent years, the notion of family has kind of broadened out a bit and it has come a bit less [er] defined in those terms. But I'm not saying we've really got to a stage where we have figured out what it really is yet, I think the notion of families is one of those classic Tate things, where I think we all think families are a really great thing but I don't think we sit around enough going what do we think, why do we think it's a good thing? And, [erm] we all think we should have more families coming in to Tate, but it's like, why do we think, apart from a kind of audience development, we want more families coming and [erm], so I think there is real commitment at the moment to developing a family audience I'm not quite sure we've quite, within the organisation, got to the next stage of thinking… (Respondent H: Senior Leader, Learning, Tate, in-depth interview, April 2017).

By emphasising the variability of the concept of family within Tate, this participant articulates some of the key challenges of family within the organisation. One of these is to recognise that traditional sociological understandings of family based on heteronormativity (Folgerø, 2008), though deeply ingrained and utilised within the institution, are not necessarily adequate ways of understanding family within the institution and, more broadly, within contemporary society. The development of new ways of thinking about family in the institution is clearly valued, representing a commitment to the viability of the category whilst demonstrating a desire to be responsive to a changing society.

Respondent H also articulated that audience development, of itself, is not perceived as an adequate reason to increase family audiences. Audience development, within museums, is a term used to refer to typical museum practices associated with increasing the volume of non-traditional audiences (Black, 2005, 2016). Respondent H may be suggesting that 'audience

development' is a basic reason for increasing family audiences, but perhaps not the most considered reason, something that will be discussed in Section 4.3.

Other respondents confirm the general sense of the variability of family at Tate. For example:

> There are certain things that we need to consider [erm], for families, everything from wraps to buggies, from somewhere to sit down – where you might be able to have a packed lunch. All that kind of thing is important. [Erm], but I also think, in terms of marketing, we are also trying to think of, like, location – so where are families based? Are they traveling a long way to come to Tate or are they more local. (Respondent E: Manager, Marketing, Tate Modern and Tate Britain, in-depth interview, October 2015).

> For us, it [family] is an all-expansive [sic] grouping and what is important is that we might provide opportunities to work together, to come together and to create together. (Respondent B: Manager, Learning, Tate St. Ives, in-depth interview, October 2015).

> Family, we suppose, is one person over 16 and one person under 16 visiting the gallery together… one of our family programmes actually encouraged our audiences to think about the meaning and definition of family. (Respondent G: Manager, Learning, Tate Modern and Tate Britain, in-depth interview, May 2017).

When asked to talk about how family is defined at Tate, it seems, members of Tate's staff refrain from definitive descriptions, and instead focus on the various considerations that might inform how family is understood, whether this is practical or conceptual. This focus gives a sense of how widely family is understood as a fluid concept that is responsive to difference, potentially less important to museum experiences than actual art engagement. Yet the widely-held reluctance to place definite limits on what family is perhaps suggests that Tate is unwilling to open themselves to criticism by presenting a singular

definition, perhaps reflecting an awareness that family can be a contentious concept.

Whilst expanded definitions of family not based on heteronormative ideals are consistent features of participant narratives, the presence of children was generally cited as the defining feature of family audiences, even where the breadth of family was also cited as an important feature of their understanding of family. For example:

> So I think it is quite broad, I mean my job specifically, because I am looking at the events programmes that are designed for children, sort of, considering children coming to Tate with their, sort of, parents or guardians. As a family group I also think of siblings coming on their own, to single parents with a child, to same-sex couples with a child. (Respondent E: Manager, Marketing, Tate Modern and Tate Britain, in-depth interview, October 2015).

> I would say that [erm] we try and be as broad as possible in defining a family group, because a family and the make-up of a family can be very, very different, so you can have older children, much younger children, and combination of different ages of children. (Respondent F: Senior Manager, Visitor Experience, Tate Modern and Tate Britain, in-depth interview, November 2015).

Only one respondent questioned whether children should be considered a defining feature of family audiences:

> For us, to consider and reflect on family groups in relation to social shifts. So, for example, one in five women who are over forty-five are childless. I was just doing some Google stuff; I put in "women over forty no children". The top things that you get are: *should women over forty be allowed to have children? What do you think of single women of forty with no children? Any woman who says she is happy to be childless is a fool.* It is like a societal shift that there are more women at that point who are childless, and I suppose I am also in that bracket. So I think it is

> important to understand how families in contemporary society are, but I think our phraseology is also important – is it [Tate's phraseology] off putting to families? (Respondent A: Manager, Learning, Tate St. Ives, in-depth interview, October 2015).

The reported results of the internet search reflect the issue raised by Perry (2013) that, in the context of the museum, woman is used as shorthand for mother (see Section 2.3.3). The reported results of the internet search suggest a prevailing assumption that 'woman' equates to 'mother', and, beyond this, that deviation from this paradigm may threaten society. Though an unjust assumption, the respondent engages with the debate and is clearly aware of the complexity of the relationship between family and society, an awareness that is seemingly based on her own subjectivities. This demonstrates how difference amongst staff may translate into more varied institutional thinking and beyond this, into more inclusive working practices.

4.2.2.2 Practitioner Reflexivity

A peculiarity of the data used as the empirical basis for this section of the chapter is that many research participants drew heavily on their personal experiences of family when talking about family in their professional lives. All those participating in in-depth interviews were female and whilst all talked openly about their experience of family, half of the respondents talked about their experiences of motherhood. In many cases, it is possible to see that research participants' circumstances and experience of family helped them to configure their understanding of what family is in their professional situation.

Other respondents also drew from their personal experiences of family to shape their understanding of the concept. For example, Respondent C, a mother of three children as well as a curator at Tate, was accompanied by one of her children to her interview, which took place within her working day at Tate but during her child's half-term holiday. This scenario represents one of the practical challenges of family; in other words, the respondent brought one of her children to work as a solution to the problem of childcare. Respondent C

referred to this challenge and spoke about the importance of family programming meeting the needs of adults as well as children within families.

This challenge is normally discussed in ethnography in relation to the researcher and is connected to the widely held belief that the ethnographer's personal subjectivities influence their professional research activity (Pink, 2007). In general, reflexivity is an approach that is used to hold the overlapping of personal and professional experiences, beliefs and attitudes to account (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009). The significant volume of interview participants who freely interwove their personal experiences of family with their professional attitudes, discussions and behaviours in respect of family underlines the everyday nature, plurality and pervasiveness of the concept at Tate. In addition, however, research participants, in fact, use their own experiences of family to examine and evaluate their own professional practices, suggesting reflexivity is a key part of their role as practitioners of family museum work.

This peculiarity of the data is important particularly because the issue arises through spatial ethnography's sensitivity to contextuality and thus may be an issue that has been overlooked in research that relies on non-ethnographic methodologies. Moreover, the dialogic relationship between personal and professional conceptualisations of family suggests the potential role of empathy in Tate's institutional definitions of family.

4.2.2.3 Family and Other Priority Audiences

Despite a reluctance to describe family in definite terms, in-depth interview participants often seemed to talk about family in conjunction with other priority audience types. As we have seen, diversity has been used to articulate a supposed attribute of Tate's potential family audiences. Related to this, one respondent stated that:

> Our role is, in a sense, to support [family] visitors to get cultural competence and confidence so that they feel able to visit galleries generally… but also, just selfishly, the energy of a gallery is better if you've got families in it, it feels, for me, more interested, eclectic, diverse,

> you know, if you just have a gallery-going public that are all exactly the same, then that is a real problem. (Respondent H: Senior Leader, learning, Tate, in-depth interview, April 2017).

Not only did Respondent H suggest that families equate to diversity in museums, but they also noted Tate's role in supporting family audiences to become general museum audiences, suggesting that family visitors tend also to be first-time visitors. Likewise, Respondent A talked about the responsibility they felt to ensure family visitors would leave Tate with the ability to return, or visit other museums:

> I think that the first-time visitor thing does influence us, thinking about how we get those people coming back… so I think we consider that thinking about how we bring that family back in when it is there first visit and how we are engaging with them and how we are building on that future. (Respondent A: Manager, Learning, Tate St. Ives, in-depth interview, October 2015).

Moreover, some respondents were more explicit in their suggestion that family audiences might intersect with other priority audiences:

> Also we do want to attract families from a sort of broad, a diverse range of backgrounds as possible, also things like the events that are mostly free, all those kind of things [are] in the picture. (Respondent E: Manager, Marketing, Tate Modern and Tate Britain, in-depth interview, October 2015)

> And again, obviously family groups are essential, and it's about getting them young. But it's also about reaching new audiences as well. Not just thinking about your sort of middle-class families who tend to be a sort of huge part of our audience but also thinking about other families, hard-to-reach families and the families that we need to work harder to go out, to bring in and thinking about how Tate appears to them when they come through the door. (Respondent F: Senior Manager, Visitor

Experience, Tate Modern and Tate Britain, in-depth interview, November 2015).

Though Respondent F is able to talk with confidence about the intersection of audience agendas, the language used to describe priority audiences, such as local, diverse, hard-to-reach or first-time, is used by the respondent in opposition to the middle-class identities given to existing family audiences. This points to the euphemistic nature of the language used to identify and describe priority audiences, which tends to displace or make tacit assumptions about underlying discourses of class, race and ethnicity.

Only one member of Tate staff participating in in-depth interviews talked with openness and clarity about how her work with family audiences was directly related to other priority audiences, in this case, socially-disadvantaged families. At the beginning of the interview, Respondent C talked about local audiences:

> I mean, we do lots of work, I guess we kind of think of our local audiences, that is one of our target audiences, our local audiences; one of our jobs is to engage our local groups, which I think we do quite well. (Respondent C: Manager, Learning, Tate Liverpool, in-depth interview, October 2015).

Subsequently, however, Respondent C was forthright about the local family audiences they worked with in their Family Collective programme, their flagship family offer:

> The families we are working with aren't your sort of middle-class Guardian readers. They're from Kensington [Liverpool], which is [er], sort of an inner-city area, quite an area of deprivation. They are fantastic, a really dynamic group they are brilliant. But it was a bit like, you don't want to say, you could tell they felt like they weren't able to pull off the production of the programme. And, as practitioners, you don't want to put people and visitors under pressure. You want to make sure that they get something out of the experience. (Respondent C: Manager, Learning, Tate Liverpool, in-depth interview, October 2015).

Family Collective is a free programme run by Tate Liverpool for parents living in the Kensington and Fairfield ward of the city. Members of Family Collective work with an artist-educator (Respondent L) to co-produce Tate Liverpool's family half-term programme and other family resources. All members of Family Collective were recruited by the artist-educator through her other work at the council-funded children's centre serving the Kensington and Fairfield ward of Liverpool. Liverpool City Council (2015) state that, according to the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD), the socio-economic status of 90.9% of those inhabiting the Kensington and Fairfield ward fall into the category of the 10% most deprived households nationally. By this measure, Kensington and Fairfield is one of Liverpool's most deprived wards, falling significantly below the city's average as well as the national average of all metrics associated with the IMD. The success of Family Collective, articulated by all respondents based at Tate Liverpool, is largely reliant on the artist-educator's networks, in-depth knowledge of Liverpool's free services (including Tate Liverpool), and her capability of negotiating them. The Family Collective programme aims to empower its members to access the free services offered within the city, including museums but also healthcare and education for themselves and their children. In some ways, Family Collective is unique amongst Tate's family programmes, since, though operating according to family as a parent/child relationship, it prioritises parents rather than children.

Family Collective and its content features in subsequent analysis chapters, however, for now what is at stake is the way in which practitioner respondents talked about the programme. Respondent C, as we have seen above, notes that the families targeted by the programme are severely socially and economically disadvantaged. Her description of the integration of priority audiences also expresses her anxiety at potentially putting visitors under pressure by asking them to do something (co-produce a museum learning programme) on a voluntary basis. This suggests the respondent's sensitivity to the challenges of volunteering or unwaged labour for those without other means of financial support.

Respondent C indicates how particular language within museums work, in this case, 'local audiences' can be coded to mean different things, namely socially- and economically- disadvantaged audiences. It is interesting to note that, internally, Tate produce language and etiquette guides to help staff talk and write respectfully and uniformly about identity. Guides have been produced to direct staff in how they address disability, race and ethnicity and gender and sexuality, however, no such guide is available to support members of staff in how they might address issues of social class or context, which are clearly at stake in the case of Family Collective, and most likely at stake in other areas of Tate's work. The reasons for this omission could be many, however, it seems difficult to address the challenge of class inclusivity without frameworks that engage in its language and discourse.

4.2.3 Discourse and Language of Family at Tate

This section of the chapter presents the ambient texts at Tate, types of written communication orientated towards the goal of influencing, managing and shaping family experiences of Tate.

4.2.3.1 Signage and Information Posters

Signage is an important feature of Tate as it is a simple way of helping families navigate the complex and large spaces of museums. Signage is a ubiquitous feature of museums with scope to be the focus of its own spatial ethnographic research project. At Tate, for example, signage is very closely managed by the visitor information and communication section of the Audiences department to ensure parity and prevent excess. Along these lines, signed-information from around the museum is often distilled into large-format information posters, and, because of this representative nature, it is these posters on which the results reported in this section focus. Though adhering to Tate-wide branding, information displayed at Tate particularly for family audiences incorporates the 'family look and feel', underlining the perceived special requirements of family audiences (Figure 6).

Figure 6 Welcome and Orientation Leaflet, 2016, Tate Modern. Source, Tate.

The posters (Figure 7), which normally appear during school holidays, provide a synopsis of family activities and facilities, including their locations, times and prices and clearly identify family as their intended audience. Much of the information on the poster supports the practicalities of family visits to museums. By informing its readers where they can rest and where they can eat and drink cheaply, the content of the poster acknowledges that families have specific, practical priorities to which the institution must attend. The posters also communicate special offers for families which include free meals for children in Tate's catering outlets and discounted prices for multiple audio guides, seemingly recognising that family museum visitation can be perceived as costly. In a wider sense, the posters can also be understood as pragmatic; their focus is on the needs of children, underlining the fact that family is perceived as adults with their children.

Figure 7 Families Poster, Tate Modern, 2015. Source, author.

Occasionally, temporary signage is displayed at Tate. One particular sign displayed at Tate Britain during the data generation period drew attention to the possibility of moral contention at the intersection of art and family. An audio-visual artwork by Rachel Maclean entitled *Wot U ☺ About?* was displayed at Tate Britain between November 2016 and April 2017. The content of the artwork, though perhaps similar to a children's television programme in its inclusion of brightly coloured, larger-than-life animated characters, in fact explored the negative and sometimes sinister aspects of data in contemporary society. The artwork, though displayed in a gallery with only two entrance points and omitted from the museum's 'Walk Through British Art' route, was partially visible from outside the gallery and was largely audible. The partial permeation of the artwork into other galleries and into one of the main thoroughfares of the museum produced a sense of intrigue in many visitors. However, for many, this intrigue was interrupted by temporary signage notifying visitors that the artwork was unsuitable for children. The presence of this temporary signage, understood in light of the fact that Tate's permanent signage addresses families as adults with their children, highlights the moral

challenges which may face families viewing art together. The installation of these particular signs in an institution where signage is carefully limited perhaps underlines the level of severity with which Tate views the moral nature of families. Additionally, it is interesting to note that, though the misuse of data in contemporary society may be seen as a threat that children should be aware of, this artwork which deals with the subject is not seen as a way in which children can learn about such a subject.

4.3 Findings and Discussion

The spatial ethnographic account of the conceptualisation of family at Tate presented in the previous section illustrates the plurality of how family is defined at Tate. Family is clearly understood as an audience type with high strategic value and thus one which warrants increased and improved experiences of the museum. Family, though perceived as an inclusive grouping that should not be limited according to the social structure of marriage and childrearing, nevertheless seems to generally be defined as children and their domestic adults. In addition, it is clear that family audiences are recognised as audiences that have specific needs, generally practical or moral and relating to the presence of children. Moreover, often, as an audience type, family is integrated with other priority audience types. Most overtly family audiences are integrated with socially-disadvantaged audiences, but also with BAME audiences. It seems then, that family at Tate is a malleable concept, that, in some scenarios is a rigid and identifiable audience group that can be known, appeased and appealed to. At the other end of the spectrum, however, family is an inclusive grouping defined by the multiple realities, attitudes and practices of everyday lives. All this indicates that family is defined and utilised as an audience category that can be managed strategically to meet particular needs, whether they be audience or institutional. Simultaneously, however, family is also conceptualised as a fluid, limitless grouping that is sensitive to individual agency.

4.3.1 Paradoxes of Family and Organisational Ambidexterity

As has been illustrated in the results section of this chapter, there is no single, organisational definition of family at Tate. This section of the chapter will demonstrate the paradoxes of the definitions of family at Tate, that is, show how the multiple ways family is used and understood at Tate achieve successful and distinct outcomes in spite of the other. Further, the intentional nature of the paradox of family means that this part of Tate's work can be understood as organisationally ambidextrous.

As the results section of this chapter has shown, Tate's policies, strategies and family-orientated resources suggest that family is defined and used as an audience management category. It is an identifiable segment of the institution's visitors with its own specific, often practical, needs. In general, there is a consensus at Tate that these needs relate to the presence of children within a family group and, as such, suggest that one of the ways family is defined within the institution is as *children and their adults visiting the institution.* Though the immediate impression given by this definition is that it is unrestrictive, it effectively excludes family groups without children, families with complex adult configurations, as well as all families who do not visit the institution. Such a definition might also unintentionally serve to exclude family visitors with teenagers, individuals who are between childhood and adulthood (Tisdall, 2017). In the first instance, failure to pay attention to the 'silent voices', such as those mentioned above, reduces the potential of understanding how exclusion might operate (Fine, 1992). Linked to this, a definition and use of family based on potentially reductionist identity-related needs means it faces the challenges common to audience segmentation that were examined during Chapter Two; that is, defining family as children and their adults visiting the museum positions family as an exclusive category that precludes attempts to understand and address the challenge of inclusivity (Dawson & Jensen, 2011).

The focus on children in Early Years and Foundation, Key Stage One and Key Stage Two education could also be limiting in terms of learning and the development of brand affinity. Whilst learning about art, objects or art practice could provide cross-cutting educational benefits (Hackett, 2016), when focusing

on families with young children, opportunities to support the education of children in Key Stage Three and Key Stage Four (i.e. 11-16 year olds) education could be missed. Young adults (i.e. 11-18 year olds), too, are more likely to form strong brand affinities than very young or young children, or indeed adults (Ilicic, Baxter, & Kulczynski, 2016). Since Tate's brand is powerful (Stallabrass, 2014), and branding remains a focus in museums in general (Black, 2012; Evans, 2003), a focus on older children visiting in their family groups could potentially assist in the development of lifelong relationships.

However, since family is clearly defined and used as an audience management category, it is helpful to understand the structures in which the category works. As Chapter Two underlines, the aim of audience management categories is to increase museum visitation by meeting defined, identity-related needs of museum visitors, thus maintaining and possibly increasing the volume of people visiting the museum (Falk, 2008).

It is fairly well documented that, rather than being solely concerned with the preservation and acquisition of collections, museums in the UK have faced increasing pressures to demonstrate their relevance to society (Black, 2012). As introduced in Chapter One, since the advent of the new museology, museum work has been reconfigured to account for audiences, both actual and potential, as well as objects. Since this work is less concerned with engaging existing or core audiences, museum strategies are, in theory, often connected to inclusivity or diversity (Black, 2012).

This transition to relevance coincides with the era of New Public Management (NPM), a management strategy widely and rigorously adopted in the UK since 1997 but seen across other international contexts too (Hood, 1991; Hood, Dixon, & Beeston, 2008). In the UK, under New Labour, publicly-funded cultural institutions such as Tate arguably received generous funding, but with this came new responsibilities as museums found themselves subject to the various facets of accountability within NPM (Hesmondhalgh, Nisbett, Oakley, & Lee, 2015). Publicly-funded museums were (and remain) expected to be financially accountable and transparent, manage risk, set strategic direction and

have measurable targets, and, critically, be open to all (DCMS, 2016). The inclusivity agendas of museums, therefore, are intimately connected to NPM as well as being subject to its frameworks of accountability. This research is less concerned with debating the extent to which NPM or accountability has permeated the landscape of publicly-funded cultural institutions than it is with recognising its arrival, its enduring presence and attending to its organisational implications. Foregrounding the prevalence of accountability frameworks within museums provides a way to understand how family, defined as children and their adults visiting the museum, is connected to the institutional need to demonstrate accountability and thus might be conceptualised as a mechanism and symptom of NPM institutional strategies.

As we have seen, inclusivity is a key challenge facing museums. Audience development is a common approach to addressing this challenge but, and as underlined by Respondent H, this can be perceived as tokenistic. In terms of audience development, what the spatial ethnographic account presented above illustrates is that using family as an audience management category is a way of demonstrating a range of inclusivity measures. In other words, though family is a very definite grouping, it is a useful category in audience development because it is flexible enough to accommodate factors pertaining to inclusivity and diversity agendas.

In the first instance, families at Tate are understood as learning audiences or non-core audiences (see Sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2). The nature of the relationship between families, learning and museums is the subject of Chapter Five, but for now it is important to note that learning, or education, is one of the key characteristics of families at Tate.

The data illustrates that, at Tate, family is a priority audience that is often collapsed with other priority audiences, particularly socially-disadvantaged and BAME audiences. As we have seen, family was almost always talked about and practiced in conjunction with ‘diversity’, ‘local’, ‘community’ or ‘first time’ audience agendas. On the one hand, terms such as diverse, local, community and first time might be seen as language that effectively displaces important socio-cultural factors such as race, ethnicity and class. On the other hand, such

terms might afford the situated study of class, race, ethnicity or other identity-related factors since they acknowledge the possibility of intersectional identities (Heaphy, 2012). Though the lack of clarity surrounding under-represented audiences is surely something museums must continue to address (Tlili, 2008, 2014), it is possible that the willingness to collapse family with other socio-economic factors associated with priority museum audiences is a symptom of the openness of family as a category.

Family, then is perhaps narrowly conceptualised as an audience segment but is a useful term nonetheless; its flexibility as a term allows Tate to demonstrate its commitment to inclusivity. First, family is used as a term to support non-core audiences, and to support education agendas. Supporting education could be a particularly useful outcome of family as an audience management category for museums funded by Local Authorities, since as Tlili (2008) notes, locally-funded public museums are often pressed into the service of statutory-funded activities such as education or health or social care. As an audience management category, family overlaps with other priority audience segments but is inclusive because it of its failure to be specific. Tor Tate then, defining family as an audience segment offers further means of demonstrating the important work it does to encourage inclusivity.

The definition of family as an audience segment used for the purpose of accounting in inclusivity work, however, has contradicting elements that are at once ironic and paradoxical. It is ironic that audience segmentation, necessarily reductive, is used to achieve greater inclusivity. This might be read as an unintended outcome of accountability frameworks and deserves further research (Espeland & Sauder, 2007; Tlili, 2008, 2014). Using family to label a rigid audience segment, whilst simultaneously benefitting from its flexible nature, however, is paradoxical.

Though one version of the paradox of family has been made clear, the sense of contradiction is heightened when the social production of family at Tate is examined. As noted in Section 4.2.2, family consistently resists definitions. Most clearly, this is apparent from the way that interview respondents, though clearly understanding family according to its potential to be managed in such a

way that it meets and delivers accountability measures, were keenly focused on the concept of family as inclusive, open and practice-centred, much like Morgan's (2011) definition of family as based on behaviours (see Section 2.1). An important factor to bear in mind is each respondent's personal connections to family, and their willingness to reflect on their own experiences, whilst simultaneously adhering to a fixed version of family. All respondents were female, and though personal experiences of motherhood was not a topic directly addressed in the research, eight respondents discussed their definitions of family in response to their status as mothers or non-mothers. The incidence of women respondents is unsurprising, since women are over-represented in general in the museum workforce (though women are significantly under-represented at board level within museums) (ACE, 2015). It is perhaps also unsurprising that respondents related understandings of family to motherhood, since child bearing/rearing and family persist as connected female issues (Lloyd et al., 2009). Perhaps more surprising was the willingness of respondents to draw on their own personal experiences of family to inform their definitions of the term, despite acknowledging how their work was structured according to a very specific definition of family, children and their adults visiting the institution. Here the paradox becomes clear, family is simultaneously defined and used to meet the needs of audiences and management agendas whilst operating fluidly to be sensitive to difference. This suggests that one of the key ways that family is defined at Tate is shaped by female subjectivities and approaches and raises questions around the absence of males from discourses and understandings of family at Tate.

Organisations intentionally structured to simultaneously exploit established patterns and explore new approaches are often understood to be organisationally ambidextrous, a trait indicative of good performance over time, particularly as a way of successfully dealing with disruption or change (O'Reilly & Tushman, 2004). Ambidextrous organisations manage the competing priorities or contradictions or established ways of working and experimental approaches, recognise that short-term performance will be disrupted and the need to be flexible and adaptable. Such organisations, it might be said, embrace disruption, committing funds to the exploration of new models despite the fact that such models could undermine existing ways of work.

Organisational ambidexterity is most often discussed in private sector businesses and is analysed in terms of performance, which, generally speaking, is understood as profit. This concept has rarely been discussed in non-profit (third sector and public) organisations, where performance may be measured in alternative ways.

Tate, as a non-profit organisation, measures its performance in a variety of ways that are common to many cultural institutions (Belfiore & Bennett, 2008). As we have seen, one of the ways Tate's performance is evaluated is according to how well audiences are engaged and the socio-cultural diversity of audiences. By and large, this is achieved by measuring visitor numbers and repeat visitor numbers and capturing demographic data from visitors.

Tate's definitions and use of the concept of family, it seems, can be read as an organisationally ambidextrous approach to performing well in terms of audiences. On the one hand, Tate is structured in such a way that it can exploit family as an audience category, using it to demonstrate its commitment to inclusion and diversity within an arena that provides funding in return for demonstrable accountability. On the other hand, Tate also understands the concept of family as a set of practices, clearly recognising the need to critically engage with the concept of family, questioning its status as a definite category and maintaining a sensitivity to its fluidity and ambiguity.

Chapter Five
Learning as Family Practice

The previous chapter has set out the definitions of family in use at Tate. Whilst operating as an analytical chapter, the main purpose of Chapter Four is to provide an empirical contribution to family museum visitor studies and thus to open up opportunities for further, comparative research. In addition, Chapter Four has methodological implications for this research since it provides a context for understanding the nature of family at Tate, and thus informing data generation and analysis presented in chapters, five, six and seven. In this sense, then, the ethnographic approach is useful because it affords non-linearity, that is, early data generation and analysis procedures have the potential to influence and inform later data generation and analysis procedures.

This chapter, then, therefore, represents a change in approach to the research and signals the beginning of the main section of analytical presentation.

As Chapter Two outlines, learning is one of the key lenses used to explore family engagement in museums. This is perhaps a logical approach to understanding how families experience museums, since families are often deemed responsible for children's education (Morgan, 2011), and museums are often perceived as spaces that can deliver education (Hein, 1998; Hooper-Greenhill, 2007; Pringle & DeWitt, 2014). Furthermore, approaching family experiences in museums through the lens of learning is an effective way of demonstrating the worth of museums to society because it utilises existing evaluative frameworks that are recognised beyond the museum sector (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007). Learning, therefore, can be an effective way of analysing family engagement in museums because it draws from an established discipline and can produce results and findings with instrumental value.

However, and as also noted in Chapter Two, using family learning as proxy for family engagement is problematic because it can lead to the analysis of discrete episodes during museum visits, potentially obscuring any learning (or other outcome) that happens whilst families are not directly engaged with museum exhibits. Beyond this, it is rare for the analysis of learning to take place at the

level of family; more often learning is evaluated at the level of individual (Astor-Jack et al., 2007). Failure to take into account learning across the museum site and the complexity of family is problematic because this prioritises specific types of learning, most notably cognitive learning, and also tends to promote children as learners, obscuring the possibility of adults or even adolescents as learners.

The need to establish new ways of understanding family learning in museums is particularly pressing for Tate, since the institution's understanding of education differs from traditional versions of learning. Pringle and DeWitt's (2014) work provides an in-depth view of what learning is at Tate, and how it is constructed. Rather than understanding family museum learning as the transmission or creation of knowledge at the exhibit face, at Tate, learning is conceptualised as a process of change that happens throughout an individual's or a family's relationship with the museum; learning is a disruptive process underpinned by a sense of equality. This theory of learning, broadly speaking, is practiced at Tate through the centrality afforded to visitors' agency and the embedding of art and artistic practice in learning processes. This chapter engages in critical dialogue with Pringle and DeWitt's work to investigate and evaluate how Tate's institutional stance shapes family engagement in the museum.

The key finding of the spatial ethnographic account presented in this chapter is that whilst Tate is an environment that encourages learning experiences for families, those families visiting the institution can fail to recognise learning opportunities that are not aligned to traditional versions of learning, like school curricula. This is evident from the motivations and agendas of family visits, as well as from the way in which families approached Tate's learning resources and programmes. Likewise, front of house staff at Tate, who directly encounter family visitors, reflect the prioritisation of formal learning strategies in the way in which they talk about families, and the work they do for families. The prioritisation of formal learning processes and outcomes was overtly evident in the way families talked about their motivations and strategies for visiting museums, and less overtly, in the ways they approached and used learning resources and programmes produced by Tate. However, it is also evident that families were capable of engaging in non-cognitive learning opportunities but

were less aware and less able to articulate these types of learning processes and implications. The emphasis placed by families on children's learning during museum visits, as both a motivating factor and organisational strategy, underlines parental responsibility for children's learning as a way of practicing family.

What follows is a spatial ethnographic account of family learning at Tate that illustrates and addresses the impacts of the similarities and differences between institutional and individual approaches to learning at Tate. The account is based on spatial ethnographic data generated throughout the data generation time period and across Tate Liverpool, Tate Britain and Tate Modern, and relies particularly on the appearance of meaning making frameworks and how they are managed by family visitors and by members of Tate staff concerned with family audiences from across the institution and at varying levels of seniority. The next section of this chapter outlines in more depth Tate's approach to learning, and how this is operationalised in the context of family. Following this, it illustrates how the school curriculum can impact self-led family experiences of Tate and how families respond to Tate's learning programmes and resources. In the final section of this chapter, discussion focuses on the importance families, particularly parents, attach to augmenting school-based learning through museum visitation.

5.1 Family Approaches to Learning at Tate

This chapter operates in dialogue with Pringle and DeWitt's (2014) account of Tate's institutional stance on learning since it is able to address one of the paper's acknowledged deficiencies. Pringle and DeWitt's paper is based on in-depth interviews with senior members of Tate staff; the perspectives of other members of Tate staff are purposefully excluded. The approach adopted by Pringle and DeWitt establishes an institutional stance on learning and thus provides scope for testing how this stance might work in practice. This chapter, therefore, is positioned to evaluate the practical relevance and application of Tate's institutional stance on learning, in the context of families, as well as to document and analyse family audience responses to institutionally constructed learning opportunities.

Pringle and DeWitt's (2014) work makes clear that learning at Tate has a particular meaning, it is a process of change, underpinned by art and art practice, as well as inclusivity. In-depth interview respondents were able to articulate this meaning, for example, one respondent stated:

> …agency, curiosity and wonder are the sort of values we work by…We start with art and artists. (Respondent G, Manager, Learning Department, Tate Britain and Tate Modern, in-depth interview April 2017).

Another respondent explained that understanding learning as a process of change can present difficulties in terms of evaluation and visitor understanding. Talking about how parents might learn during an Early Years and Families programme, she stated:

> With the early years programme a lot of the things that come up are more about seeing their children in a different way, so they [parents] could be like, I didn't know that they [child] could do that. So it is more, I guess, there is more sort of evidence of that sort, of surprise, of, "Wow! They (children) are these independent people that have got these critical thinking skills." (Manager, Learning, Tate Liverpool, in-depth interview, October 2015)

In these cases, then, art is used as a vector for learning; Tate's conceptualisation of learning does not necessarily mean that families should gain art historical knowledge, but rather that their way of thinking might be changed, or, in the case of the parent attending a programme with their child, that they would learn about their child.

The next sections address how family visitors to Tate engage with this mode and understanding of learning.

5.1.1 School Curriculum-Led Meaning Making

Where a family visit to Tate is curriculum-orientated, visit trajectories are organised according to particular exhibits that resonate with something that at least one child in the family group is currently learning at school. Families in these cases, when asked during interviews to talk about their visits, report looking for and seeing particular art works of which one person in the family already has prior knowledge, before deviating from their intended journey through the museum. These families do not always seek specific meaning making resources from Tate, or seek assistance from members of staff, but use their own knowledge as a platform from which to organise their experience of Tate and ensure that the outcome of their visit is meaningful.

> (Mother) We just have an hour to kill and the boys are studying history at school and so we have started in the historical bit to see if we can see some historical figures in the paintings that the boys have encountered at school.
> (Mother to children) We saw Charles I, didn't we? The bust of Charles I, and we had a look at the dress in that room and wondered if we would like to wear what they were wearing; did you want to wear the costumes?
> (Children) No!
> (Mother) No, you didn't want to wear the tights. So, now we have come in here and mummy, who has a fair knowledge of art, was going to show the boys the Hogarth work and see if they could see all the naughty people in the picture!
> (Mother and two children under 12, Tate Britain, intercept interview, January 2017)

> (Father) We've never been here before, (to his children) have we? But we came today because the boys are learning about David Hockney at school and we have a painting at home, a print, and we came to see that.
> (Older child) Erm yeah, and it's quite big yeah.
> (Father) Erm, so we've been to see David Hockney, and then to the shop, the cafe, and we are just starting to look around the rest of the exhibits.

(Father and two children under 12, latterly joined by their mother, Tate Britain, intercept interview, March 2017)

(Child) Erm, I came to find Gaubo, because I am studying him in my art class, I haven't found the works yet though.
(Mother) No, we've not been here very long so we've done the Walk through British Art room, and got this far, and found it all a bit distracting on the way because there's so many things happening.
(Mother and one child between 12 and 16, Tate Britain, intercept interview, February 2017. N.B. visit took place during the weekend-long special event BP Family Festival: Play the Gallery)

The curriculum followed by children in school can operate as a family's motivation for visiting Tate and can also help organise their visit. In other words, families might decide to visit Tate because it exhibits an artwork produced by an artist a child has already learnt about in school, or perhaps because it can provide context for history lessons. In these cases, families arrive at Tate with an existing plan of where to go and what to see. However, for families following these visit trajectories, meaning making is attached to what has been learnt at school; the museum visit operates as a way of enriching the existing knowledge of, generally speaking, one or two family members. Moreover, beyond seeing an artwork and perhaps describing an artwork, families are unable to articulate how or what they have learnt.

Observations and intercept interviews do suggest that some families value Tate as a space that can encourage and facilitate learning in a more general sense. One mother and daughter expressed how they found the Turbine Hall at Tate Modern to be a particularly inspiring space.

Child: [Sitting on the floor drawing, but breaks her attention to show the interviewer her drawing of the Turbine Hall]
Mother: …it's (the Turbine Hall) a lovely space, I'm trying to inspire her (child) with her drawing and also with her writing, I want her to write down about what she's seen and things like that and show her art if I can, you know.

(Mother and child under 11, Tate Modern, intercept interview, January 2017)

There is a strong sense that the mother feels responsibility to provide learning experiences for her child but, moreover, that these experiences should be special, warranting creative artistic and literary records. It is interesting to note that, though the mother's (and the daughter's) primary focus is on drawing, the mother is also keen that her daughter is inspired to write. It is difficult to assess whether the mother includes writing for its creative value, or because it is valued within her daughter's school curriculum. Whatever the case may be, there is a sense that here learning is less attached to formal curriculum than it is to a sense of more general development and the acknowledgement of Tate's Turbine Hall as a special and inspiring space that could help learners go beyond the curriculum.

Putting these two spatial ethnographic descriptions together emphasises the importance afforded to children's learning within family groups. Whether directly curriculum related or not, families use and understand Tate as a space that in some way can encourage or facilitate children's learning. Normally, this learning might be directly related to a school curriculum; children are encouraged and facilitated by their adults to see an artwork that they have learnt about at school. In some cases, children's learning might help them to go beyond the school curriculum, that is, parents or adults may use Tate as a resource to enhance their child's all-round development. In another sense, however, Tate works to support intergenerational learning and curriculum, or child-based learning can undermine this.

5.1.2 Tate-Led Meaning Making

Not all family meaning making is directed by the school curriculum or by the existing knowledge of families. Tate provides specific resources for families that aim to promote family communication as well as understanding of the museum, its collections, and, in a broader sense, art and art practice.

At Tate Liverpool, resources for families are purposefully highly visible to families entering the museum, being stationed at a mobile desk in the centre of the entrance hall. These resources were co-produced by the museum's Family Collective, an artist-led group of parents, and are known as Rocket Explorer Backpacks (Figure 8). The silver, rocket-shaped and child-sized backpacks contain a variety of resources aimed at helping children explore the museum effectively. Items inside these bags, which given their shape and colour are highly attractive to children, include toy binoculars and a range of child and gallery friendly art materials including silver foil (Figure 9). At Tate Modern and Tate Britain, resources are much less visible to families, partially due to the complexities of these sites and their multiple entrance points and must be obtained from specific members of staff at specific points in each museum. Family learning resources at Tate Modern and Tate Britain include artist-designed paper resources that take a thematic approach to the museum. An example of this is 'What's in a Name?' which encourages families to think about and talk about artwork titles. Other examples include cards that focus on single artworks, encouraging families to ask questions about and of the artwork in question. Like at Tate Liverpool, there are also non-paper-based resources for families to borrow. These too are artist-designed.

Figure 8 Children wearing Rocket Explorer Backpacks at Tate Liverpool. Source, Tate 2018.

Figure 9 Contents of Rocket Explorer Backpack. Source, Tate 2018.

Observations of families using learning resources at Tate Modern and Tate Britain expose how these resources are approached and treated. It can often take families several attempts to acquire learning resources at Tate Modern and Tate Britain, but where families persist they are often given a range of options to

choose from. Generally, it is parents who seek resources for children, rather than children asking for resources or parents seeking resources for themselves. Again, this emphasises the importance attached to children's learning within family museum experiences, and parents' desire to provide learning experiences for their children. With resources secured, parents tend to spend time scrutinising the resources independently or with other adults. Often, resources will then be placed in bags or be balanced on pushchairs; sometimes they are handed directly to children. Adults often seek extra support in using learning resources from members of Tate staff. On several occasions during in-gallery observations, the researcher was approached by families who were using resources but felt they required additional support and direction to use them effectively. Two families using learning resources approached the researcher during the data generation period to express their sense of disappointment in the resources, and to ask for help and explanation.

One family using a pick-up learning resource at Tate Britain approached the researcher to ask for additional resources because they had, in the first ten minutes of their visit, 'done' the resource they had chosen. The resource in question was a single card showing a Henry Moore work on one side (Figure 10) and with a series of instructions and questions on the reverse (Figure 11), orientated towards encouraging families to talk about the Henry Moore works on display in the museum. The family felt that they had 'found' the artwork and were disappointed that there were no more to find. However, the resource did not ask its users to 'find' any artworks, but instead it directs users through a series of questions to think in particular ways about Henry Moore's artworks. The resource is designed to encourage families to look at an artwork in depth and to question and evaluate its form and content. The card, therefore, provides families with tools to engage with many other artworks in and beyond the museum in a process akin to that employed by professional artists, art historians and curators.

Figure 10 Family Activity: Henry Moore (front). Available at Tate Britain daily during 2017. Source, Tate.

Figure 11 Family Activity: Henry Moore (reverse). Available at Tate Britain daily during 2017. Source, Tate.

Likewise, a mother and grandmother at Tate Britain expressed serious disappointment and frustration at the family resources they had been given, since they felt they were inappropriate for their toddler due both to their conceptual complexity and physical format. The particular resource in question

was an artist-designed object suitable for toddlers. The resource comprised several rectangles held together on a ring. Each rectangle was made from a different material that could be looked through by the user, thus encouraging young children to look at artworks in different ways, mimicking the roles of the artist, art historian and curator. Additionally, conversation with the artist responsible for this particular resource exposed that one of the aims of the resource was to discourage children from touching artworks by occupying their hands with a tactile and interesting object. For the family seeking help with this resource however, they described to the researcher how they felt disorientated within the space, and frustrated because they felt unable to help the child access artworks and engage with the museum:

> They've given us this, but we're not sure how it works? Is there anything that is easier to use? We don't know what to look at.
> (Child under five, mother and ? grandmother, observation, Tate Britain, October 2016)

A member of Tate's front of house staff also indicated how difficult she found it to navigate Tate's family resources. When she brought her children to Tate Britain, which she did frequently, she always looked for new resources to help them learn. However, she was often disappointed in the resources because they did not provide her children with enough information or ideas about the artworks. It may be that these children had particular expertise, since they were frequent visitors, and therefore required special resources to help them gain greater depth of understanding. In another sense, though, this could be a good indication of what repeat family visitors to Tate might need: consistent and new learning experiences.

Overall, these incidences again illustrate the sense of responsibility felt by parents and grandparents towards children and their learning. Beyond this however, they also illustrate the how Tate's vision for learning can be displaced by more traditional versions of learning. Specifically, these families were keen to engage with art at Tate in a quantitative way, finding and seeing a specific number of artworks. Additionally, it is also possible to see from these exchanges between families and researcher that some adults require support in

their endeavours to discharge their perceived parental responsibility to help their children understand the museum in particular ways. This supports the idea, raised in Section 2.2.2.3 that correct assistance for parents and adults could help optimise children's learning in museums (Ash, 2004; Geerdts et al., 2015).

*Hello Families (*Figure 12*)* is also a paper-based learning resource for families but differs from other resources because it was produced by the Audiences team rather than the Learning Team and was developed in response to the orientation needs of families. This resource might best be described as a practical way in which families can be supported in making meaning during and of their visit to Tate. The resource includes information about family-friendly facilities at Tate, provides orientation information and also offers its users suggestions of appropriate artworks to view. Though it might be argued that the purpose of the resource is practically focused, *Hello Families* also encourages families to respond to Tate and its exhibits by highlighting specific artworks and galleries that could be interesting to families. However, *Hello Families,* though internally approved, does not necessarily comply with Tate's institutional stance on learning, since it is directive and does not have artistic practice at its centre.

Figure 12 Hello Families (interior pages). A resource produced by Visitor Experience in collaboration with the Learning at Tate Modern. Source, Tate.

Marwan Rechmaoui's *Beirut Caoutchouc* (2004–8) is an artwork that features in *Hello Families* (see Figure 12). This artwork is a rubber, floor-based map of Beirut. The map, though appearing as whole is actually comprised of sections, each of which relates to a particular neighbourhood of the politically and religiously contentious city. Thus the artwork explores Beirut in geographical and social terms. The artwork's form and position means that it can be walked over by viewers, which is why the resource suggests that the artwork is family-friendly. In practice, many families and other visitors organically encountering the Living Cities display (where *Beirut Caoutchouc* is displayed) do engage with the artwork by walking around it, looking at it, discussing it and reading its label, generally to find out what it could be and which city the work represents. These behaviours, Leahy (2012) suggests, are traditionally associated with the spectatorship of art in museums but are magnified by this specific artwork since spectators do not only walk around the work, but over and on it. The inclusion of the artwork in *Hello Families*, we might say, is the formalisation of the tacit knowledge acquired by front of house staff through their everyday interactions with family visitors to Tate; families have been observed enjoying the artwork, since it affords family-friendly behaviours such as running and touching, and so it is cited as an artwork that might provide families with a meaning making opportunity. Whilst this may be correct, the inclusion of the artwork is based on assumptions around how families make meaning with art (in the case of Rechmaoui's work, presumably through the novelty value of being able to run over the top of it) that are connected to traditional museum practices rather than to Tate's institutional stance on learning. In this sense, then, lay understandings and interpretations of learning at Tate can subvert more carefully considered attempts to curate family learning.

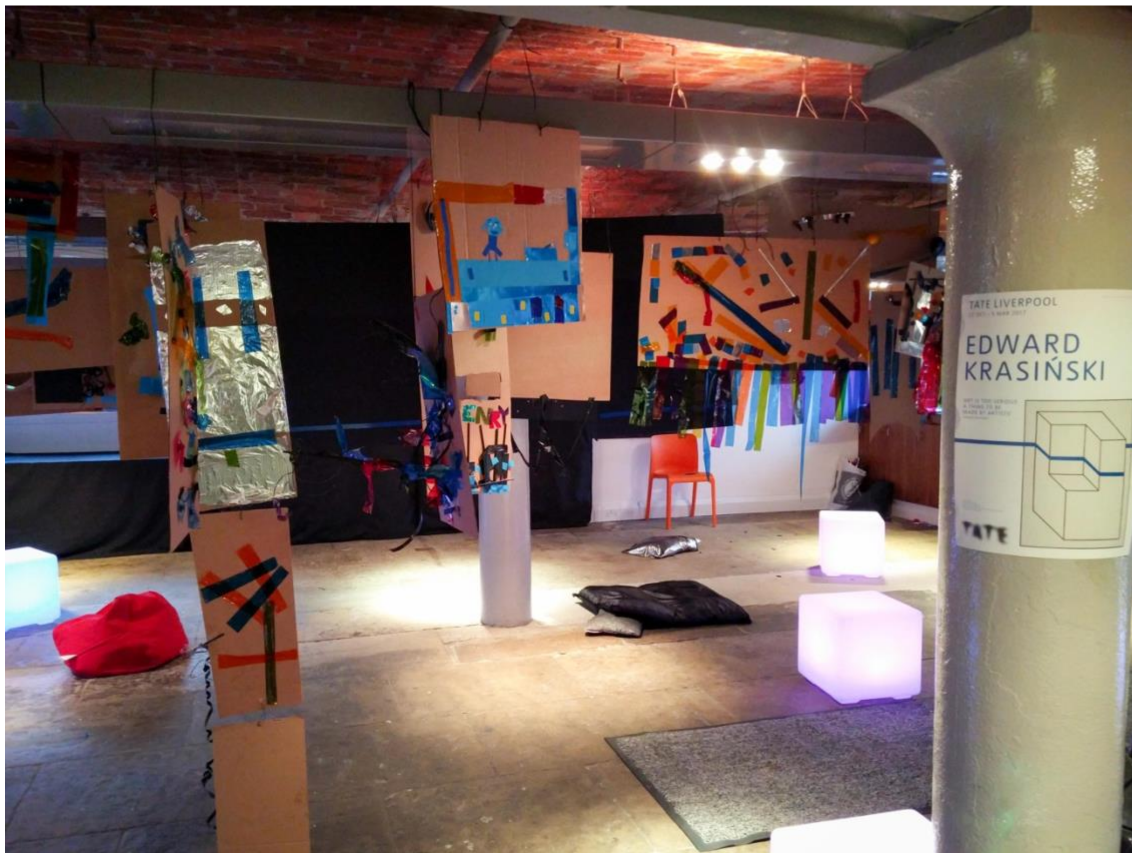
In a more practical sense, *Hello Families* is relatively and purposefully small (size A5) in order to minimise cost and thus be widely and freely available. It is also this size as result of front of house staff noticing that families are often physically unable or unwilling to manage large paper resources that require unfolding and refolding. Though *Hello Families* might deviate from Tate's agreed artist-led meaning-making approach represented in the work of the

Learning Team, by not celebrating individual agency and not being developed through art practice, the format of the resource is highly practical.

5.1.3 Artist-Led Meaning Making

Artist-led meaning making is also available to some families visiting Tate. *Art Buffet*, an artist-led, practice-based workshop connected to an exhibition of works by Yves Klein and Edward Krasiński, took place at Tate Liverpool during the Autumn half term holiday of 2016 and provided families with the space and materials to respond to the exhibition through abstract sculpture-making (Figure 13).

Figure 13 Art Buffet, Tate Liverpool. Source, Tate 2018.



In the workshop, the artist-leader of the workshop welcomes families as they arrive, attending to their practical needs by offering them a space and telling them where they can park their pushchairs and put their coats, whilst simultaneously explaining the concept of the workshop.

> During a period of high demand, a family of six are not provided with an introduction before they participate. To some extent, mother and father adopt the role of artist-leader, explaining to the children, who are both under the age of 11, that they can make a picture using the materials in the room. The children each begin an artwork of their own, aided by a parent. Mother praises one of the children for her good scissor skills and father becomes frustrated at the lack of space and adequate materials. Though the focus of the workshop is abstract sculpture, the parents lead their children in producing flat, representational collages. One child produces a picture of a dog, the other, a picture of a torch. There is a verbal altercation involving three members of the family following a dispute over the realistic nature of the dog image, caused by one child suggesting that the image does not represent a dog closely enough. Though the grandparents sit themselves on chairs towards the edge of the workshop space and do not actively participate in the workshop, when the children have finished their artworks, they present them to their grandparents before presenting them to the artist-leader. The artist-leader praises the works before asking the children whether they would like to take them home, or have them displayed, as most participants wish, in the workshop space. The children decide to take their artworks home, and the family leave the space and the museum, without having visiting the exhibition connected to the workshop. (Mother, father, grandmother, grandfather and two children under 11, Tate Liverpool, observation, October 2016)

This account of one family's participation in a meaning making experience constructed and delivered by Tate is interesting here since it illustrates how participants are able to deviate from the expanded meaning making agendas of Tate. The family included in the account did not produce an abstract sculpture, as the artist-leader would have directed them had there been fewer workshop participants at their time of entry. This means that the workshop did not necessarily deliver a shared, intergenerational experience or improve understanding of abstract and sculptural art as intended. Instead, mother and father encouraged each child to produce a representational, flat artwork that could be approved according to its level of realism. The replication of a known

object, which can be assessed according to its accuracy, is similar to formal models of meaning making, which do not necessarily prioritise individual agency, abstract thinking, or creativity. Perhaps most interestingly, in-depth interview participant Respondent L, a freelance artist employed by Tate and interviewed directly after the workshop described above, stated that: ‘I like working for Tate, they get that anyone can be an artist.’ Whilst this ethos underpinned Art Buffet to the extent that it was open to all, it remained a workshop that encouraged particular, abstract versions of art practice over more traditional understandings of art and art practice.

5.2 Findings and Discussion

5.2.1 Family Museum Learning and ‘Doing’ the Museum

The analysis of how families understand learning at Tate indicates that cognitive learning processes and outcomes as well as formal approaches to learning can be the dominant approaches. However, though families seemingly attach greater value to and are more comfortable with types of meaning-making encountered, for example, in schools, which, as has been seen in Chapter Two are emblematic of formal learning approaches, they do not necessarily resist non-cognitive learning processes or outcomes, but sometimes lack awareness of such events and experiences.

The centrality of children in families’ perceptions of meaning making indicates the prevalent epistemologies shaping experiences of Tate. For families, learning at Tate benefits children rather than adults or adults and children. That meaning making is understood by families as being for the benefit of children suggests that the child might still be perceived as an unknowing agent who can be provided, by knowing agents such as adults or Tate, with knowledge (Hein, 1998). Though the delivery of such knowledge may be conceptualised as constructed or achieved through a socio-cultural paradigm, the child remains an agent requiring education.

The artist is perhaps another, more successful, mechanism for mediating the institutional and individual perspectives of learning in families at Tate. In the

case of *Art Buffet*, for example, families tended to engage more fully with Tate's stance on learning when guided by the artist. Obviously, the presence of an artist at all moments of family learning at Tate is not a scalable model. This is recognised by Learning Team staff at Tate and is a problem circumnavigated by commissioning artists to develop and design pick-up resources that might be paper-based and thus widely available or durable and reusable, as in the case of Tate Liverpool's Rocket Backpacks, and which can borrowed by families for the duration of a visit. However, and as has been illustrated above, the theoretical and sometimes practical complexity of these resources can be alienating to their family users, suggesting that the presence of an artist leader or explainer is necessary for families to fully benefit from such resources. In some senses, this connects to the idea of ZPD, explored in Section 2.2.2.2 of this thesis, and Vygotsky's theory, employed by Ash (2003) in the context of museums. That is, the learners are more successful at learning when surrounded by others who have different knowledge, skills and experiences.

In some cases, Tate attempts to decrease the inconsistencies between individual and institutional perceptions of meaning making. As has been illustrated, the resource *Hello Families* is an attempt to mediate between Tate's institutional stance on learning and the practical needs of families visiting the institution. The resource, then, aims to help ensure that family visitors are able to make meaning during their experience of Tate both practically and intellectually. *Hello Families*, it seems, is a resource that allows families an easily digestible way to 'do the museum' (Falk & Dierking, 2013, p. 152). In other words, it is a map-like welcome that is firmly anchored in the everyday experiences of family visitors to Tate and can help families to organise their visit and can be seen as Tate engaging with families' existing funds of knowledge as a way of optimising learning experiences (Thomson & Hall, 2008)

It is possible that the inconsistencies apparent between Tate's institutional stance on learning and families' perceptions of learning are demonstrative of the prevalence of epistemological hierarchies in everyday understandings of education. Children's school-based learning, which can prioritise literacy and numeracy and is typically evaluated quantitatively (Hackett, 2014), most often shapes the way in which families approach learning opportunities at Tate, as

can be seen through family visitor requests for ‘achievable’ trails and workshops. This suggests, then, that families perceive the museum environment as an environment that supports school learning and that museum attendance can be a method of improving, increasing or enriching school-based learning. Whilst parents often articulated school-based learning as a motivation and structuring feature of their visits, children also referred to their connected school experiences in intercept interviews and often sought approval from artist leaders or other members of staff, as they would from a teacher in a school (Ash, 2003).

Occasionally some parents did refer to the non-cognitive learning experiences they felt Tate provided their children with, but these were never linked to Tate-produced programmes or activities, but were activities designed and encouraged by parents themselves. In some ways this reflects the findings of Choi (2016), who suggests that parents do value non-cognitive learning opportunities for their children but that the actual provision of such opportunities can be dependent on other factors which might be based in socio-economic status (Holloway & Pimlott-Wilson, 2014). In addition, Choi notes that many of these non-cognitive learning opportunities in fact relate, or support, numeracy and literacy and are not necessarily focused on social learning or creativity.

Chapter Six
Leisure as Family Practice

6.1 Overview

Though museums have been described as sites of family leisure (McCabe, 2015; Schänzel & Yeoman, 2014; Shaw & Dawson, 2001), there is limited empirical evidence to either support or explore this claim. This neglect is perhaps due to the amount of attention that has been paid to developing theoretical understandings of family leisure, and the dominance of other contexts as sites for family leisure such as organised sports (Wheeler, 2014), family holidays (Karsten, Kamphuis, & Remeijnse, 2015) and the home (Schwab & Dustin, 2015). However, the museum is a distinctive context with its own particular and identifiable social practices (Duncan, 1995; Leahy, 2012), suggesting that evaluation and analysis of family leisure in the museum could contribute to a greater empirical understanding of the role of museums in everyday family life, as well as to the theoretical development of the concept of family leisure. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to analyse how families use and understand Tate as a site of leisure.

This chapter argues that family experiences of Tate can improve family functioning because the museum operates successfully as a family leisure context enabling family communication. In this sense, then, the museum as a context for successful family communication, is a place supporting the improvement of immediate and future family life through enhanced communication. The spatial ethnographic accounts presented in this chapter illustrate how family cohesion and communication are flexibly supported and enacted, and social, emotional and intellectual development opportunities for children are facilitated. Further, however, the accounts also show how family experiences of Tate afford a variety of leisure practices for different members of the family. Spatial ethnographic analysis demonstrates how family experiences of Tate both adhere to and stretch existing models of family leisure shown to support healthy family functioning, disrupting some gendered parenting practices and with implications for the assessment of the value of museums to wider society.

The next section of this chapter presents spatial ethnographic material that shines a light on some of the ways that families visiting Tate use and understand the museum as a site of leisure. The following section discusses these results in the context of existing models of family leisure, which, in essence, presents an understanding of how Tate operates as a leisure resource for families.

6.2 Experiencing Tate as Family Leisure

This results section is based on spatial ethnographic accounts of family experiences of Tate. The spatial ethnographic accounts illustrate how family experiences of Tate relate to aspects of family leisure models and draw from observations, documentary evidence, in-depth interviews and intercept interviews with family visitors. The results illustrate how Tate is used and understood as a context that supports cohesion and communication amongst family members, whilst offering opportunities to facilitate social, emotional and intellectual development amongst children.

6.2.1 Perceptions and Practices of Togetherness

Respondent G described the essence of family resources at Tate as:

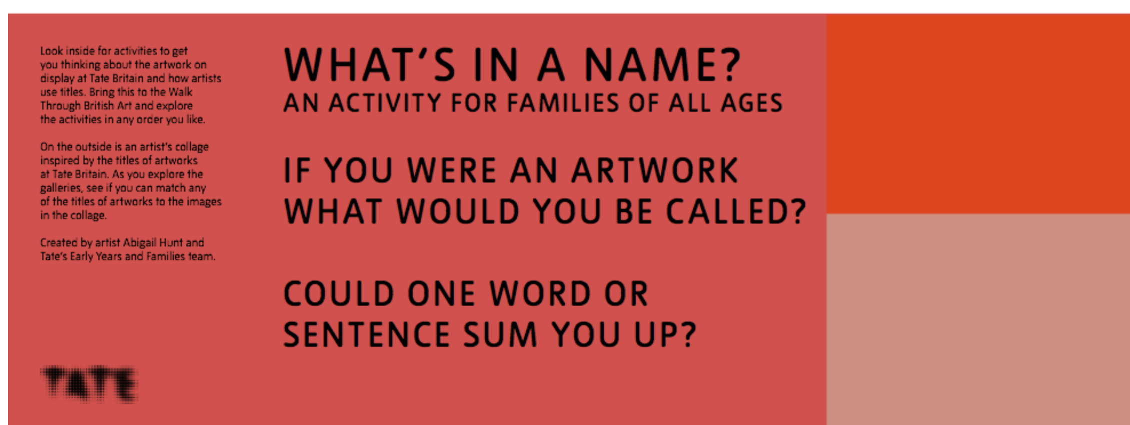
> …being about opening up ways for families to have conversations… they are not supposed to be childish, just child-friendly. (Respondent G: Manager, Learning Team, Tate Modern and Tate Britain, in-depth interview, April 2017)

Or as Respondent B put it:

> …it is the sense of the group doing things collaboratively, or together. (Respondent B: Manager, Learning, Tate St. Ives, in-depth interview, October 2015)

This description of family resources (see, for example, Figure 14) stresses the importance Tate attaches to providing intergenerational-appropriate activities that facilitate intra-familial conversation. Improved and increased family cohesion, then, is an aim of Tate resources designed for families. In some senses, this approach decentralises the child in family museum learning, an issue highlighted in Chapter Two, but perhaps also places pressure on adults to actively engage with their children and the museum.

Figure 14 Front cover of a family resource, available for all families to pick up at Tate Britain. Source, Tate 2017.



Though this research is not able to account for the degree to which Tate's family resources are successful in supporting intergenerational communications, it is clear that group cohesions during family experiences of Tate is highly valued and actively pursued by family visitors. As one mother put it:

> Mother: We visited here about a year or two ago and loved it so we just came back to see it again. They (the children) just enjoyed it. We don't really take a lot of time in each part of the gallery but just a walking through and having a look at what they find interesting and having a chat about it. It's a good place for all of us. (Mother and two children under 11, Tate Britain, intercept interview, February 2017)

This mother was able to articulate very clearly that her family visit to Tate was valuable not because they spent time in each part of the gallery, but because it

afforded an opportunity to walk together and talk about something which one family member found interesting. This use of the museum as a framework in which to maintain family cohesion was frequently described by intercept interview respondents. Moreover, in some cases narrative accounts of family experiences of Tate exposed the regularity of visits to Tate over time; sometimes visits connected to social rituals constituting family life, underlining how experiences of Tate might maintain a sense of family cohesion over time.

> Mother: We used to come quite a lot when Helena (child) was little, erm, and now we have come for daddy's special birthday weekend. (Mother, father and child under 11, Tate Britain, intercept interview, April 2017)

In another case, a mother was even able to conceptualise her family's future use of Tate as a family group.

> Mother: I think we definitely will keep coming here, as the kids get older; my husband has an older daughter who, erm, we dragged here throughout and now she takes her boyfriend here. (Mother and child under 11, Tate Britain, intercept interview, January 2017)

For these families visiting Tate, it seems, there is a desire to ensure good communication between family members. Further, by understanding visits in relation to previous and future visits to Tate as well as to special family events there is a possibility that, by establishing a place in the rhythms of family life, Tate can support a sense of cohesion immediately as well as over time and space. In addition, the exerts included in this first part of the spatial ethnographic accounts illustrate how family cohesion is often pursued despite adversity, for example, through the logistical challenges of family outings and in cases where some family members might not wish to be part of the experience.

6.2.2 Areas of Development

6.2.2.1 Cognitive Development

Children's learning plays a key role in family museum visitation, clearly signifying Tate as a site of purposive family leisure as well as representing the

perceived relationship between museums, families and education (see Chapter Five). Many parents and children interviewed during the data generation period framed their motivation for visiting Tate and the strategies they adopted for organising their visit to Tate according to curriculum- or school- led learning. Families believed visiting Tate and seeing artworks relevant to what a child or children in the group had encountered at school would benefit their formal education. Curriculum- or school- based motivations and strategies allowed families to focus their visits, even if it prioritised only one child in the group.

> Mother: We want to go and see a Kandinsky because my nephew is learning about it at primary school and it is good for him to see it.
> Interviewer: And is there anything else that you will do here today?
> Mother: Nothing particularly, I think we will just go and see that gallery… We won't go to the café because we have already eaten.
> (Mother and four children under 11, Tate Modern, intercept interview, January 2017)

Although there is a clear school-based motivation for visiting Tate which was typical amongst adults and older children participating in intercept interviews, this is only partially reflected in the visit strategy. Following the successful completion of the school-based agenda the family do not intend to see any other exhibits or participate in any other activities. In this case, despite the family in question being unable to articulate how seeing an artwork could increase and improve learning beyond being 'good', Tate is valued primarily as a learning aide because of its perceived ability to augment school- or curriculum- based learning.

6.2.2.2 Emotional Development

In very few cases, parents sometimes expressed a hope that visits to Tate will help their children develop their emotional selves. For these parents, an important part of visiting Tate is to expose children to artistic practices and thus to encourage imagination and creativity. One parent was able to articulate the value she and her family attached to the creativity inspired by Tate:

> Mother: I mean, with my daughter we try to get her to draw lots and it seems to be like, good for her working out emotions, and coming here is useful because quite often we've taken her to something that she like, goes all the way through and says she hates it and then at home she draws something that erm is obviously influenced by what she has seen…. Frank Auerbach, you know the exhibition of the guy who did all the Mornington Crescent views? That was really useful because she [daughter] was in a stage of saying 'I can't make it look like what I want it to look like' and I was like, you know, we pass Mornington Crescent all the time, it doesn't have to be, it doesn't have to look like what you think it looks like. And that kind of freed her up. (Mother and child under 11 visiting with another mother and child under 11, Tate Britain, intercept interview, February 2017)

For these parents, then, visits to Tate meant that they could provide their children with opportunities to be creative and imaginative. The creativity and imagination that these two parents believed to be fostered by visits to Tate were viewed as important ways in which they could support their children's emotional self-development. This type of development is something encouraged during purposive family leisure, and its tentative appearance within the data confirms the potential role of the museum in achieving such development.

6.2.2.3 Social Development

Existing research about family leisure is generally concerned with immediate family members and central family relationships, though occasionally grandparents might be included (e.g. Hebblethwaite, 2015). However, in reality, especially when practised in public or semi-public spaces like the sports field or the museum, family leisure activities may involve or relate to people outside of the family group.

Observations and interviews with family visitors at Tate revealed a high incidence of families who use the space to meet extended family members or friends. In these cases, the 'good' parenting practices associated with the delivery of purposive leisure outcomes occur in public and in conjunction with

the nurturing of external social relationships. This is illustrated well by two family groups participating in a family-learning workshop at Tate Liverpool:

> Two families enter the room together. There are two mothers, a father and three children under seven. The families are greeted by the artist-educator, who is leading the workshop. It is apparent that the artist-educator and the father are socially- and professionally- acquainted as they greet each other in a familiar style and further introductions are made. Each of the children is wearing a Rocket Backpack, which are small rocket-shaped backpacks available to borrow from the Tate Liverpool entrance hall and which contain a variety of objects to help children explore and enjoy the gallery. As the children start to unpack the contents of their backpacks, the adults set up a circle of chairs and sit down to chat. The artist educator provides the children with art materials on the floor in front of the chairs and explains the concept of the workshop, which is to create an abstract sculpture as a group. The adults fail to engage with the workshop and instead continue their conversation. The children begin to create a sculpture. Following the artist-educator's departure from the group, the children's attention lapses and they turn their attention to the rest of the room. Father begins to work on the sculpture and suggests that they make a rocket sculpture, recognising that the children have been interested in rockets and seeing this as a good way of gaining and sustaining their attention. His strategy is successful and one mother takes photographs whilst the other mother leaves the room, returning with drinks for everybody from the café. The mother previously charged with photography feeds and changes the toddler. For several minutes, the whole group is engaged in sculpture making before the older children return to playing with their Rocket Backpacks and the toddler confidently explores the room independently. Though father's attention is periodically demanded by the toddler, who has begun to help other families with their sculptures, the adults continue to create their sculpture. The extended family group leave after being in the workshop for approximately 90 minutes.
> (Father, two mothers and three children under 7, Tate Liverpool, observation, October 2016)

For the family group in this instance, visiting Tate was both a social event, whereby adults could nurture their social (and professional) relationships, and a purposive family leisure event that afforded opportunities for children to develop their creative and social selves. In addition, all adults in the group assumed parenting responsibilities for all children in the group, sharing practical parental responsibilities. For example, father was initially able to engage all three children in the activity, photographs did not focus on individual family groups, and the provision of children's refreshment was a shared activity.

In the same workshop, a group of four children between the ages of 8 and 12 arrived with two female adults, the mothers of two of the children:

> The mothers decide to sit on the sofas at the edge of the room, whilst the children collect art materials and arrange themselves on beanbags in a circle, at a slight distance from the mothers. The children work on individual artworks and, at intervals, one of the girls chooses to sit with the adults on the sofa. The adults are unconcerned with the work that the children are doing but discuss the school-lives of their children. (Two mothers and four children under 12, Tate Liverpool, observation, October 2016)

The mothers are unconcerned with the children's work, leaving them entirely to their own devices suggesting that the visit focused on the development of the children's social skills at a time in their childhoods when they are potentially beginning to embark on the organisation of their own social lives (Shaw & Dawson, 2001). The conversation between the mothers suggests that, though they are participating in a social relationship that is external to their respective family lives, they might use the relationship to attain parental support and advice, or to share the emotional work of parenting.

Though parents clearly recognise the importance of allowing their children to develop social lives that are independent from the family group, parents tend to closely manage the transition from family-orientated leisure and social life to independent leisure and social life. For example:

> At Tate Modern, on the Boiler House Level 4 concourse, three girls between 11 and 13 are sitting together around a chair eating packed lunches and discussing school. Initial observations suggest that they are visiting Tate independently but after they have finished their lunches, an adult joins the girls from another chair and asks them if they are ready to go into the galleries. The girls all agree and begin to pack up their things. One of the girls addresses the adult as 'mother' whilst handing her the packed lunch debris. Mother ensures that all the girls are listening and tells them that if they should get split up, or if someone gets lost, they should all return to this point. She also lets them know that there is a Wi-Fi network, so they can connect to the Internet and send a message if necessary. The group then wanders into the gallery. (Mother and three children under 13, Tate Modern, observation, February 2017)

This scenario suggests a clear purposive family leisure objective insofar as mother is facilitating the development of her daughter's (and by extension, her daughter's friends') social independence. This is a purposive family leisure objective that ultimately cannot be met within the confines of the family group yet does contribute to the social development of the child. During the visit, mother is comfortable letting the girls eat independently, and does not seem to expect the girls to remain with her throughout the visit. Mother is careful to ensure that the girls understand the procedure to be followed should anybody get lost and encourages her charges to be aware of the movements of the others in the group. It is clear that mother views the transition from family leisure to independent leisure as a risk that requires her involvement and management. Tate, it seems, is perceived as a space that is large enough to allow children to explore and develop their independent social lives yet retains a certain level of protection and safety provided by the presence of parents, and presumably, the material and social constraints of the institution itself. Though the development of children's social independence can certainly be seen as an outcome of purposive family leisure, in this case, the purposive nature of family leisure has been diluted, as children's independent social lives becomes the priority of the visit to Tate. This could suggest the whilst family implies

cohesion, one value of Tate to families may be that it is able to help foster independence, thus potentially disintegrating the family unit.

6.2.3 Experiencing Own Leisure as part of Family Leisure

6.2.3.1 Own Social Leisure

Individuals visiting Tate as part of family groups often talked about - or were observed experiencing - their own leisure time during their visits. Adults, particularly women, were often relieved of their childcare responsibilities by other family members assuming the role of entertainer and were then free to pursue their own leisure activities.

> A family comprising mother, father and two children under five eat a packed lunch on the carpeted slope of the Turbine Hall. Both children eat whilst moving around the immediate area where their parents are seated. The older child recognises a female adult carrying a baby, who enters the Turbine Hall via the top of the slope. Immediately the child runs towards the new adult and leads her to the original group. The seated family have been watching the scenario unfold, and are clearly excited to see the baby. The two original children are visibly excited and kiss and stroke the baby's head and whilst the baby is being occupied by the children, mother accepts the offer of a sandwich and drink. After the food has been finished, father entertains all three children by performing press-ups with one child sitting on his back and one child rolling underneath when he is in the 'up' position. The baby is seated and is watching the game closely. Since the press-up game required additional space, father and the children moved slightly away from the picnic spot and the mothers now appear to be separate from the group and are oblivious to the game, the children and the father. The two women chat and spend time finishing their hot drinks, paying no attention to the children, the baby, the game or the father. (Two mothers, father and three children under 5, Tate Modern, observation, November 2016)

As well as providing social leisure experiences for individual family members, family experiences of Tate might primarily satisfy the leisure needs of individual family members. As one mother reported:

> We were on our way to Vauxhall City Farm but Ben (child under five) fell asleep in his buggy, so we thought we could do this. I'm an artist so it is important for me to come here, and Matt too, he's my partner, and he's a photographer so he enjoys it too. I quite often take Ben to galleries with me, but it is easier when he is sleeping, and the experience would be very different for me if he were running around. (Mother, father and child under 3, Tate Britain, intercept interview, November 2016)

This is a good example of the way in which parents are able to negotiate their children's practical needs with their own leisure needs (Fountain et al., 2015) (see Section 2.3.4), but also, to use the museum space to integrate them. Mother recognises the need for her child to sleep during the daytime and is happy to delay purposive family leisure activities in order to accommodate this need without disruption to her child. Mother describes how she optimises this time and uses it to meet her own, and sometimes her partner's, leisure needs. Here, family leisure and the everyday of family life are not discrete and different but implicated in each other.

Children, too, are able to experience Tate according to their own leisure needs. This might be achieved, particularly with younger children, through the means of play, since there are certain spaces at Tate, which afford safe spaces for ludic play. In addition, however, older children were also observed participating in own leisure activities, which, in turn, might remove a degree of childcare responsibilities from parents.

> Two children between the ages of eight and 12 sit on adjacent chairs on the Boiler House Level 4 concourse. Both children are engaged with mobile devices. Initially, the pair discuss connecting to Tate's Wi-Fi network and decide that they should not do this without first asking their parents for permission. For at least 15 minutes, the pair is silent, each child engaged only with their mobile devices. Eventually, mother and

father appear next to the children, having come out of a gallery space. One child asks what has taken the parents so long and the family group prepare to move to another part of the museum. (Mother, father and two children between 8 and 12, Tate Modern, observation, February 2017)

6.2.3.2 Consumer Leisure

Tate incorporates several different spaces that are commonly associated with family-friendly consumer leisure activities (Pospěch, 2016). Most of Tate's shops, for example, have areas devoted to children's books, toys, art supplies and pocket money-priced objects generally found in museum gift shops such as branded stationery. In addition, Tate's eateries offer children's food options, colouring activities and run family-friendly promotions such as 'kids eat free'. In general, these spaces align with the concept of urban consumption spaces (Karsten et al., 2015) and some art historical scholarship has dealt with the way in which museums relate to these types of spaces (e.g. Dimitrakaki & Perry, 2013; Evans, 2003; Stallabrass, 2014). However, of interest here is the way in which families might experience Tate's shops and cafes as leisure, and the effect of this on their wider leisure experiences of Tate.

Most families are at least aware of the presence of shops and eateries at Tate, and shops especially are often perceived by children to be particularly attractive. Perhaps because of this, parents often use a visit to the shop as a negotiation tactic. A shop visit can be offered as a reward for good behaviour, and the threat of removal of the shop from a family's visit itinerary is often observed as a behaviour management strategy. When asked to talk about their time in the museum, one family responded:

> [Mother] …we will go to the shop though, because I promised my daughter that she could buy three postcards (holds three fingers up at daughter).
> (Mother and four children under 11, Tate Modern, intercept interview, January 2017)

Whilst visiting the shop too, children's behaviour is often very closely managed by parents who enforce regulations such as 'look but don't touch' or by allowing their children the opportunity to buy one object, up to a certain monetary value. This parenting strategy can cause difficulties however, particularly as Tate's shops are designed to encourage children to touch objects and adults often turn their attention towards objects or books that mean their strategies for managing the behaviour of their children can quickly lapse (Figure 15).

Figure 15 Shop view, Tate Modern. Source, author.

6.3 Findings and Discussion

In the section that follows, analysis of how families might experience Tate as a site of leisure is presented.

6.3.1 Supporting Family Functioning and the Value of Museums

In the first instance, Tate's status as a successful site of family leisure that is able to support healthy family functioning has some implications for how the

worth of museums to society is measured and understood. Understanding and adequately demonstrating the worth of museums to society is a pressing matter, particularly (in the most basic sense) in terms of protecting public funding streams for museums (Belfiore & Bennett, 2008). Whilst the central aim of this research is not to demonstrate this worth it seems that an important point for future research in this area can here be made.

Successful family functioning is valued for a variety of reasons, not least because, in its functional sense, it is believed to contribute to a socially and economically stable society (Lamanna, 2002). The museum, then, in a society that values the institution of family as a cornerstone could be of crucial importance (Braithwaite & Baxter, 2006; Morgan, 2011). Whilst scholars tend to discuss the worth of the museum to society in terms of its educational value and thus its potential role in aiding social mobility (e.g. Archer et al., 2016; Hooper-Greenhill, 2007), the museum's role as an institution facilitating the practices of family could be an additional way of understanding and measuring the value of the museum.

Beyond this, however, the spatial ethnographic accounts presented above illustrate how the way in which families use and understand Tate as a leisure experience stretches existing models of family leisure by disrupting some of the responsibilities of family roles, particularly parenting and motherhood.

6.3.2 Purposive Family Leisure and 'Good' Parenting

In some ways the concept of purposive family leisure is an adequate category of analysis for understanding family experiences of Tate. This is perhaps because purposive leisure is able to account for the motivations for visiting Tate and the strategies employed by families to organise their visits. That is, the strategies and motivations based around parental perceptions that Tate is a context that can deliver learning benefits for their children and is a site for the encouragement of cohesive family experiences. Certainly, this chapter has illustrated that Tate is a useful context for the purposive family leisure model.

The definition of family leisure as purposive connects to contemporary discourses surrounding parenting and family life. Parenting, like the categories of family and childhood, is a socially constructed concept that changes over time; for example, in recent history, parenting in the UK has been sensitive to formal education and child-rearing policies, class, shifts in maternal labour patterns and to debates surrounding gender, sexuality and identity (Folgerø, 2008; Gillies, 2007; Gillis, 1996; Tisdall, 2017). Contemporary perceptions of 'good' parenting are based on child-centred approaches to child-rearing, whereby parents operate according to principles of self-sacrifice and focus on the development of their child's physical, social, emotional and intellectual selves through the provision and facilitation of education, participation in organised activities and, in more general terms, the organisation of daily life around children's needs (Wheeler, 2014). Purposive family leisure, therefore, can be seen as a way of deploying 'good' parenting, as well as operating as a theoretical framework for the analysis of parenting and its effects on the broader concept of family.

Recognition also needs to be given to the fact that 'good' parenting can also be seen as middle-class parenting (Gillies, 2007; Skeggs, 1997; Wheeler, 2014) and that this has specific implications for Tate. Though for some families, organising everyday life around children's needs is achievable, for others, it is not. This may be because of particular circumstances such as parental work patterns or parents' other caring responsibilities, leading to a lack of 'free time' (Wheeler, 2014), or because of different perceptions of children's needs (Gillies, 2007). Given that museum visitation itself is understood as a middle class activity that acts as a mechanism through which social stratification is reproduced across generations (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu et al., 1991), deploying 'good' parenting through museum visitation exposes the values of the parents in question. Additionally, and as has been seen, situating museums within a competitive leisure industry has certain class implications, since consumer leisure experiences are dependant on 'free' time (and adequate financial means (Karsten et al., 2015). Whilst a family visit to Tate, then, is a purposive family leisure experience and thus an adequate way of deploying 'good' parenting, it might also betray certain values and beliefs aligned with class.

In relation to Tate's ambition to achieve inclusivity, then, purposive family leisure may not be the most appropriate model of family leisure to adhere to. The child-centric focus of family offers at Tate, which tend also to be aligned with learning, could perpetuate perceptions of the museum as a middle-class environment, contributing to a sense that it is an exclusive space. This, however, adds support to Tate's institutional commitment to facilitate communication, rather than cognitive development, through its family programmes but suggests that this could be expanded across the museum, to ensure that more family visitors encounter this approach.

6.3.3 Flexible Family Leisure

Family visitors at Tate, however, employ Tate as a flexible purposive family leisure context, emphasising some challenges of parenting and family life and suggesting Tate as a unique and important site of family leisure able to support the production of family through practice.

As has been seen, Tate is clearly positioned institutionally and individually as a site from which 'good' parenting can be successfully deployed and supported through purposive leisure. However, though family visits to Tate do allow families to meet the short- and long- term goals associated with purposive family leisure, families are skilled at weaving other leisure goals into their experiences of Tate. This suggests that the art museum could be a unique context for purposive family leisure, since it is simultaneously able to meet the needs of purposive family leisure and be responsive to the leisure needs of individuals within families. The skilful ways in which adults quietly foreground their own leisure needs, and sometimes those of particular children, demonstrates the flexibility of Tate as a social context and underlines one way in which parents negotiate the demands and pressures of practicing 'good' parenting alongside attention to their own needs and identities.

As has been illustrated, individual family members are able to weave own leisure, social leisure and consumer leisure into purposive family leisure time. Family members, particularly parents, are often able to simultaneously achieve

the goals of different types of leisure. For example, where parents are artists or enjoy art, visiting Tate can offer them an opportunity to develop their own expertise or satisfy their own interests, though this may be done somewhat surreptitiously and without disruption to the wider family. Another area of significance is the way in which the goals associated with purposive family leisure are accomplished with assistance from non-family group members or members of extended family. This perhaps represents the most skilful way in which parents are able to negotiate family leisure needs with their social leisure needs insofar as friends or extended family members share parental responsibilities practically and emotionally. Mothers, for example, due to the presence of other trusted adults, may be relieved from some childcare responsibilities and thus have sufficient time to pursue other leisure interests (Hodge et al., 2018). The relationship between family identity and individual identity, it seems, is particularly significant for children between the ages of ten and 13 experiencing Tate with their families. This subset of family members is typically beginning to organise and accomplish their own leisure needs and agendas and Tate is a context in which parents are able to manage and support this transition. The incorporation of family leisure needs and other types of leisure needs demonstrates the way in which family can be both disintegrated and produced through practices orientated towards individual and group identity needs.

Tate then, as a context for family leisure, is able to relieve some family members from the responsibilities associated with their familial roles. This refutes the argument presented by Garner (2015), that museums are sites that reproduce heteronormative familial ideals and suggest further research to understand how museums as contexts for family leisure could disrupt gendered parenting practices.

Chapter Seven

Dwelling as Family Practice

At Tate, observations and practitioner intuition strongly suggest that some spaces within the Tate estate accidentally afford family visitors opportunities to dwell (as opposed to spaces such as workshops, cafes or shops, where dwelling is purposefully encouraged), and to produce family through a variety of practices not always associated with the museum space. The most obvious example of this is Tate Modern's Turbine Hall, where families frequently spend large parts of their visit to the museum. In addition, there are other spaces where families dwell for relatively long periods of time. Hallways, corridors and staircases, for example, are often sites of family dwelling at Tate. In addition to these material spaces it is also apparent that family photography, as a social practice undertaken within the context of Tate, increases the time families spend in particular spaces. It is what happens when families dwell in these material and virtual spaces in museums with which this chapter is concerned.

This chapter, then, simultaneously draws from and away from the concept of dwell time in front of art or exhibits as a method of understanding museum visitation, critically engaging with it to develop greater understanding of family experiences of museums. This relates to Research Objective Four, to analyse the nature of dwell times and spaces during family experiences of Tate. It is first acknowledged that measuring dwell time is a useful and powerful indicator of the structure and trajectory of museum visits (Falk, 2008; Patel et al., 2016) and that dwell time data can generate strong findings when employed in conjunction with other data such as visitor motivations or reported strategies (Moussouri & Roussos, 2013). Further to this, however, this chapter argues that rethinking how dwell time is conceptualised and employed in museum studies as a practice can shed light on the role visitors play in meaning making in museums, rather than how museums inscribe meaning on their visitors. This examination of the assumptions surrounding the significance of dwell time in museums demonstrates the sharp contrast between the museum imagined as a place where visitors produce meaning, and the museum imagined as a totalising space where pre-determined meaning is transmitted to visitors (Duncan, 1995).

The presentation of spatial ethnographic accounts of family dwell times at Tate illustrates how such times and spaces are orientated towards the maintenance of family life, rather than towards engagement with art. The spaces affording increased family dwelling are rarely the galleries with traditional art hangs. Instead they are ambivalent spaces where artworks are absent or exhibited in less traditional formats. The ambivalence of these spaces reflects their liminal nature; they are the parts of the museum located between the museum's external environment and the museum's exhibits, or they are parts of the museum between one exhibit and another, or they are the parts of the museum that breach understandings of museums and their expected behaviours. The family practices occurring in these spaces of dwell time also reflect and thus underline the ambivalence of the spaces. The spaces do not demand behaviours generally associated with museum visitation, since there are few artworks or exhibits to look at, or labels to read. Instead, the spaces encourage behaviours associated with other spaces - the public square in the case of the Turbine Hall or the carpeted living room floor in the case of the Tanks. Families can claim their own space in these parts of Tate and use them in their own ways to meet their own needs. This suggests that the spatial affordances of the museum are critical in how families make their own meanings in the museum. This means that these, potentially undermanaged, ambivalent spaces make a positive but overlooked contribution to Tate's agenda to be open to all.

This chapter makes a methodological contribution to museum studies and an empirical contribution to family museum visitor studies. Existing research employing dwell time as a data generation procedure, and thus acknowledging its significance, has focused on establishing the relationship between dwell time and visitor identity (e.g. Falk, 2009; Moussouri & Roussos, 2013) or on establishing the nature, quantity and quality of learning during time spent in front of exhibits (e.g. Heath & vom Lehn, 2004; Zimmerman et al., 2010). Both of these approaches are valid, but this chapter extends this methodology by examining how museum dwell time is significant and how its use might be expanded. Aligned with the work of Dawson and Jensen (2011), this methodological approach takes visitors' lives, rather than the museum visit, as

the unit of analysis. Second, this chapter illustrates and analyses the practices of increased family dwell time in museums away from the exhibit face, a previously overlooked but significant aspect of family museum experiences.

7.1 Family Dwelling at Tate: Spaces and Practices

This section is based on spatial ethnographic accounts of increased family dwell time at Tate. The results illustrate how increased family dwell times at Tate are orientated towards the maintenance of family life, rather than towards engagement with art. The spatial ethnographic accounts included in this chapter were generated in four spaces across Tate where increased family dwell times are common. These spaces are: The Turbine Hall, a large space at Tate Modern that hosts contemporary art commissions and encompasses ticket and information desks; the Tanks, also a large space at Tate Modern hosting contemporary art; the Bloomberg Connects Drawing Bar, a suite of computers with drawing software in a corridor at Tate Modern; the Entrance Hall at Tate Liverpool; and, spaces around all the museums produced by family photography. Though these instances are descriptions of discrete episodes in specific spaces, they are included because they are emblematic of the general practices and features of increased family dwell times whilst also drawing attention to more unusual aspects of the practices of family dwelling in museums.

7.1.1 Notes on Empirical Basis

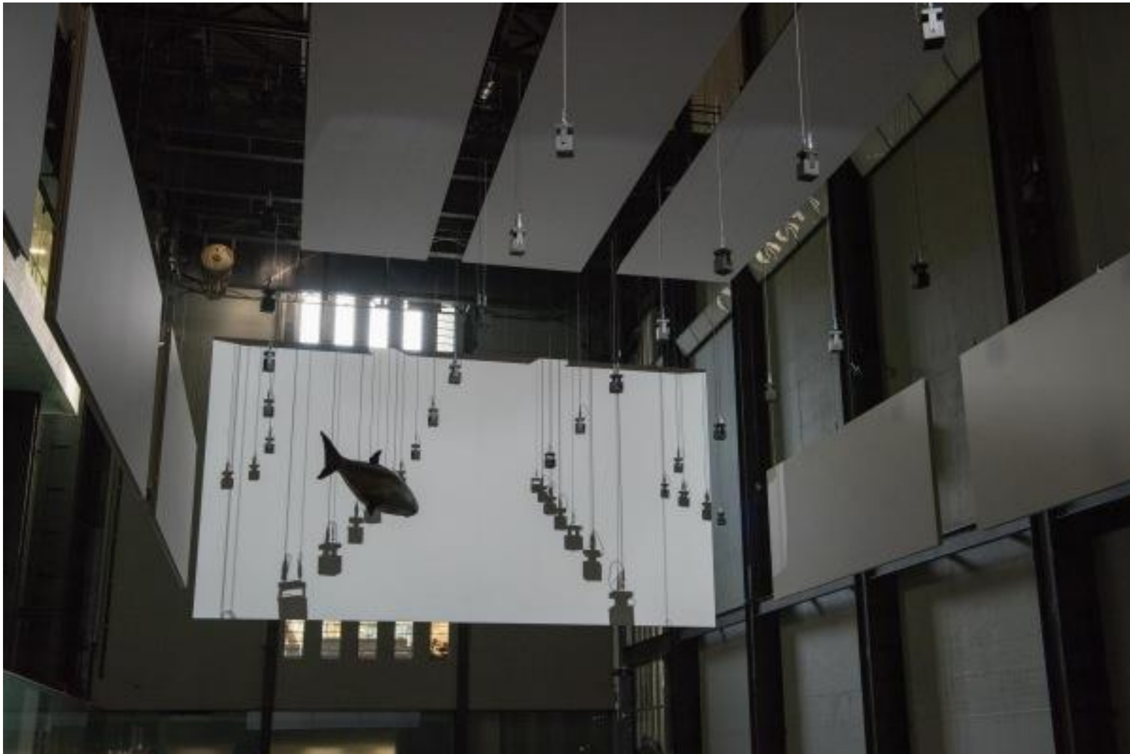
Defining a significant ‘dwelling space’ was based on identifying spaces in museums where more than ten families remained static for over three minutes in the space of one hour of observations. Though this may seem like a short amount of time to linger, when compared to the mean average time of 27.2 seconds visitors spend looking at artworks in museums, three minutes is a comparatively long time (Smith & Smith, 2001) . In reality, the family dwelling observed during the data generation phase of this project lasted between approximately three minutes and one hour fifteen minutes.

Time spent in Tate's cafes and shops, or in programmed workshops or activities is excluded from these results, findings and discussions because, as parts of Tate with agendas shaped by commercial needs or education strategies, these spaces are subject to different dwelling practices, for example those associated with retail, purchasing and café culture (see Karsten et al., 2015) or with structured learning and education approaches. It is not to say that these types of spaces and the dwelling they facilitate bear no relevance to this chapter, but that they require different analytical approaches cogent to consumer experience methodologies and learning and education frameworks and, as such, are more relevant to chapters Five and Six.

7.1.2 The Turbine Hall at Tate Modern

Industrial in scale, the Turbine Hall houses a newly commissioned contemporary artwork each year and also operates as an entrance and ticket hall as well as connecting Tate Modern's more conventional gallery spaces. The data under consideration in this section was generated during the installation of *Anywhen* (2016) (Figure 16) , a site-specific, immersive artwork by Philippe Parreno exhibited from October 2016 until April 2017. Overall, the researcher spent approximately sixty hours conducting observations in the Turbine Hall, reflecting the high concentration of family visitors in this space.

Figure 16 Parreno, Philippe. Anywhen (2016). Installation view, Turbine Hall, Tate Modern. Copyright, Tate 2018.



The Turbine Hall is the most obvious space within Tate that affords increased family dwell time. The observation described below is a report of a single but typical episode occurring in the space.

> A family group comprising a mother, father and toddler enter the Turbine Hall and select a space on the carpet to sit. Mother and father use their bodies and the child's pram to create a small and enclosed space in which the toddler is encouraged to walk. In this temporary arena father also plays with a small toy car. (Mother, father and child under two, Tate Modern, observation, January 2017)

The above observation illustrates a simple version of the way in which families are able to enclose spaces within Tate for their exclusive use and benefit. This practice frequently occurs in the Turbine Hall, though not always in the same guise and with adjustments according to the level of mobility of children in the group (Figure 17). In many cases, older children play in a satellite fashion,

straying from their family but remaining within agreed boundaries, usually a particular section of carpet.

Figure 17 The Turbine Hall, 2016. Source, author.

The presence of the toy car in the above observation is representative of the fact that ludic play is an important part of how families claim space and what they do during this increased dwell time. The soft-sloping concrete floor of the west end of the Turbine Hall has a central section of carpet, which is bordered by wide, polished-concrete, shallow steps. In general, playing happens on the carpet and is dynamic; because of the slope and relatively soft surface, acrobatics such as cartwheels and rolls, toy car games, ball games and sliding games as well as "catch" are popular. The circuit around the carpet is also good for playing and wheeled toys such as "heelies" and scooters come into their own. Though this type of play often invites reprimands from security staff, it is usual for parents to turn a blind eye to this prohibited behaviour; one particular mother suggested to security staff that the rule prohibiting the use of "heelies" was senseless whilst actively encouraging her child to disobey Tate's rule.

Though children might be the natural instigators of such play, it is not to say that their adults are only observers. It is rare to see an adult who is not in someway engaged in their child's play, sometimes as referee, safety advisor or mediator of new friendships between children, but, frequently, as a player themselves. Adults also take the role of photographer, documenting their time in the Turbine Hall through multiple photographs, both formally constructed and candid. If not directly involved in play, adults tend to sit on the steps around the carpet, from where they can effectively observe their children, though sometimes they can be found standing or sitting on the edge of the carpet too. The carpet in the Turbine Hall, then, seems constructed by families as a special space within Tate where traditional museum behaviours (Duncan, 1995), such as walking and looking (but not touching) quietly, are not compulsory.

Whether families engage in play or not, a picnic blanket or a pile of coats and bags tend to demarcate a family's space within the Turbine Hall and whilst some family members might remain in place to 'guard the bags', others will roam further to inspect exhibitions, shops, or visit the toilet or café.

7.1.3 The Tanks at Tate Modern

Like the Turbine Hall, the Tanks at Tate Modern retain the aesthetic and scale of their original industrial use. The space is sub-ground level and opened briefly in 2012 to host a programme of live art before opening permanently in 2016. The data under consideration in this section was generated in the time immediately following the permanent opening of the Tanks in June 2016, during the exhibit of Apichatpong Weerasethakul's multi-screen video artwork *Primitive* (2009).

The following observation illustrates how one family effectively established a 'base' in the Tanks, from which they managed part of their visit.

> In the Tanks three mothers and five children between three and 11 are sitting or lying on the carpeted floor. There is no discussion between family members and two members of the collective are engaged with

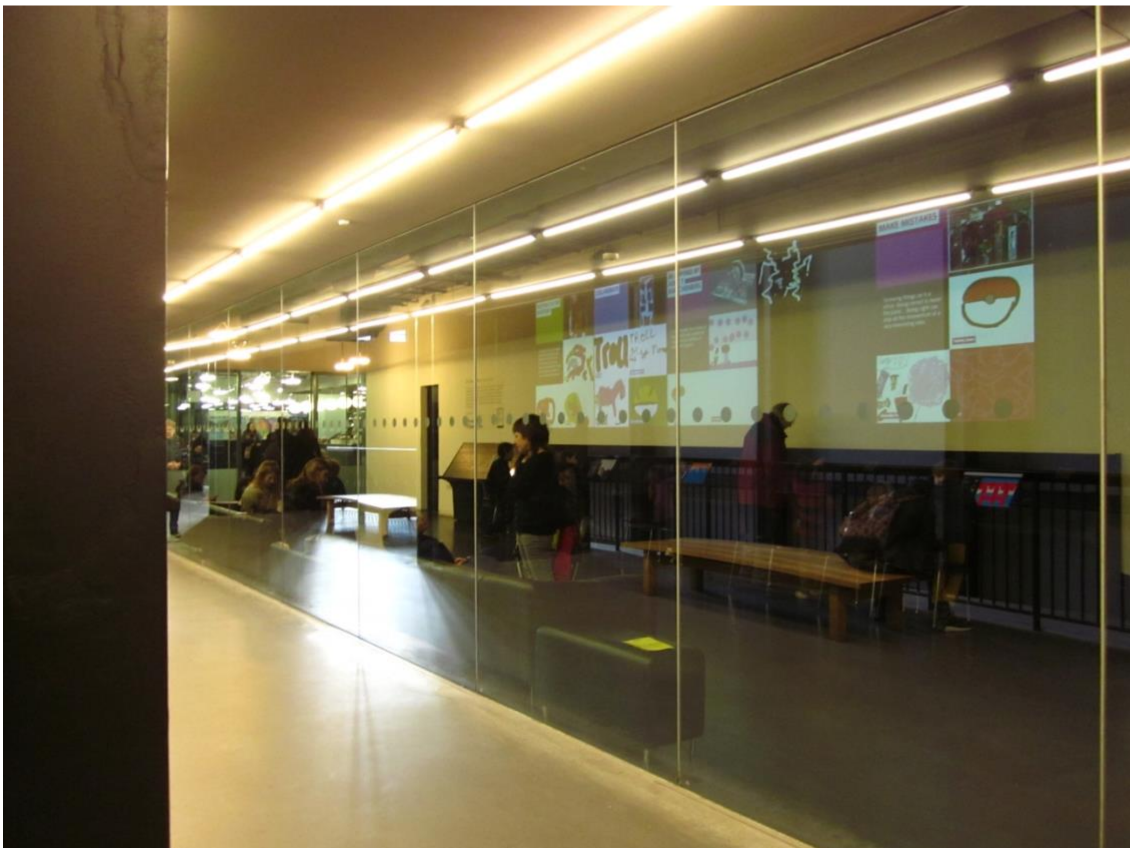
> smart phones. Following a period of quiet, three of the older children begin to play-fight, an activity condoned by all the mothers. The youngest child removes his shoes and begins to arrange some cushions into a bed formation. As he settles down to sleep he is given a teddy bear by one of the mothers. Another mother announces to the group that she is going to have a quick look at the rest of the museum. It is at this point that the other children begin to engage with the video artwork. They arrange their cushions in a line so as to facilitate them lying on their fronts to watch the video. The children return to play fighting and lounging whilst the remaining mothers begin to chat. After approximately a 40-minute absence, the third mother returns to the group and makes a suggestion about where they should visit in the museum. The group agree to this plan and begin to stand; the sleeping child wakes and is notified of what is to happen. Whilst a mother helps him to put his shoes back on, he asks whether he will be able to have any ice cream. All mothers agree to this proposal and decide that they should visit the café before they leave the museum. (Three mothers and five children between 3 and 11, Tate Modern, observation, July 2016)

This particular family group spent at least 75 minutes in the Tanks (the group was in situ before the researcher arrived, so the exact length of this dwell time is unknown). During their time in the Tanks, the family group participated in a range of behaviours. By and large, the children were able to occupy themselves, either by playing together or directing their attention towards the video art by lying on cushions and required little attention from the mothers. Even when the children were engaged in play fights the mothers did not choose to limit this type of play. One child, the youngest, was occupied by sleep. All these behaviours were supported or afforded by the presence of a thick-pile carpet, cushions, low light and the relatively loud, though intermittent, sound of the video art work, which perhaps served to diminish or at least obscure the noise of the children’s play fighting. In addition, one mother was able to leave the group in order to collect information that would shape their visit. The behaviours of the children and mothers suggest that the space was, at least temporarily, their own space in which they were safe and able to behave as they would do in their own family living room.

7.1.4 Bloomberg Connects Drawing Bar Corridor at Tate Modern

There are many stairways and concourses at Tate Modern, which in general are spacious and include seating options. Occasionally, they are also home to artworks and displays. For example, the Level 4 Boiler House concourse has a wall displaying a thick, orange carpet, entitled *Untitled* (2003) by Rudolf Stingel, with which visitors are invited to mould. Likewise, the Bloomberg Connects Drawing Bar is located in a corridor space next to the Café at Tate Modern, and comprises several computers with specialist drawing software (*Figure 18*). Users draw digital pictures, which can be emailed to the user, and which are displayed above the computer screens. Signage next to the drawing bar asks that users limit their drawing time to five minutes during busy periods, signalling Tate's understanding of the popularity of the space (this was also made clear during organisational observations). Opposite the drawing bar is a range of soft seating that tends to be occupied by adults whilst children use the drawing bar; the proximity to the café means that adults sometimes purchase a drink whilst using the space.

Figure 18 Bloomberg Connects Drawing Bar, 2016. Source, author.



The drawing bar and seating are usually fully or nearly fully occupied during busy periods and there is often competition for computer terminals and sofa spaces. It is not uncommon for parents to employ mildly aggressive tactics to ensure their child is able to use a terminal. One mother, for example, reserved a terminal for her child by sitting at it, preventing other children who had been waiting for longer from using the terminal, and calling her child over from another terminal, where he was helping a peer to draw. This is a space where family dwelling intersects somewhat with art engagement. However, though this space does afford engagement with art, this is through the production of art, rather than through the consumption of art that is encouraged within gallery spaces. Such is the popularity of the Bloomberg Connects Drawing Bar, that the corridor space in which it is situated is often blocked to other museum users, as the overspill from the sofas narrows the walkway between the seating area and the computer terminals.

Additionally, this is a space where observations of family dwelling underlines different practices and values amongst family members. Whilst children generally seem happy to work in groups around terminals, parents are disengaged resulting in groups comprising only children. Where parents are engaged, it is usually to ensure the success of their child in producing their own digital artwork.

Like the Bloomberg Connects Drawing Bar, the Clore Learning Centre at Tate Modern, which is a welcome space for family visitors, has digital interpretation and a seating area (Figure 19). It also has a range of books available to read, is a distribution point for museum resources such as trails and is sometimes staffed by a member of Tate's front of house team. With open glazing, situated near toilets and a cloakroom and adjacent to the Turbine Hall, this space offers a good counterpoint to the Bloomberg Connects Drawing Bar. Both spaces are sited in ancillary areas, have seating and opportunities to engage with art and artistic practices. However, during observations around the Clore Learning Centre, family visitors were reluctant to spend much time in the space; families tended to visit it only briefly, rarely settling on the seats in the way observed frequently at the Bloomberg Connects Drawing Bar.

Figure 19 Clore Learning Centre, Tate Modern. Source, Tate 2018.

Observations of families in the Turbine Hall, the Tanks and using the drawing bar illustrate how particular material and spatial practices comprising increased dwell time help families to produce 'their' space. Playing, sitting, and snoozing are some of the practices associated with increased family dwell time in museums, though none relate directly to the art on display at Tate.

Beyond this, there is sense that these practices are orientated towards the preservation and protection of family. Improvised boundary markers, for example, are a clearly observable way that families dwell to ensure that children, perhaps perceived to be vulnerable in the public space of the museum, remain in view of their adults and thus protected. Additionally, these increased dwell times illustrate how adults attempt to protect the agency of their children and assert their parental authority, even if this means ignoring or refuting museum conventions. The mildly hostile practices displayed by adults at the Bloomberg Connects Drawing Bar illustrate how adults ensure that their children participate individually in an activity, even if this means disrupting group work or preventing other children from experiencing the activity.

7.1.5 The Entrance Hall at Tate Liverpool

At Tate Liverpool the Entrance Hall is a site of increased family dwell times. It is possible that this is also the case at Tate Modern and Tate Britain, but the practice is most easy to identify at Tate Liverpool since this site is the only site with a single, discrete entrance hall.

The entrance hall is a rectangle-shaped space with a glazed front facing onto Albert Dock, a redeveloped historic dock in Liverpool. There are two sets of revolving entrance/exit doors as well as two more easily accessible doors. The glazed façade, as well as camouflaging the more accessible doors, offers visitors inside a view over the dock, and potential visitors on the outside can easily see into the museum. A few paces inside the doors, there is a large donation box at about knee height. On the long wall of the Entrance Hall, slightly to the right, there is signage informing visitors 'what's on' in the museum and where specific programmes and exhibitions are located; there is a row of unobtrusive ticket desks on the right, and on the left, a shop and café. The galleries can be accessed through a large doorway in the long wall, as can the cloakrooms. To enter these spaces, visitors must pass a member of Tate staff. In the Entrance Hall there are several, generous benches that provide visitors space to sit down. Dominating the Entrance Hall is a large artwork by Cerith Wyn Evans (2006) entitled, *Astrophotography...The Traditional Measure of Photographic Speed in Astronomy...' by Siegfried Marx (1987)*, which is suspended from the ceiling and which resembles a large, colourful chandelier.

In Tate Liverpool's Entrance Hall, some families enter the space and leave before entering the gallery spaces. Of those families who do decide to stay, their time in the entrance hall is initially fairly limited. The Rocket Explorer Backpack station or a member of staff may slow a family's journey through the space, but generally families move into the shop, café or gallery space quickly. This is in contrast to families exiting Tate Liverpool. Many family visitors spend a significant amount of time in the entrance hall just before they leave; family group members frequently make phone calls to other family group members, from with whom they have been separated. Additionally, individuals or small groups tend to wait on seats in the entrance hall for family members to look in

the shop or visit the cloakroom and toilets. Whether catching a flight or buying groceries, visitors coming and going have different requirements that well-designed entrance and exit spaces can help to meet. In buildings where no such separation of space exists, and halls or lobbies must double up as entrance and exit routes, usually the joint space is called the entrance hall, in these instances; the exit function of the space is rarely mentioned. The space known as the entrance hall at Tate Liverpool is, in fact, dual purpose, that is, it functions as the way in and welcome area as well as an exit and 'please come again' message.

Used as an entrance hall, the space can often produce anxiety. One family visit, comprising a mother, father and two children under the age of five (one travelling in a pushchair), began badly as the older child, who was attracted to the mechanism of the revolving doors, was reprimanded by his mother for blocking the entrance. In addition, the child bumped his head on the revolving doors and the group was temporarily separated as the mother, managing the pushchair, had difficultly locating the accessible doors. Once inside, the Rocket Explorer Backpack station distracted the children. After a short discussion with a member of staff, the mother allowed the children to take a backpack from the stand and was disappointed to be told she was required to fill in a form. The backpack did not easily fit the children and it was left to mum to manage the resource. Only small portions of backpacks returned to the station are worn on the backs of children, more usually adults carry them, with children holding only one object from the pack. Though the backpacks may be successful at directing the attention of children and acting as a welcome to families, it is unclear for how long of a family's visit the backpacks have this effect and to what extent they cause stress throughout the visit.

Observations of Tate Liverpool's Entrance Hall illustrate that, though families may make a decision to leave the museum this can result in a period of increased dwell time. Some of this increased dwell time is the consequence of practical needs, for example, families might decide to leave and then visit the cloakroom, put on coats, gather family members from different parts of the museum, or visit the toilet. During this time family groups often fragment; commonly, only some family members will visit the shop while others are

prohibited from doing so (normally very young children) or choose to wait in the Entrance Hall. Often, before leaving, families spend time agreeing their next activity or discussing the course of the remainder of their day, be it returning to the car, going home, visiting another museum or to looking in the shops. The Entrance Hall is used as a space to negotiate these moves and to relay them to all family members.

Overall, the Entrance Hall at Tate Liverpool, and the way in which family groups visiting the institution use it illustrate some of the challenges of family. First, the Entrance Hall and the practices of re-grouping and re-orientating that are so prevalent underline part of the emotional labour and practical work of family. Ensuring that all family members are present is a key part of what families do whilst they dwell in the Entrance Hall. This work, often practical in nature, however, is usually augmented by emotional labour. Family members tend to use the space to ensure that all family members are content and that all needs have been met. This emotional labour often requires sacrifice or compromise by some family members. Second, the Entrance Hall and the re-grouping of families operates as a good metaphor for the way in which family members must negotiate their individual senses of themselves with the maintenance of a compelling and shared group identity.

Perhaps surprising, is the lack of typical behaviour management tactics employed by parents in certain circumstances at Tate. Sanctioning the use of prohibited toys is the clearest example of how adults ignore authority to ensure their children remain entertained. Additionally, it could be argued that allowing children to play fight with each other, as the mothers in the Tanks did, is a behaviour management routine that would not be expected in the art museum. Though the museum may have expected norms of behaviours, the configuration of the spaces, especially at Tate Modern, enables a more permissive experience for visitors than the stereotype may suggest.

7.1.6 Family Photography at Tate

For most family groups visiting Tate, the individual practice of photography is part of their experience. Children and other family members might be

photographed or filmed by particular members of their group, a practice that can significantly increase a family's dwell time in a particular part of the museum. For example,

> Descending Tate Britain's Manton Entrance staircase at a slow pace, mother and toddler hold hands. The toddler seems interested in the colour of the walls and touches and points at the walls while pausing on a step. Initially, mother responds to the delay by attempting to increase the speed of the descent. Realising the futility of her coaxing, mother releases the hand of the toddler and produces a camera from her handbag. She steps back from the toddler and begins to frame the photograph, asking the toddler to look at her and to smile. The toddler returns to looking at the colourful wall, meaning he is looking away from the camera, and begins to descend the stairs. Mother, clearly frustrated, puts the camera away and calls at the toddler to stop and return to her. The toddler responds by announcing he is hungry and thirsty. This further frustrates mother as she suggests that the toddler did not eat much cake in the café and that they will have something else to eat at home. Nevertheless, mother produces a bottle of water for the toddler to drink. Whilst the toddler drinks, mother takes a photo and the pair continues their descent of the stairs together. (Mother and one child under 4, Tate Britain, observation, January 2017)

The photograph, when it was finally taken, was opportunistic and was taken at a time when the child was resisting its mother's intended action. The child fails to comply with its mother's wish to walk down the stairs, for them to look at the camera and, we might assume, has previously failed to comply with its mother's wish that the child should eat. The mother displays subtle signs of frustration but is determined to take a photograph, persisting in her task despite her child's resistant attitude. This is interesting insofar as we assume that family photos are taken and framed or put in an album in order to document and display a version of happy family life, despite that fact that, for mother, this is not a happy moment. The image may be intended for a traditional family album, but equally, the image could be circulated through social circles very quickly via social media. In another sense, we can see that the mother and child are

experimenting with autonomy and authority in their relationship; the self-absorption of the child and its desire to explore can be understood as a lack of compliance that causes the mother frustration.

Attention has been given to the practices associated with family photography, which underlines the ambivalent nature of family photos. Usually, scholars argue, family photographs are images of low artistic quality and have very little originality, nevertheless, they tend to carry great emotional significance and, as feminist scholars suggest, can powerfully produce and reproduce hetero-normative versions of family (Hirsch, 1997; Rose, 2004, 2010). Though writing generally about analogue photography and printed photographs (there is certainly scope to research the role of family photography in digital photography and particularly with the advent of camera phones), we are able to observe this paradigm in the observation of mother and non-compliant child; mother is frustrated yet strives to take a photograph of her child looking happy.

It should not be forgotten that the initial trigger of the increased dwell time was not the decision to take a photograph, but the child's engagement with an artwork. The Manton Entrance staircase at Tate Britain has on its walls a colourful abstract artwork that clearly ignited the child's interest and compelled him to stop and touch the artwork. Since family photographs tend to be imbued with emotional significance, despite having little originality or displaying other formal photographic qualities, such photos tend to expose what the photographer values, which, in this case, is a moment of art exploration and absorption.

Likewise, the following episode shows how engagement with an artwork often proceeds a session of family photography that increases a family group's dwell time in a certain space.

> Two children stop in front of the Anthony Gormley's *Untitled (for Francis)* (1985) (Figure 20)and imitate its position. One mother notes that they (the family?) already have a good photo of the child striking this pose in front of the exhibit but, nevertheless, camera phones are produced by two of the mothers, and the children continue to pose, seemingly

enjoying having their photographs taken. A third child marches into the next gallery, holding an exhibition leaflet as if it were a map and asking the group to 'follow me'. It is clear that the leaflet is not a map. One mother follows the child and asks her to return to the group, as the other children are looking at an exhibit. As the child returns, the child repeats the command to 'follow me' and the other children group around her and the 'map', seemingly deciding where to go next. The child holding the 'map' begins to walk through to the next galleries, calling 'come along', with the other children following and with the adults just behind them. (Three mothers, one baby and three children under 5, Tate Modern, observation, February 2017)

Figure 20 Anthony Gormley (1985). Untitled (For Francis).

Here, art is the backdrop for the family photography opportunity and, in fact, the artwork in question suggests the possibility of a family photograph. The children in the group easily recognise the subject of the sculpture and find it fun to replicate the position of the sculpture. In addition, the conversation between mothers suggests that one of the children at least already appears in a family photograph with this artwork, but this fails to prevent the mothers replicating the photograph, and perhaps even encourages them to photograph the scene.

Related to the above observation is the incidence of increased family dwell time in front of other Gormley sculptures exhibited at Tate Britain in the Duveen Galleries entitled, *Three Ways: Mould, Hole and Passage* (1981-82) (Figure 21). These three figures are cast in lead, each one depicting a human. One of the figures is curled and crouched in a spherical shape, the second lies flat and the third is positioned in a pyramid shape. The casts include subtle depictions of various orifices and an erect penis, giving the artwork a sense of the taboo and perhaps a non-family-friendly nature. Despite this, many family groups spent significant amounts of time replicating the poses depicted in Gormley's sculptures and in many cases, this resulted in photographs of family members imitating the positions of the lead casts.

Figure 21 Antony Gormley. Three Ways: Mould, Hole and Passage (1981-82). Copyright, Tate 2018.

The human figures in Gormley's sculptures certainly afford embodied responses from their family viewers, which, more often than not, resulted in photographs. It is unclear why Gormley's sculptures elicit such responses from their family viewers. On the one hand, playful imitation of the poses of the figures underlines the viewer's recognition that they share with the sculpture a physical form, and that their form can be used creatively to make (or at least imitate) art. On the other hand, it is rare to see paintings of humans, or even the other 3D artworks that depict humans at Tate elicit the same embodied response amongst family viewers. Whatever the case may be further research into the embodied responses to the human figure in contemporary art presents an interesting area for future research. In essence, then, these particular increased family dwell times are ignited by an artwork that affords an embodied and perhaps playful response, opening up an opportunity for a family photograph that depicts a special moment of absorption and engagement with art.

Returning to the family group following the route of the non-map, then, we can also see how one child acts to decrease the dwell time of the group. Interestingly this is achieved through her imitation of particular museum behaviours. Though in this case following a map is not a rational process, in general, we may assume that the practice of navigating a museum using a paper map allows visitors to plan and follow a particular route, that is, they have a beginning point and an end point. However, as this observation has demonstrated, following a rational route through the museum using a map may have the potential to prevent sporadic or lengthy dwelling, since emphasis is placed on the journey through the museum or the end point of the visit.

The use of maps within museums is, perhaps, a discrete subject, however, in this case, what is interesting in the child's use of the map. First, the child imitates traditional gallery behaviours, those of walking a defined route through a museum (much like Tate Britain's *Walk Through British Art*), seeing particular artworks or exhibits or 'doing' the museum. This is interesting insofar as it illustrates how, effectively, expected museum behaviours can be translated to their child users, supporting the Bourdiesian argument discussed previously that museums are important sites of social reproduction. Second, however, this use

of the map exposes the role of leadership within family groups. In the case of this family, a child provided a guided tour of part of the museum for her family. Despite her presumed lack of reading ability and lack of knowledge of art, adults perceived this as a worthwhile use of time during a family visit. Allowing a child to exercise their agency in this way, at the potential expense of seeing artworks (in only one case was the child's tour interrupted by adults) underlines the value attached to allowing this child to develop leadership skills. In line with this, potentially, this arrangement reduced pressure on adults, who were not required to manage children's entertainment. The unconventional use of the map then, serves the purpose of illustrating how dwell time is decreased by traditional museum practices, and the value attached to children's leadership.

7.2 Findings and Discussion

7.2.1 Overview

The purpose of this section is to analyse the spaces and practices of family dwelling, in other words, to question what goes on during the times and spaces of family museum dwelling and what this might mean. Analysis of the spaces and practices of family dwell time indicates that the flexible or ambivalent characteristics of the spaces in question afford particular opportunities for families to maintain and present a compelling version of family life. As the spatial ethnographic observations reported in the previous section illustrate well, the way in which dwell time is distinguished is not by engagement with art or exhibits but by practices orientated towards and between family members.

The following sections discuss these results in the context of existing literatures relating to dwelling and meaning making in museums, as well as to the practices of family life that have been outlined and appraised in Chapter Four. Focussing on the ambivalent nature of the spaces in question, space claiming practices and the emotional logistics of family dwelling in the first instance underlines the museum as a site employed by family visitors to present and maintain a compelling and shared family identity. Further to this, however, the following sections demonstrate the important role of ambivalent spaces at Tate in affording opportunities for family visitors to make their own meanings on their

own terms. This is important because it demonstrates an overlooked way in which inclusivity might be achieved (a strategic priority shared by Tate with many other UK museums and institutions) and raises questions around how these ambivalent spaces are best (un)managed.

7.2.2 Locating Family Dwelling in Ambivalent Spaces

In terms of locating family dwell times at Tate, by and large, the spaces of family dwell times are spaces that are ambivalent. It is perhaps easier to justify the ambivalent nature of entrance halls, stairways and concourses, since they are in between spaces that generally separate distinct parts of the museum or operate as a barrier between the museum and the street, city or urban environment. However, these spaces at Tate are not banal spaces, since they are not usually devoid of artworks. Spaces such as the Turbine Hall, the Tanks, and to a lesser extent, the Duveen Galleries at Tate Britain, also display ambivalent characteristics since they are spaces within art museums that tend not to exhibit the paintings and small sculptures that might belong to the typified or imagined museum (Duncan, 1995; Leahy, 2012). Instead of such artworks, these spaces tend to host large artworks with multiple components that employ contemporary audio-visual techniques as well as traditional artistic practices. Crucially, these spaces allow museum visitors to be surrounded by artworks whilst not being engaged in artworks.

The spatial characteristics of the family dwelling sites at Tate are not typical museum spaces. As scholars of museums have consistently argued, museums, and particularly art museums, tend to encourage a promenade through enfilade galleries (Colomina, 1994; Duncan, 1995; Guffey, 2015). Not surprisingly, perhaps, at Tate, the spaces of family dwelling are rarely traditional gallery spaces. This might be because in these spaces seating options are provided (though it should be remembered that benches are often situated in gallery spaces) and that, in spaces like the Turbine Hall, for example, sitting rarely requires a formal seating option. More often than not, a step suffices as a chair. The key sites of family dwelling at Tate, then, are spaces that breach understandings of traditional spatial experiences of museums.

The Turbine Hall and the Tanks are strong examples of how family dwelling sites at Tate breach understandings of typical museum experiences. The Turbine Hall, for example, operates effectively as a public square; it affords routes through the museum (as well as, in fact, providing pedestrian access from the borough of Southwark to the Thames) and general social space. Like the Tanks, which perhaps should be equated to a living room, visitors in this space tend to be surrounded by artworks that can be effectively treated as background events, if they are recognised at all. In this sense then, and as Colomina (2016) argues, the spaces between art can be the main event in a visitor's experience of Tate.

The ambivalent spaces of family dwelling at Tate, in some ways, reflect the ambivalent status of the museum in general. As has been seen, the museum operates as a space that is neither entirely private, nor entirely public. This is evident in several senses. At Tate, for example, the funding structure of the institution is a clear illustration of how museums operate in the private and public sphere. In a more complex sense, however, though theoretically public, as Bourdieu et al. (1991) point out, the museum is an exclusive space accessible only to those knowledgeable of particular practices. Colomina (1994), on the other hand, traces the intersection of public and private within the museum along material lines by examining the relationship between domestic and museum architecture, something reflected in the evolution of the museum from cabinets of curiosity to the purpose-built monoliths of the global cities such as London. It seems, then, that though museums such as Tate might be described as public, a complex interplay of social, material and political factors complicate this matter.

Ambivalence, then, is a feature of Tate that could be important to its success as an inclusive institution. On a local level its ambivalent spaces afford dwelling practices for one audience type, which, as the next section of this chapter discusses, that maintain a shared version of family, both within and beyond the immediate family group. This is important because it shows how Tate can operate as an inclusive space that is responsive to individual needs. These practices connect to Tate's wider sense of ambivalence, since its status as neither public nor private affords family visitors a space in which to display

family to wider social circles (as well as to each other) – an important feature of 'doing family' (Finch, 2007).

The following paragraphs, therefore, demonstrate how the ambivalence of the dwell times and spaces of family experiences of Tate is a crucial aspect of achieving inclusivity at Tate.

7.2.3 Claiming Family Space

Family dwelling at Tate is generally marked by particular space claiming practices. In the most obvious sense, and as we have seen, boundary marking allows families to claim space at Tate. Other practices, however, such as play and photography contribute to the process of space claiming.

During increased family dwelling at Tate, however, certain practices prevail that reduce the risks associated with being a child in a public space. The relationship between children and public space is often fraught, since public space can be seen to be both a threat to and threatened by children. On the one hand, children might be perceived as being at risk of abduction in public space, whilst on the other hand groups of minors or behaviours such as crying or tantrums often associated with children can cause nuisance in public space (Derr & Tarantini, 2016; Valentine, 1997). Families often imagine and enact temporary boundaries during their dwelling times, which prevent children from straying from their adults' reach or view (depending on age) whilst allowing children a degree of autonomy. These physical arenas allow adults to monitor and manage children's behaviours, meaning the child is less likely to become lost or cause annoyance to others. Crucially, then, these enclosed family arenas afford opportunities to experience and benefit from the public museum in perceived safety and without causing a threat to the experiences of others.

In a wider sense, the number of family visitors engaged in space-claiming practices can significantly impact the inclusivity of a space. At the Bloomberg Connects Drawing Bar at Tate Modern, for example, space claiming practices amongst family visitors accumulate to produce a space within Tate that is predominantly used by families. This presents a problem insofar as other

audiences, particularly core audiences, could be alienated, which as Black (2016) outlines, has implications for sustaining the core audiences on which museums rely (as well as any new audiences). This emphasises another difficulty of managing audiences according to identity-related needs.

Play is another prevalent way in which families claim space within Tate. As Jones (2013) suggests of play in public space, it has three identifiable emergent qualities. First, and most easily to identify perhaps in this case, is ludic play. Perhaps unlocked by the presence of children but nevertheless enjoyed across the generations, spontaneity and light-heartedness are enduring features of increased family dwelling times at Tate, even amongst the arguments and challenges that mark family life. Second, the prescribed meaning of Tate as a museum space is altered, or played, as families use certain spaces according to their own needs rather than as a place of art consumption. Third, if Tate is conceptualised as a space of 'public parenting', a space where family is visible immediately and across time and space, it is possible to see how the museum is a site of simulacrum, or a site to 'play at' a specific version of family.

These types of play are not prescribed by museum management agendas but are afforded by the spatial characteristics and public/private nature of Tate. In turn, family play helps Tate to avoid its official identity as art; family play does not overtly resist or comply with museum management strategies, rather it quietly eludes them. Here, then, family play is a set of socio-spatial practices marking the inclusivity of Tate, which, amongst the prescriptive management strategies that might guarantee certain measures of inclusivity is accidentally sensitive and responsive to and of the individual needs and agency of family visitors.

The practice of family photography, which is conceptualised as a space and practice of increased family dwell times, can be understood as part of the simulacrum of family at Tate. Family photography has been conceptualised in many ways, but, by and large, it is agreed that it is the practice of family members taking photos of family members for viewing by family members and friends (Rose, 2010). As a practice, family photography is both emotionally resonant and significant to the maintenance of family life over time and space.

Though most attention has been paid to family photography before the advent of mass camera-phone photography and social media and thus further research is necessary, family photography retains its distinguishing features. Though physical family albums and frames displaying family photos might now be rarer than they once were, family photographs are still selected, organised, arranged and shared using social media platforms.

As Section 7.2.4 illustrates, family photography at Tate is often, though not always, the result of an initial engagement with an artwork. Despite this, the photographic subject tends to be family members and the engagement with the artwork generally lapses. The resulting images, however, can be perceived as both worthless, artistically and in terms of volume, and significant, both emotionally and practically in the maintenance of family life (Hirsch, 1997; Holloway & Green, 2017). The spatial ethnographic accounts of the family photography at Tate are emblematic of the unoriginality of the practice at Tate; the same photograph is produced by different families, and, in at least one extreme circumstance, the same families produce the same photographs over time. This points to the emotional significance of family photographs, which serve to document and display family life. Though data generation procedures were not able to capture the afterlives of family photos taken at Tate (an area for future research), it is perhaps likely that these photographs, like other family photographs, are shared amongst family members and wider social circles electronically.

Family photography at Tate, then, as an ambivalent dwelling practice, offers the opportunity for family to be maintained over time and space. Not only this, through family photography at Tate, a particular version of family is maintained that attaches value to time spent together, art and art engagement.

Family dwelling at Tate, then, as afforded by the ambivalent characteristics of Tate is a way in which families maintain and display their particular version of family, both within the family group and throughout wider social circles. The next paragraphs emphasise the practical nature of family dwelling at Tate, arguing that this aspect of dwelling is a necessary logistical feature of family

experiences of Tate that connects to wider characteristics of 'doing' family (Finch, 2007).

7.2.4 Intra-Familial Management Practices

As illustrated by the spatial ethnographic account of the Entrance Hall at Tate Liverpool, the practical needs of family often produce increased family dwell time. Whilst such dwelling could be categorised as different from dwelling practices such as play or family photography, the family management practices of these dwell times underline the value attached to achieving time together at Tate, and the challenge of ensuring all family members are engaged and content during visits to Tate.

The spatial ethnographic accounts of the Entrance Hall at Tate Liverpool illustrate how different members of family groups experience dwelling in different ways. For example, mothers particularly experienced family dwelling in this space as dwelling which required significant work, whether this be the practical management of children's needs or the work involved in maintaining the family as a group. For other family members, this type of family dwelling might be experienced as boredom, whilst waiting for others, or interest if occupied in another practice away from the group such as shopping.

This type of family dwelling underlines the multiple practices of family life, and particularly the way in which some family members are required to practice work in order to achieve successful family experiences. This connects to discussions presented in Chapter Six, which examine how some members of the family experience family leisure as work (Garner, 2015). Certainly, the behaviour management practices employed by parents in Tate Liverpool's Entrance Hall are in sharp contrast to the lack of behaviour management often observed in other dwelling spaces. In line with this, the marshalling of family members that takes place within the Entrance Hall before exit contrasts with the way in which family dwelling can operate as a base from which at least some family members can stray. This type of dwelling perhaps achieves different meanings than dwelling within Tate itself, meanings that are orientated towards

the practicalities of family life. Despite this difference, however, such dwelling practices contribute to intra-familial understandings of family membership.

Chapter Eight
Conclusion

8.1 Summary of Research

This chapter describes how the aim to develop deeper and wider understandings of how families experience museums by special reference to Tate as a leading international museum has been met. It summarises the design of the research, outlines the project's main findings, sets out the contribution of the thesis and discusses its limitations and relevance for future research. Working collaboratively with Tate has situated this project at the intersection of research and practice and afforded this spatial ethnographic research intrinsic and instrumental value.

To address the aim of developing deeper and wider understandings of how families experience museums, for objectives were generated. These were: To determine Tate's institutional definition of 'family'; to investigate the relationship between 'learning' and family experiences of museums; to examine how experiences of museums function as family leisure experiences; and, to analyse the nature of dwell times and spaces during family experiences of museums (see also, Table 1).

As described in Section 1.6 and elaborated in Chapter 4, determining Tate's institutional definition of family provided empirical evidence to support the theorisation of family in the context of the museum and was also a foundational step in this thesis. This objective generated understandings of how 'family' is known, understood and operationalised in a major agenda-setting, internationally-important museum context.

Literature review work and early data generation operated iteratively to produce an analytical framework to link existing scholarship to the empirical work of this thesis (Miles et al., 2014). The theories related to socially-mediated museum learning (e.g. Ash, 2003; Ash, 2004), family leisure (e.g. Shaw, 2008) and to the spatial and temporal practices of families in museums (e.g. Hackett, 2016). This shaped objectives two, three and four as well as research questions, which

were orientated towards gaining rich descriptions of how families use and understand museums in relation to these themes from the literatures.

The framework of Tate was used to explore the issues relating to family experiences of museums. Tate comprises four museums: Tate Modern and Tate Britain in London, Tate Liverpool and Tate St. Ives. Together, the four museums hold and display the United Kingdom's national collection of British art from 1500 and international modern and contemporary art. The geographical spread of the institution and its holdings mean that it has regional, national and international significance. The institution is in receipt of government funding arranged through the DCMS but generates over half of its income through commercial and charitable activity (Tate, 2015). This means that the institution is sensitive to public spending events as well as to consumers and to trends and policies in charitable giving, in other words, Tate must demonstrate its public worth, present an effective cause-related charitable message and attract consumers.

Tate is one of a group of museums often referred to as 'nationals', so called because they care for and present collections deemed to be of national significance and, as such, receive government funding (Tlili, 2014). Not only does Tate receive more government funding than all other 'nationals' but also it is a leading example of income generation. In addition, according to the Association of Leading Visitor Attractions (ALVA) Tate Modern is consistently the second most visited museum in the United Kingdom after the British Museum, and Tate as a single entity is the most visited attraction in the UK (ALVA, 2018). As a case, therefore, Tate has both intrinsic and instrumental value, that is, it is interesting in its own right but has wider relevance to other national and international museums (Jones, 2014).

Family audiences are an important audience for museums. The potential size of the family segment (since most people identify as being part of a family) alone makes this audience attractive; families can increase footfall in museums and with this visitor-spend and audience reach. Families also have a long-term strategic value to museums since they offer the opportunity for the institution to discharge a perceived moral responsibility to provide a service to society

through the medium of education (Hooper-Greenhill, 1999, 2007). Additionally, children, a key component of family audiences, represent a future museum audience and thus successful engagement with families can contribute to long-term financial sustainability of museums. Family audiences, therefore, are valuable to museums because they are perceived as an audience that can positively impact the institution both now and in the future, and because they are an audience who can benefit from using the museum (Black, 2012).

However, family audiences are also a challenging audience for museums. Routinely unproblematized, families are often perceived by museums as an audience with bespoke needs, which, crucially, can be different to the needs of other audience types. The competing requirements of family and other audiences, therefore, can cause an imbalance (Black, 2016). At Tate, family audiences are under-represented. The volume of family audiences at Tate is consistently low when compared to the volumes of family audiences at other comparable museums. Likewise, they are under researched within the museum studies literatures (Moussouri & Hohenstein, 2017). In addition, as Sterry and Beaumont (2006) point out, there is a lack of research dealing explicitly with family engagement in museums and, beyond this, the research that is in existence remains dispersed across academic disciplines and research contexts. The under-representation of families in both research and practice is problematic insofar as it makes it difficult to understand the impacts of family museum visitation and for institutions to develop effective strategic practices to maintain and increase their family audiences.

The literature and practice-based research that do address the need to better understand family engagement in museums draw from a variety of academic disciplines (e.g. learning, museum studies and tourism studies), reflecting the complexity of the topic and demonstrating the need for research approaches open and able to account for different ways of thinking. One of the most conventional approaches to understand family engagement in museums is through the lens of learning or education (e.g. Ash, 2004; Kisiel et al., 2012; Pattison et al., 2017). Measuring learning is a useful way of assessing the impact of museums on families because existing mechanisms can be employed and because providing evidence of learning can position museums as providers

of education, often perceived as a worthy recipient of government funding and domestic charitable giving and consumer spending. Other literatures tend to look at family engagement in museums through the lens of consumerism; whilst some literatures focus on family as an audience management category with specific identity related needs (Falk, 2008; Moussouri & Roussos, 2013), others conceptualise the museum as a leisure environment employed by families (Fountain et al., 2015). Yet other literature is concerned with the Bourdieusian approach to understanding families in museums. Whilst Bourdieusian theories relating to class distinction can be found in a cross section of literature dealing with family engagement in museums, some literature takes it as their starting point, exploring the well-established relationship between museum visitation and middle-class status to develop instrumental approaches to implementing upwards socio-economic mobility (Archer et al., 2016; Archer et al., 2012). As well as academic research, many museums and practitioners conduct their own evaluations of programmes and audiences, including families (e.g. Cox et al., 2000; Tormey, 2017). Whilst this research is often practically orientated it tends to share with academic research a sense that family engagement in museums is best understood according to discrete events that happen during family visits to museums.

Likewise, family engagement in museums is often understood according to dominant voices or perspectives within family. Astor-Jack et al. (2007) note that learning is often evaluated at the level of individual and that there is a lack of tools to measure learning at the level of family. Whilst this is almost certainly the case, it could also be said that this is a general problem facing how family engagement in museums is understood. That is, the methodological challenge of attending to ‘family voice’ often means research is focused on the impact of family museum experiences on specific members of families, most often children but also fathers (Fountain et al., 2015), mothers (Garner, 2015) and, occasionally grandparents (Sterry & Beaumont, 2005, 2006). The challenge, as Dawson and Jensen (2011) point out, is not to take the family museum visit as unit of analysis but rather to explore engagement in museums in the context of everyday family life.

This research, then, has sought to develop a holistic view of family engagement in museums developing deeper and wider understandings of family experiences of museums. In this case, holistic refers to both the description and focus of family engagement in museums; a challenging way of approaching the topic but one that aims to explore and open up knowledge of family engagement in museums rather than focus on paradigm development or discrete moments within the family experience of museums (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002).

With this in mind, a spatial ethnographic (Low, 2016) approach to the project was taken in order to account for the multiple realities of everyday family life and to recognise that museum visitation is a complex process shaped by family and institutional practices and values. Since it is sensitive to historical, political, individual, embodied, material and other factors, spatial ethnography is a methodological approach capable of including multiple perspectives, which is particularly important in the case of this research and its need to attend to the multiple realities of family life and museum experiences.

Like ethnography, spatial ethnographic research is iterative, contributing to inductive research. In other words, rather than being a linear process with discrete steps, spatial ethnography is best understood as a research approach that draws on what is at hand to configure impressions of everyday life. Reflexivity, and the ability to go back and forwards been emergent lines of analysis and data, as well as the procedures used to generate data are important ways of testing and refocusing findings, opening up knowledge to questioning (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009). In the case of this thesis, initial literature review work and initial observations and interviews contributed to the development of an analytical framework to guide empirical research. This method ensures, at least to some extent, that findings are relevant and valid to the context in which (and for which, at least partially) they are produced. Like the research design and data generation aspects of this research, data analysis was also iterative.

Each of the analysis chapters (Chapters Four, Five, Six and Seven) relates to a specific research objective shaped by the initial research design and data generation procedures. Spatial ethnographic accounts are presented in each

chapter which shed light on how each respective area of focus is 'done' during family visits to Tate. Each account, where appropriate, draws from data generated according to relevant perspectival frameworks to open up assumptions surrounding family engagement in museums to questioning.

The findings of this project are focused in two areas. First, findings relate to the production of family at Tate. This responds to an institutional need to question what family means in the context of Tate, and, in doing so, to gain a clearer picture of the assumptions underpinning how family is produced and employed at Tate, a major international art museum. Second, findings relate to the interlinked ways in which families might experience museums: as a learning experience; as a leisure experience; and as a place of family practices. Findings, therefore, have the potential to speak to important policy decisions surrounding the management of publicly-funded museums and also make a practical contribution to Tate's approach to their family audiences. In addition, this research makes an empirical contribution to the subject of family museum engagement by going beyond the idea that family museum experiences can be evaluated according to discrete episodes within them.

The following sections of this chapter provide a summary of each of this project's main findings, situating them in the context of the existing literature to which they contribute. Next, this chapter discusses the limitations of this research and finally the implications of this thesis for future research.

8.2 Main Findings

8.2.1 Determining Tate's Institutional Definition of Family

8.2.1.1 The Production and Employment of Family at Tate: Flexibility and Organisational Paradox

At Tate, family is a valuable term because it is employed as a structured and identifiable audience management category whilst also being recognised as a fluid social practice. Using family paradoxically in this way means that two

distinct outcomes are achieved, despite apparent opposition, suggesting Tate as an ambidextrous organisation.

On the one hand, at Tate the term 'family' is seen as a discrete audience type that can be identified according to its specific related needs. It is also perceived, along with 'first time', 'diverse' and 'local' audiences as being different from traditional museum audiences, as an audience requiring learning and other bespoke opportunities. These types of audiences, importantly, can be identified and measured, helping museums to meet public management agendas and thus access funding. It is clear, however, that the audience labels listed above effectively displace important demographic factors such as race, sexuality, ethnicity, gender. Whilst this euphemistic use of language is potentially dangerous since it, in fact, embeds the idea that museums are white, middle class spaces (Meghji, 2017), the consistent use of family in conjunction with such terms actually alludes to the category's flexibility. On the other hand, it seems, there is a deep commitment to the perception of family as a set of social practices that cannot be readily identified, and, importantly, are sensitive and responsive to difference. This commitment is, in part, based on empathy and a desire to facilitate communication within families, rather than to present traditional learning opportunities. In one sense, then, families are a discrete and identifiable category that can be measured and in another, families are fluid social practices that are only available internally to respective family members.

This opposition reflects an opposition within the sociological study of family, between functionalist versions of family and practice-centred versions of family explored in Section 2.1 of this thesis (Finch, 2007; Morgan, 2011). It seems important, however, that Tate maintains both versions of family, since each are useful to its practice. This, at least to some extent, validates Morgan's (2011) argument that it can be valuable to remain critically engaged with formal models of family, rather than displacing them altogether in favour of a practice-based model of family. Enmeshed in the logics of New Public Management (NPM) examined in Section 4.3.1, Tate must demonstrate its performance in relation to certain indicators, in this case around the engagement of 'new' audiences. In other words, family offers a good way to manage and demonstrate performance in certain areas of work and is a category able to work in conjunction with other

priority audiences. At the same time, however, Tate's production and employment of family as a fluid social category supports the institution's inclusive ethos. There is an irony present, of course, since NPM in museums tend to ensure inclusivity but through mechanisms of evaluation underpinned by the use of exclusive and determining categories. In essence, Tate's production and employment of the concept of family responds to an external framework of accountability whilst refusing to categorise what it means to be a family. This is artful, because Tate benefits from the funding associated with NPM whilst simultaneously presenting itself as a genuine site of inclusivity.

The findings relating to how family is produced and employed at Tate have methodological implications for this project. Family, for the purpose of this project, just like for the purpose of audience management at Tate, is conceptualised as children and their domestic adults, yet is sensitive to difference. Whilst this loose grouping does not impress a particular biological and social version of family, it does exclude families without children, and groups of children visiting with schools or other formal groups. This is a pragmatic approach that has shaped data generation procedures that was taken for practical reasons surrounding sampling during in gallery observations and intercept interviews. As has been indicated above and as will be discussed further, this definition and application of family leads to a major limitation of this project (and thus an area for future research).

8.2.1.2 Methodological and Practical Implications

One of the most interesting and perhaps useful findings of this research is related to how Tate produces and employs the concept of family. This finding is methodologically critical to the rest of the thesis and is of particular value to Tate's own practices. During the initial stages of this research project, it was made apparent that the concept of family had never been questioned institutionally at Tate, despite being used systematically as an organising concept throughout the museum. Gaining an understanding of what family is at Tate, therefore, is of practical use to the museum and of wider relevance to (museum) visitor studies insofar as it sheds light on the way in which particular audiences are produced and used within museums. In addition, and perhaps

most importantly, gaining an understanding of what family is at Tate, which was an initial stage of this research project, provided a guide to some of the questions surrounding data generation procedures, most notably the decision to focus on families comprising children and adults. However, this in itself leads to a limitation of the study, which is discussed in more depth towards the end of this chapter. For now, however, it is important to note that finding out about family at Tate makes a practical contribution to the institution and supports methodological decision making within this thesis, helping to ensure the validity and relevance of results.

8.2.2 Investigating the Relationship Between 'Learning' and Family Experiences of Museums

One of the main findings of this project is the way in which curriculum-based learning can dominate how families use and understand Tate as a learning resource. This is significant because it demonstrates a disconnection between institutional and individual understandings of the learning potential of family experiences of museums.

Curriculum-based learning can be a motivating and organising factor of family experiences of museums (Moussouri & Roussos, 2013). However, at Tate beyond 'seeing' a particular artwork that might relate to a child's school experience, families can be unable to articulate what they mean by learning and the values they attach to learning. In other words, whilst it is clear that learning is an important driver and feature of family museum experiences, there is a consensus that simply seeing an authentic artwork is valid as a family learning experience or is understood as the achievement of a learning aim (see Section 5.2). This idea has several implications. First, the relationship between a child's curriculum and learning is significant to family engagement in museums, since it can be the motivation for visiting the museum and the organising principle of the experience. Second, families visiting the museum in order to enhance curriculum learning attach significance to the authentic, believing that seeing an artwork affords learning. Whilst this finding supports several existing ideas surrounding the importance of prior knowledge (Ash, 2004; Hein, 1998) as motivating factors to family museum engagement it also raises other

questions. For example, what are the behaviours and practices associated with families when they ‘see’ an artwork around which they have organised their visit? It also underlines the importance of artistic authenticity to family museum visitors, relating the family museum visit to class values. Perhaps it is the case that families motivated by curriculum-based learning to visit Tate do so to support and enhance their children’s learning and differentiating it from that of peers, rather than to demonstrably increase it. As Pugh (2009) points out, being middle class is not necessarily about keeping-up-with-the-Jones’ as much as it is about distinguishing one’s self from the Jones’. In this sense, then visiting Tate as a family with curriculum-based motivations and strategies could be less about achieving learning outcomes than it is about class and intra-class distinction within the school system.

Families’ adherence to curriculum-based learning and the desire to see particular, usually well-known artworks, however, can lead to the displacement of other types and ways of learning that are purposely afforded by Tate. Pringle and DeWitt (2014), in their statement on learning at Tate suggest that learning at Tate is a disruptive process underpinned by particular values. As such, learning experiences afforded by Tate are produced to encourage change in people, and aim to do so according to principles of inclusivity and equality (see Section 5.1.2). These learning experiences tend to be artist led. The lack of familiarity with these types of learning can cause frustration and non-engagement amongst family members, which is reflected in some opinions and actions of front of house services at Tate. Beyond non-engagement with Tate’s learning resources, there is a sense that curriculum-based learning, as an organising feature of family experiences of museums, can overshadow or obscure other learning opportunities.

In terms of museum management, this finding suggests that Tate could optimise its relationship with its family visitors by aligning its work more overtly with school curricula. Whilst it may not fit within Tate’s ethos to produce education environments for families that closely resemble or enhance curriculum learning, Tate could develop its learning offer to families around existing ‘curriculum hooks’ within the collection or around ‘curriculum visit strategies’, thus critically engaging with families’ perceptions of learning

(Thomson & Hall, 2008) and potentially affording new knowledge and new ways of thinking.

8.2.3 Examining How Experiences of Museums Function as Family Leisure Experiences

Being sensitive to how families use and understand Tate as a site of family leisure has illustrated how the institution supports good family functioning, operates as a site of purposive leisure but, crucially, is also a flexible site of leisure that is responsive to the needs of individual family members.

First, it is clear that Tate can actively support the maintenance and improvement of family functioning, an element of a systems-based approach to family and which is seen as a key benefit of family leisure (see Sections 2.3.4 and 6.3.1). Tate's family programmes, for example, specifically encourage intergenerational communication by affording approaches to engagement based on conversations. Families, too, it seems value the 'togetherness' that Tate affords during its visits, with some family members committed to ensuring groups physically stay together during their visits despite adversity. Family leisure is a key mechanism by which improved family functioning can be delivered (Hodge et al., 2018; Schwab & Dustin, 2015) and, as such it is possible that further research in this area could contribute to policy debates surrounding the most appropriate way or ways of measuring the social impact of museums.

Second, Tate is also used and understood as a site of purposive family leisure (Shaw & Dawson, 2001; Wheeler, 2014). Whilst purposive family leisure is a model of family leisure that is, like systems-based approaches to family and family leisure, orientated towards immediate benefits of family leisure such as good communication, it is also concerned with future benefits. For example, the model of purposive family leisure accounts for the immediate maintenance of family relations but is also concerned with the longevity of family relationships and the adequate preparation of children for their future family lives. This is a good way of understanding the overlapping nature of family leisure and family learning, and of emphasising the role of social stratification in family leisure

models. As some scholars point out (Shaw, 2008; Shaw & Dawson, 2001), purposive family leisure is often perceived as a middle-class pursuit because of its premise on spare time and the values it attaches to learning. Whilst operating as a site that supports family functioning in an immediate and future sense, therefore, Tate is used and understood as a valuable leisure resource for ‘good’ parenting.

Third, families are also able to adapt family leisure models at Tate. For example, as well as complying with the standards of ‘good’ parenting, parents may simultaneously achieve their own leisure needs. Usually this is in terms of social leisure for parents or older children. Further, this finding also demonstrates how Tate, as a site of leisure, can effectively disrupt normative parenting patterns and roles, particularly in respect to mothers’ labour in achieving family leisure. The flexibility afforded by Tate to families means that families are able to successfully pursue leisure at both a group and individual level.

Looking at how families use and understand Tate through the lens of leisure demonstrates the significance of the space as a site in which practices associated with good and classed family functioning occur. This supports the wider argument that Tate is a space in which family is practiced internally but orientated externally, sharing a compelling version of family within the family group and amongst its wider social circles (Finch, 2007).

8.2.4 Analysing the Nature of Dwell Times and Spaces During Family Experiences of Museums

There are several main findings associated with looking at how families use and understand Tate through the lens of spatial practices. First, critical engagement with the concept of dwell time expanded the commonly used quantitative evaluative tool (Heath & vom Lehn, 2004; Moussouri & Roussos, 2013), offering qualitative enquiry into the extended times and spaces of family engagement at Tate. This illustrated the significance of ambivalent spaces, or spaces without art, during family experiences at art and was able to account for the spatially embodied practices producing Tate.

Further, it showed how such spaces afforded non-traditional museum behaviours such as play, eating and snoozing, suggesting the potential of these spaces for allowing family visitors a chance to feel at home, or that Tate is a 'place for me'. Not only does this support the idea of Tate as a site of family communication and cohesion, and thus as an actor in the maintenance of family life but it also has implications for the management of museum spaces and the pressing need to develop authentic inclusive ways of engaging with the institution.

The implications of this are orientated towards museum management practices. Specifically, if family visitors to Tate spend significant amounts of time in spaces where art is absent, or where art does not need to be engaged with, then should art be introduced into these spaces to help further the institution's mission? On the other hand, do these spaces perhaps illustrate an incidental way in which Tate's inclusivity agenda is at least in some part achieved?

8.2.5 Family Displays

Overall, this research has demonstrated how families use and understand Tate as a site of family display because it is a space where a compelling, shared family identity can be developed and maintained over space and time both internally and externally. The concept of displaying family, outlined by Finch (2007), helps to explain how families use and understand Tate. As has been seen, the family display is a development of the concept of 'doing' family. 'Doing' family is the idea that family is not defined by biological relationships or sociological structures such as marriage but rather by practices (Morgan, 2011). That is, family is produced through specific behaviours orientated towards another person, which might be caring, the provision of financial support, behaviour management practices or other practices and behaviours associated with the family group. Crucially, in 'doing' family, one family member makes these practices available to another. For Finch (2007), the theory of the display of family connects to the theory of 'doing' family, since it accounts for the significance attached to circulating a compelling version of family life amongst social circles that is a large part of contemporary family life. The 'doing' and

‘displaying’ of family is seen at Tate as a way of developing and maintaining a shared version of family and is one of the key ways in which families use and understand Tate.

In essence, then, this thesis extends the view of family as a set of practices, constructed through behaviours orientated between family members rather than through biological relationships or sociological structures. In doing so, it demonstrates the value of spatial ethnographic approaches to understanding family experiences of museums, following Astor-Jack’s (2007) suggestion that it is the lives of museum visitors, rather than the museum visit itself, that can develop understanding of how families use museums.

This thesis also demonstrates how learning, leisure and dwelling can all be understood as practices that contribute to the ‘doing’, or performance, of family. The museum as a site of family learning practices illustrates the challenge faced by the museum to engage families with non-cognitive learning process and outcomes, rather than curriculum-based learning. Though it could be argued that museums should more to align with dominant learning models in order to engage with their family audiences, there is a growing sense which this research supports, that art museums can support the development of skills intergenerationally, particularly communication and confidence (Hackett, 2016). By developing such skills amongst family visitors, family learning practices in museums may have broader benefits, since children are not necessarily prioritised. Paying attention to leisure, as a family practice enacted in museums, has demonstrated the impact of familial roles and responsibilities of individual family members’ experiences of leisure, particularly highlighting the scope of the museum for safely ‘undoing’ family groups. In practicing leisure in the museum, family members were able to shed their typical roles: boundaries for children were managed by parents to allow relative freedoms and parents were able to share, reduce and even eliminate their parental responsibilities. This is opposed to Garner’s (2015) suggestion that museums embedded gendered parenting practices and typical parent/child dyads. Dwelling, seen also as a way of ‘doing’ family’, demonstrated how typical family practices such as playing, eating, talking and ‘being together’ occur in museum spaces and are valued by family members, despite the museum being understood as a site of

particular ‘civilising’ practices, such as promenading, looking, contemplating and being quiet (Duncan, 1995).

Again, this focus on the ‘doing’ of family responds to the call for contextualised understandings of museum experiences and situates museum visitation within a wider nexus of practices that produce family and family life. For museums, then, the implication is that in understanding themselves as sites of family performance, and engaging with the ‘doing’ of family, they make a key contribution to the production of family, a potentially important outcome of the museum sector’s offer.

8.3 Limitations of this Research

This research has produced high quality findings delivered through a research design and methodological approach responsive to institutional need and the conceptual challenge of working in the context of Tate and using the lives of families as a unit of analysis. Spatial ethnography, as the most appropriate research design in this case, has generated data according to multiple perspectival frameworks and the commitment to reflexivity has ensured reliable data that is valid in the context of Tate. Nevertheless, there are limitations to all social scientific research. This section embarks on a discussion of the limitations peculiar to this research, which, by and large, can be organised according to the conditions of family and the spatial and temporal boundaries of this research.

8.3.1 The Conditions of Family

The nature of family poses several methodological challenges that have implications for this particular research. First, the definition of family used in this research, *children and their domestic adults visiting Tate*, causes some difficulties. Using this definition to understand how families use and understand Tate is a pragmatic approach to the research project that is responsive to and reflective of the organisation’s own practices. On the one hand, this is positive, since it holds a mirror to Tate’s established ways of working but on the other, it necessarily limits what counts as family. This challenge is compounded by the

methodological approach, spatial ethnography, since, in most cases, the sample of families relied on the researcher's observations and ability to spot groups of children and domestic adults. Following a need to be practical, therefore, this research project effectively excluded families without children and focused on more junior children. Thus, research to account for other family constellations would be a useful way of expanding understandings of how art museums are used and understood by family groups.

The centrality afforded children in this model of family presents other challenges and limitations of this research. In one sense, the centrality of children within the research design could also serve to exclude other members of the family. This is particularly the case in terms of learning, where children are also typically centralised. The focus on children within the family group, therefore, potentially reduces attention paid to learning in a wider sense; that is, to Tate providing learning experiences across the family groups. In another sense, though spatial ethnography is an inclusive methodology insofar as it is able to account for children through non-verbal data generation procedures, and though the research design included intercept interviews able to include children's voices, mother's voices were the dominant family voices. This potentially gives a perspective of family shaped possibly more through mothers' eyes and raises questions about the nature of family voice, and whether it is indeed a mother's voice which the authentic family voice is, since they are most often undertaking the work of family, or whether this can and should be disrupted. The centrality of children, then, causes several limitations to this research ranging from the exclusion of families without children (a risk, in fact, identified by some in-depth interview participants at Tate) to the reinforcement of traditional paradigms of learning, and matriarchal versions of family life.

8.3.2 Spatial Temporal Boundaries of Research Project

The spatial and temporal boundaries of the project also contribute to its limitations.

A key limitation of this project is its lack of non-family museum visitor voices. Though this research sought to understand how families use and understand

Tate and thus the voices of family users of the institution have been integral, Tate can be understood as a site of exclusion. This is the case in terms of class, race, ethnicity and potentially other demographic factors too, however, as this thesis has shown, families can also be understood as an excluded or non-traditional audience at Tate. As Fine (1992) explains, when looking to understand how exclusion and inclusion operates, it is often the silent voices that are the most useful. Whilst attending to family voices within the context of Tate therefore, is important, future research should also be interested in families who do not use and understand Tate, as a way of exploring Tate as an inclusive and exclusive space.

Another limitation of this project relates to the changing nature of Tate's spaces. A key limitation of Chapter Seven, for example is the changing nature of some of the spaces of family dwelling at Tate and thus a major question resulting from the analysis of the spaces of family dwelling in museums is the role of exhibited artworks in shaping such experiences. The Turbine Hall and the Tanks, particularly, are spaces that host changing displays of artworks, potentially altering the affordances of the spaces. The spatial ethnographic accounts presented in this chapter, however, were generated during a period of static displays. On the one hand this allows a focussed understanding of the unit of analysis in question, family experiences, but on the other hand, future research examining the impact of different artworks on family dwelling time could expand how we understand the relationship between family audiences and museum spaces. This may mean focusing ethnographic work on individual dwelling spaces over longer periods of time, for example, on the Turbine Hall over several installation cycles, or perhaps working comparatively between spaces such as the Turbine Hall and Tate Britain's Duveen Galleries.

This research was conducted in a discrete time frame with all of the intercept interviews taking place within one exhibition cycle. Though accounting for different sites of Tate and different spaces within each, some spaces in question are significant because of their changing nature. The Turbine Hall at Tate Modern and the Duveen Galleries at Tate Britain, for example, host changing installations. It could be the case that changes to these spaces bear significance on family practices in these spaces. Alternatively, more attention

could have been paid within this thesis to the inverse of this idea. For example, how artworks that move around Tate (and beyond Tate) can replicate family experiences across time and space. Though this was briefly attended to in Chapter Seven with discussions around the repeated use of a single artwork as backdrop to a family photograph that operated as a way of maintaining a family identity over time. In any case, it seems that there is room for future spatial ethnographic research focused on the how families use and understand the same spaces during different exhibition cycles, thus exploring the role of specific artworks in using and understanding museums as part of a family display.

In another sense, the spatial and temporal boundaries of this research mean that digital engagement with Tate by families was not included in research. As Section 8.4.3 suggests, this could present areas for future research, particularly around the digital circulation of family photos in museums, but potentially could also focus on how families interact with Tate's online presence.

8.4 Implications of this Research for Future Research

As exploratory, qualitative research that aimed to open knowledge up to questioning there are necessarily implications and recommendations for future research. In particular, there are several areas of research that this project has exposed as being of significance and use to the topic of family engagement in museums relating to museum management, spatial practices, immediate viewing and circulation of family photography in the art museum and disciplinary frameworks. Many of the directions for future research relate to the limitations of the research design, though some do not. The following sections outlines these directions for future research.

8.4.1 Tate St. Ives

As discussed in Section 3.4.2, data generation for this research was limited at Tate St. Ives due to its closure throughout the majority of the data generation period. However, its significant volume of family visitors and its location in an area that receives one of the greatest amounts of domestic tourists in the UK,

means Tate St. Ives is a special case (Creswell, 2013), particularly in terms of understanding museums as sites of family leisure (see Chapter Seven). Therefore, using Tate St. Ives as a case through which to further study family experiences of museums could be a fruitful way to extend parts of this research.

8.4.2 Museum Management

Of importance to museums is the need to authentically engage with a variety of different audiences (Black, 2015). As this thesis has shown, ambiguous spaces at Tate, or those spaces that do not conform to the traditional spatial design of a museum or art museum, afford particular opportunities for visitors to make their own meaning through dwelling. For family visitors, this meaning is often orientated towards maintaining and sharing a compelling version of family life, a key way in which this audiences uses and understands the institution. Further research aimed at better understanding the ambiguity of such spaces and how and if they are used by other audiences in the museum could be a useful way of developing strategies that help museum visitors make their own meanings, thus producing a museum sensitive and responsive to difference amongst its audiences.

8.4.3 Circulation of Family Display through Social Media

One interesting but under-represented area of research exposed through the course of this project is the practice of family photography during museum visits. Photography is a social and artistic practice that has gained academic attention in its own right. Scholars of geography and tourism, for example, have looked at the practice of holiday photography as a means of signifying presence in a particular space at a particular time (Larsen, 2005). Yet other scholars have focused on the significance of family photography, discussed briefly in this thesis, and its dual status as artistically worthless yet emotionally precious (Hirsch, 1997; Holloway & Green, 2017; Rose, 2010; Spence & Holland, 1991). In the context of families at Tate family photography is a social practice that contributes to family meaning making practices and the maintenance of family over time. However, it is also a real possibility that such photographs from within Tate are shared more widely than in the traditional family photograph album, most probably on social media sites. This is significant not only because it supports the possibility that museums are used as a backdrop to the family display, but also because some social media platforms blur the distinction between the social and artistic value of photography. Common social media platforms such as Instagram and Snapchat both allow their users to digitally

manipulate photography and share it in different ways with acquaintances and non-acquaintances, with potential implications for how and why family is displayed.

8.4.4 Implications for Evaluation of Museums

A major implication of this research is its potential to contribute to the way in which museums are evaluated. This is significant because measuring the impact of museums is a key requirement of receiving public funding and because it has been and remains a contentious issue (Neelands, 2015). If it is the case that museums successfully afford improved and increased family functioning, this could be one alternative way of measuring and reporting the impact of museums to society, particularly in a society where the construct of family is highly valued as a cornerstone (Morgan, 2011). Tate's artful use of family, that is, its ability to use it as a structural and fluid concept, makes this particularly attractive, since any evaluation scale could reflect this innovation.

8.4.5 Disciplinary Frameworks and Museums

The final area for future research identified in this chapter relates to the impact of disciplinary frameworks on visitors' experiences of museums. As this thesis has shown in Chapter Five, Tate's understanding of learning is impregnated with art practice and artistic ways of working, which necessarily affects the way in which learning is produced and evaluated at the institution (Pringle & DeWitt, 2014). As Chapter Five also discusses, families' lack of familiarity with art–based pedagogies impact the level with which they can engage with the museum's learning offer. Research focused on the way in which disciplinary frameworks infiltrate museum practices and how this impacts audiences could make an empirical contribution to museum studies but could also contribute to an understanding of the translatability of museum studies research findings between different types of museums. This is particularly important given that art museums are under-represented as research contexts in museum studies (Sterry & Beaumont, 2006).

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Appendix 1

Extracts from studentship agreement

STUDENTSHIP AGREEMENT

THIS AGREEMENT dated <15-7-15> is made **BETWEEN:**

(1) **THE UNIVERSITY OF EXETER**, whose address is at Northcote House, The Queen's Drive, Exeter, EX4 4QJ (the "University");

(2) **THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE TATE GALLERY**, whose address is at Millbank, London, SW1P 4RG ("the Tate"); and

(3) **LOUISA HOOD** of [redacted] (the "Student")

WHEREAS

(A) The Parties wish to enter into this Agreement in order to record their collaboration on a post-graduate studentship entitled 'Engaging Family Audiences in Galleries' under the rules laid down by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC).

(B) The Parties acknowledge that the terms of this Agreement are to govern the funding and conduct of a studentship, to enable the Student to carry out a research project and submit a related thesis for examination in accordance with the University's regulations governing post-graduate study in fulfilment of the requirements of a higher degree of the University. The Parties further acknowledge that the research is intended to lead to academic publications relating to the results of the studentship in furtherance of the Student's career.

(C) The Parties further acknowledge that in the course of the studentship the Parties may be exposed to proprietary and commercially valuable information or materials of the Tate and/or the University. All Parties recognise the importance of holding in confidence such information or materials.

2. THE PROJECT

2.1 The "Project" shall be the programme of work under the working title of "Engaging Family Audiences in Galleries" which is undertaken by the Student and is described in the First Schedule to this Agreement; and any modifications, deletions or expansions approved in writing by all parties in accordance with the provisions of clause 7.2.

2.2 The Project shall run for the period (the "Project Period") from and including 22 September 2014 for a period of three (3) years.

2.3 The Project will be conducted mainly at the University, under the supervision of the Academic Supervisors, and partly in the Tate estate in Liverpool, St Ives and London, under the supervision of the Tate Supervisor.

2.4 The University will use its reasonable endeavours to provide adequate facilities; to obtain any requisite materials, equipment and personnel; and to carry out the Project diligently within the scope allowed by the funding provided by the Tate pursuant to Clause 3. Although the University will use its reasonable endeavours to perform the research described in the First Schedule, the University does not undertake that the work carried out under or pursuant to this Agreement will lead to any particular result, nor is the success of such work guaranteed.

Appendix 2

Table of all data generated

Data Generation Procedure	Number of Participants	Output Format(s)	Quantity of Data
In-Depth Interviews	12	Audio and transcription	17 interviews between 15 and 90 minutes in length
Interviews (with museum professionals external to Tate for benchmarking purposes)	5	Audio and transcription	5 interviews between 30 and 45 minutes in length
Intercept Interviews	44	Audio and transcription	20 interviews between 90 seconds and 20 minutes in length
In-Gallery Observations	Numerous	Fieldnotes (comprising descriptions of observations, photographs and Tate sources)	c. 55,000 words; author's photographs; Tate sources (e.g. documentary material, published resources for families) N.B.
Organisational Observations	Numerous	Fieldnotes (comprising text and Tate sources)	c. 10,000 words; Tate sources (mainly documentary material relating to Tate's policies and practices and meeting minutes/agendas)

Appendix 3

Profiles of practitioners participating in in-depth interviews

Respondent	Role, Department and Site	Profile
A	Manager, Learning, Tate St. Ives	Respondent A was female and had worked at Tate for more than five years. She was keen to contribute to the research, particularly noting that the experience had allowed her to reflect on her own practice, something she felt important.
B	Manager, Learning, Tate St. Ives	Respondent B was female and had worked at Tate St. Ives for less than one year. Respondent B worked in a part time role.
C	Manager, Learning, Tate Liverpool	Respondent C was female and was one of the most committed research participants, participating in multiple in-depth interviews and facilitating introductions to potential research participants. Respondent C was keen to develop new ways of working with family audiences and was an advocate for experimental approaches to families in museums. Respondent C and D worked closely together, both in part time roles.
D	Manager, Learning, Tate Liverpool	Respondent D was female and shared her direct colleague's approach to experimental ways of working with families. Respondent D spent less time with the researcher that Respondent C, since their roles overlap.
E	Manager, Marketing Tate Modern and Tate Britain	Respondent E was female; part of her role was dedicated to family audiences. Respondent E spent some time as chair of the Family Audience Implementation Group.
F	Senior Leader, Audiences, Tate Modern and Tate Britain	Respondent F was female and was only able to commit limited time to in-depth interviews. In light of this, Respondent F facilitated introductions to Respondents J and K.
G	Manager, Learning, Tate Modern and Tate Britain	Respondent G was female and took part in one in-depth interview and participated in some organisational observations. Respondent G also provided information about in-gallery resources for families.

		Respondent G was absent for one year during the project due to parental leave.
H	Senior Leader, Learning and Research, Tate Modern and Tate Britain	Respondent H was female and took part in one in-depth interview and participating in multiple organisational observations.
I	Manager, Learning, Tate Modern and Tate Britain	Respondent I was female and did not participate in any in-depth interviews. Though three interviews were arranged, none ultimately took place due to Respondent I's absence from work, thus Respondent I was ultimately silent.
J	Manager, Audiences, Tate Modern and Tate Britain	Respondent J was female and keen to participate in in-depth interviews, also providing access to visitor-facing staff.
K	Manager, Audiences, Tate Modern and Tate Britain	Respondent K was female and keen to participate in in-depth interviews and organisational observations. She also provided access to visitor-facing staff.
L	Artist-Educator, Freelance, Tate Liverpool	Responded L was female and did not wish to be recorded during in-depth interviews. Respondent L was keen to participate and facilitated in-gallery observations.

Appendix 4

Selected extracts from data

I. Fieldnotes from in-gallery observations (see Section e of this appendix for a list of baseline information collected in support of in-gallery observations)

Tate Liverpool, 28/10/2016

…Dad and son, each making their own artworks. Mum and another son are making another artwork together. Oldest son is making his own sculpture. Dad asking questions, sons also asking questions. All children keep going up to the buffet to collect materials. Dad 'looks like a spider'. Mum and Dad have a conversation together over the heads of children. Mum begins to direct clear up, gently, 'shall we start clearing up a bit now.' The children start to show the artist their artworks. She asks all the boys their names, and jokes with mum and dad that they sound like and Irish boy band, asking if they play musical instruments. The artworks are all hung and the boys have their photos taken by mum in front of the art. All the boys are very proud and protective of their artworks. As the artist hangs work up, Dad jokes that he 'might take mine with me and sell it.' The artist lets children choose where there works are hung and has time for each artwork. Mum continues to manage behaviour of sons as Dad fills in the feedback sheet. As one of the sons hits somebody else's work, mum says: don't do that, you might break someone else's work and you wouldn't like that if that happened to yours'. As misbehaving continues, mum suggests they should all go home, but the boys calm down. The family are very concerned that they leave the space tidy before they put their coats on and leave. The family leave at 14h35 and go and see the robot artwork….

Tate Britain, 15/02/2017

…Dad and son are operating in a satellite fashion, going off together and then returning to mum and sister with the pushchair. As dad and son look at and discuss artworks, mum rummages through the pram basket and produces a camera before taking a candid picture of her husband and son in conversation in front of the artwork. As dad and son turn around, they pose for another photo. Son gets out his own camera and takes pictures of sister in pram…

Tate Modern, 16/02/2017

…The mum reads the first panel in the Start gallery and then joins her daughters in front of an artwork. She reads the label of the artwork and asks the girls about the colours in the artwork (as instructed by the labels). Mum invites the girls to look closely at the artwork and explains how it was produced (according to the label). The younger girl loses interest and moves to another painting, the older girl suggests that looking at the painting makes her eyes go funny, like an optical illusion. In front of the snail, the mum reads out the label and asks the girls to look very closely at the artwork, because it is still possible to see pinpricks from Matisse's technique….

II. Extract from transcript of intercept interview with mum and daughter, Tate Britain 05/02/2017

… Mum: and I'm taking, I've got a couple of other daughters so, I'm taking them all out on a day, Interviewer: Ok, yep. Mum: We were going to go to the Tate Modern, but she wanted to come back here, so she really enjoyed it, didn't you? (to daughter). She enjoyed looking at the painting last time, where you had pictures and you had to go to the gallery and find pictures, whereas this time, it was, go to the gallery and there is a set of questions, so a little bit older, for her, we had to postcards where we had to find the picture didn't we (to daughter) so she really enjoyed that aspect. Interviewer: ok, so looking for things and finding things? Mum: yes, very much so. Interviewer: And how do you think that Tate does at provisions for families and children. Mum: yeah, pretty good, definitely wanted to come, I had no worry about coming here. Interviewer: (To child) and was it your idea to come to the gallery? Child: nods erm, don't know. Mum: I think it is just because I suggested the other one, and she felt that was a bit too far to walk, so we haven't be to Tate Modern yet with the kids, but I'm sure she'll love it, Interviewer: and have you come here as a bigger family group? Mum: Yes, we have done, so it is me and my husband and three kids. Interviewer: and do you find it easier with smaller groups? Mum: yeah, I think generally anything you do with just one of them is easier, so, yes, I mean the youngest is four, so she just would get a bit fed up, so that is why it is easier just with one…

III. Extract from in-depth practitioner interview conducted at Tate Modern, 27/02/2017

…Researcher: Ok, um, you talked briefly about you hoped that families had beneficial experiences can you talk more about what you think those benefits should be? Whether they are tangible or intangible?
Participant: I think they're both actually, I mean, coming from a learning department I would really hope that families would learn something when they are here and by learning and how we define learning within the department is that it is a process of change, so it's not learning isn't just knowing that certain artists lived in a particular period, it's not just, you know, the acquisition of facts , it's, although that can be part of it, it is that they come away having had some kind of sense of change, it might be a changed sense of themselves, a changed sense of what art is, a changed sense of how their family operates, I think that for me is a kind of really important erm, benefit that we would hope, I would hope, that families get, but equally, I would hope that families get that they have kind of acquired a kind of set, a cultural competence, a cultural confidence, so that they think oh great I could go to other galleries, and that galleries and visual art is significant and important in our lives, erm, and if Tate can do that, that's the golden bullet really.
Researcher: Erm, so you've talked briefly about learning, erm, so do you think you could expand on that and talk about how you think that learning features in family visits?
Participant: Um, So, erm, I think that learning shouldn't be erm, learning should be kind of woven through the whole experience and I think that you know, this notion that you'd come to a gallery to have a really good time and then it's you go, right, now we gotta go and learn something and all the joy kinda gets sucked out of it, would be really problematic, you know learning should be there from pretty much the moment you walk in the door so that you're thinking about what the gallery is, how you can be in a gallery, and most obviously, obviously, how you can be connecting with the art and understanding what art is and how art can shape our lives and make us think differently, so that's where learning needs to be, but it's not this kinda worthy exercise that you do and sometimes I wonder if families erm, think, oh we'll take the kids to the gallery because it will be improving and then it stops becoming enjoyable because it er, you know, we've all got to improve ourselves while we are here. That's certainly how I

used to treat it with my children, until the point when they just refused to come after a while. But that's a different story…

Appendix 5

Interview schedules and accompanying material

Project Information and Draft In-Depth Interview Schedule (practitioner only)

“Finding Out About Family

I am a collaborative doctoral student researcher working with the *Tate Research Centre: Learning* under the supervision of Dr. Emily Pringle to understand more about family learning at Tate. One of my first objectives is to find out what the concept of family might mean, both in sociological terms and within Tate. The aim of this is to direct my research project towards making a relevant contribution to Tate’s research agenda and to practice at Tate.

Below are some questions about how you understand family, particularly in terms of learning, sent in preparation for our discussion of the topic. *Discussions will be audio-recorded; the recordings will be used by the researcher only in the context of the project described above.*

Thank you for your help and I look forward to speaking with you. If you have any questions before our interview, or need to alter our appointment, please do get in touch.

1. Please can you tell me your job title, at which Tate site you predominately work, and describe the main responsibilities of your role.
2. What do you think counts as a family group at Tate?
3. What are the defining characteristics of families that direct or influence your practice?
4. In what ways do you think families are important at Tate?
5. In what ways do you think Tate might be important to families?
6. How do you think families should experience Tate and learning at Tate?
7. In what ways might the relationships between family visitors at Tate and learning at Tate be characterised?
8. Why is research into families at Tate important from your perspective?
9. Do you have any other thoughts or ideas that you would like to discuss?”

Project Information and Draft Intercept Interview Schedule (visitor facing)

“Families at Tate – Project Information

What is the project and why is it important?

The research is about how families experience museums and galleries. Understanding family audiences and their experiences of museums and galleries helps us to improve what we do.

What does participating in the project involve?

Taking part in this project will mean being observed and/or participating in an interview during your visit to Tate. A researcher will watch what happens in your family group during your visit and will note down what is seen and/or heard, they might also ask you a few questions about your visit to Tate. The interview might be recorded using a Dictaphone. The researcher might also take photographs, or audio-visual recordings of you and your family group, but if you’d prefer not to be photographed or recorded, that’s fine. Photographs would only be reproduced in the final research report, and would not be published anywhere else. If you agree for you and your family to be photographed, please let the researcher know.

Do I have to participate in the study?

No, you don’t have to participate if you don’t want to. And if you do decide to participate, it is entirely voluntary; you can stop being part of the project at any time. Please just let the researcher know. If you’d like to stop being part of the study, the researcher will continue to observe in the gallery, but observations of you and your family will not be recorded and you won’t be interviewed. If you decide to stop participating and have already been interviewed, your interview recording will be deleted.

What are the risks of participating in the study?

The main risk is that data we collect about you might get lost or be used for a purpose other than this research project. To keep your data safe and to protect your identity, the researcher will follow strict guidelines, which you can read about below.

How will my data be kept safe?

All data will be stored on an encrypted hard drive that is kept on a password protected computer. The data on the hard drive will be backed-up using the University of Exeter’s secure digital storage facility. Data will only be kept for the

lifetime of the project. The information collected from family groups will inform this research project and it will not be used for any other purpose nor be shared with any other party. Each family group will be identified with a group identity letter and each member an identity number. This means that family groups and individuals will not be able to be identified by anyone other than the researcher.

What are the benefits of taking part in the study?

While there are no direct benefits to you or your family group members, the research project hopes to improve the experiences of families in museums and galleries, not just in Tate. The researcher will offer you complimentary tickets to see a paid exhibition at Tate.

Can I find out more about the study?

Yes, you can find out more on the Tate website, or by contacting the researcher.
Find out more:
http://www.tate.org.uk/about/our-work/tate-research/research-posts/studentships#Hood
Contact the researcher at the email address: louisa.hood@tate.org.uk"

Outline Interview Schedule

What artworks have you enjoyed looking at (so far) today?
Has there been a point during your visit when you have felt especially like a family?
Why is visiting Tate important to you as a family?
In what ways do you think that visiting Tate has benefited your family?
What reflections on your role as a parent have you made today?
Has being at Tate helped you to be a family in a way that is normal to you, or has it helped you be together in a different way? Explain
During your visit today, have you done something that you wanted to do? Did you do that by yourself or did other members of the family join you.
Do you think that being in a gallery changes your family dynamics in anyway?
What did you expect from your visit? Before you arrived, did anything about your visit concern you, or were you particularly looking forward to an aspect of the visit?
Has your visit turned out how you expected it to?
Has anything surprised you about your visit today?

Has anything about your visit been tricky or difficult?
Does being at Tate make you feel at home? Are there any parts of Tate that make you feel especially at home?
Does anything stand out about your visit today?”

Appendix 6

Extracts from data management database

20170101 Data

N62 | Dad and son are operating in a satelite fashion, going off together and then returning to mum and sister with the pushchair. As dad and son look at and discuss artworks, mum rumages

1	A	Date	Day	Time	Event	Exhibition	Exhibition	Exhibition	Weather	Site	Location	Family Group	No of Participant	
18	17	25.08.2016		14h	Summer Holidays and family studio					Tate Liverpool	Studio	Multiple family groups		children occupied with light
19	18	27/10/2016	Thursday	12h30	Art Buffet - H	Yves Klein	Edward Krawinski		Overcast	Tate Liverpool	Entrance Hall	Mother, father and seven year old	3	I approached the family as t straight through the chaos c did not want to see an infor
20	19	27/10/2016	Thursday	12h35	Art Buffet - H	Yves Klein	Edward Krawinski		Overcast	Tate Liverpool	Entrance Hall	Two grandmas, two grandchildren and one father	5	I approached the group and others were not. Refused ir
21	20	27/10/2016	Thursday	12h35	Art Buffet - H	Yves Klein	Edward Krawinski		Overcast	Tate Liverpool	Entrance Hall	Mum, son and grandmother	3	Family declined to participa
22	21	27/10/2016	Thursday	12h40	Art Buffet - H	Yves Klein	Edward Krawinski		Overcast	Tate Liverpool	Art Buffet	Mum, dad and two daughters	4	The family enter Tate Liverp minutes and make some pu minutes later to make anotl
23	22	27/10/2016	Thursday	12h50	Art Buffet - H	Yves Klein	Edward Krawinski		Overcast	Tate Liverpool	Art Buffet	Grandma and two little children under 6	3	The children are placed on t resting and grandma is enjo
24	23	27/10/2016	Thursday	13h	Art Buffet - H	Yves Klein	Edward Krawinski		Overcast	Tate Liverpool	Art Buffet	Grandma and grandad and grandaughter	3	The grandparents watch the holding the bags.
														The family are making seve to have a chat with her. Sh finds managing the behavio difficult in the gallery space

Practitioner interviews | In-Gallery Observations | Organisational Observations | Intercept Interviews | Location Descriptions | Reflections | Code

20170101 Data

K99

	A	B	C	D
1				
2		Date	Site	Reflections
3		22/01/2017	Tate Britain	Walk through British Art - a managed route but with room for devience for families?
4		28/01/2017	Tate Britain	The written interpretation is hard to get hold of, not advertised or offered in the gallery, families must ask and it is very conceptual. The information is more suited to parents, probably, and seems to help getting them thinking about art with their children, though families don't seem to percieve them as 'fun'. Too conceptual?
5				Why do mum's take the lead in answering? Mum as the voice of the family? Mum as the family educator?
6				Embodied experience of the gallery is very specific if you visit with a toddler
7				Resources tend to support parents or children, not both.
8				Intercept interviews are a good way of gaining children's assent. They develop confidence throught the interview and often chip in towards the middle/end. They are also good because they last the length of children's individual attention span.
9				BP family festival gave children something to do inbetween looking at art, as in art was no longer the main event.
10		21/06/2016	Tate Modern	The gallery was not busy but it was difficult to catch conversations. It would be wise to recruit families at the beginning of their visit. Additionally, child attention spans cause difficulties for families staying in one place for any length of time, which could have implications for family group interviews. - Look at the structure of Tate and how it allows certain families to 'do well' in Tate (a la Bourdieu, Reproduction). - Look specifically at how gallery going is part of parenting practices. - Children actually seem quite at home – wriggling and talking and playing. - Do types of artworks make a difference, or types of space.
11		27/06/2016	Tate Modern	The gallery was fairly busy and had lots of family groups. Grandparents can't keep up with family members on the stairs. There are certain 'islands' within TM that seem to allow family behaviour (play, arguments, etc) these include Meschac Gaba's building blocks and the Turbine Hall - these places might be good places to talk to people at.
12		04/08/2016	Tate Modern	The gallery was busy but there did not seem to be many families there, perhaps because it was slightly later in the day. It seems that the non-traditional gallery environments attract long participation from families, particularly carpeted areas which seem to produce 'living room' behaviours. It could be good to interview families in these areas.
13				Lots of families use Tate to make space for themselves within the family group, esp. mums.
14		27/10/2016	Tate Liverpool	Gaining agreement from multiple family members to observe and interview is very difficult, and has the potential to cause problems within the family group.
15		27/10/2016	Tate Liverpool	Information sheets and consent forms are too wordy and long. Suggest only approaching one family member, with information sheet provided only if the family ask for it.

Practitioner interviews | In-Gallery Observations | Organisational Observations | Intercept Interviews | Location Descriptions | Reflections | Code

Ready