



Master in Learning and Communication in Multilingual and Multicultural Contexts

**Discourse and Power in Art Museum
Education: Exploring Linguistic Practices,
Meaning-making and Power relations
in
three Art Museums based in Luxembourg**

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I. Abstract

Museums are considered to be social institutions and most of them are state funded fully or partially, since they preserve and promote the cultural heritage of societies. One of their primary mission is educational, consequently the role of museum education becomes central in their function. The present research is exploratory aiming to investigate the field of art museum education in three main axes: the *linguistic practices*, the *meaning-making* processes and the *power relations* between the museum education staff and the audience. In a qualitative study with a sociological approach, data regarding the three main axes of inquiry were collected by semi-structured interviews with two different types of museum education staff: the pedagogic managers and the educators; and analyzed with a combination of discourse and content analysis.

The intent of the study is to explore the inclusion or exclusion of different audiences, different not only in terms of sociolinguistic aspects, but also, in terms of their level of initiation to the artistic discourse, via the two main axes: first, the *language choice and use* and second, the *meaning-making processes* in the art museum education field.

The topic proves to be of high social relevance in the trilingual society of Luxembourg, where more than 150 nationalities and their languages are present along with the societal trilingualism in the country. The Luxembourgish society provides an ideal small scale map to investigate how this diversity in society is represented in a social institution such as a museum and whether museums are ready to integrate this social change in their functions, especially in one of their primary functions which is education.

In conclusion, the main findings of the study suggest that the three art museums investigated are mostly visited by French (or French speaking), Luxembourgish and Italian people, who are members of a highly educated social group with a relation to art or art amateurs. Furthermore, the access to the artistic discourse mainly designed and controlled by the curators is very limited to non-initiated audience and educators intervene to assure the democratization of that discourse with the audience that needs it the most, i.e. young children or non-initiated adults. However, this research is limited to one-sided perception of museum experts, and no audience research is conducted; consequently, further research would be suggested to obtain comprehensive findings.

I. Résumé

Les musées sont des institutions sociales dont la plupart est financée par l'État, entièrement ou en partie, puisqu'ils préservent et promeuvent l'héritage culturel des sociétés. Une de leurs missions premières est l'éducation et elle tient une place centrale dans leurs fonctions. La présente étude a pour but de porter un regard sur cette fonction éducative des musées d'art selon trois axes: les *pratiques linguistiques*, les *procédés de construction de sens* et les *relations de pouvoir* entre le personnel chargé d'éducation et le public. A travers une approche sociologique pour cette étude qualitative, les données concernant les trois axes de recherche ont été collectées par des entretiens semi-dirigés, auprès de deux types de personnel chargé d'éducation : les responsables pédagogiques et les éducateurs; leurs propos ont été analysés avec une combinaison d'analyse du discours et du contenu.

L'objectif de cette étude est d'observer l'inclusion ou l'exclusion des différents publics, à travers deux axes principaux : premièrement, le choix et l'usage de la langue, et deuxièmement, les procédés de construction de sens utilisés par les musées dans leurs projets éducatifs. Les types de publics visés ici, diffèrent d'une part par sur un plan sociolinguistique, et d'autre part sur leur degré d'initiation aux discours artistiques.

Ce sujet se révèle être d'un grand intérêt social dans un pays comme le Luxembourg, où plus de 150 nationalités et langues correspondantes côtoient le trilinguisme sociétal du pays. La société luxembourgeoise fournit un échantillon idéal pour observer comment cette diversité est représentée dans les institutions sociales telles que les musées, et si ces derniers sont prêts à intégrer cette diversité dans leurs fonctions, en particulier ici, leur fonction éducative.

En conclusion, les résultats principaux de l'étude révèlent que les trois musées d'art observés sont principalement visités par des Français (ou francophones), des Luxembourgeois et des Italiens, tous ayant un niveau d'éducation élevé, entretenant des relations avec l'art ou étant amateurs d'art. De plus, l'accès au discours artistique, principalement créé et contrôlé par les commissaires, est très limité pour le public non-initié; les éducateurs interviennent pour assurer la démocratisation de ce discours pour les publics qui en ont le plus besoin, comme les jeunes enfants ou les adultes non-initiés. Cependant, cette recherche est limitée à une vision à sens-unique des experts des musées, et aucune recherche n'a été menée auprès du public; par conséquent, une étude plus approfondie serait utile pour obtenir des résultats plus représentatifs.

I. Περίληψη

Τα μουσεία θεωρούνται κοινωνικά ιδρύματα και τα περισσότερα από αυτά χρηματοδοτούνται πλήρως ή εν μέρει από το κράτος, εφόσον διαφυλάσσουν και προωθούν την πολιτισμική κληρονομιά της κοινωνίας. Μια από τις κύριες αποστολές τους είναι η εκπαίδευση, ως εκ τούτου ο ρόλος των εκπαιδευτικών προγραμμάτων είναι κεντρικός στη λειτουργία τους. Η παρούσα διπλωματική εργασία ερευνά το χώρο της εκπαίδευσης στα μουσεία τέχνης εστιάζοντας σε τρεις βασικούς άξονες: τις *γλωσσικές πρακτικές*, τις *διαδικασίες παραγωγής νοήματος* και τις *σχέσεις εξουσίας* μεταξύ των εκπαιδευτικών των μουσείων και του κοινού. Πρόκειται για μια ποιοτική έρευνα με κοινωνιολογική προσέγγιση, τα δεδομένα της οποίας συλλέχθηκαν μέσα από ημιδομημένες συνεντεύξεις με δυο διαφορετικούς εκπροσώπους του εκπαιδευτικού προσωπικού των μουσείων τέχνης: τους υπεύθυνους εκπαιδευτικών προγραμμάτων και τους εκπαιδευτικούς. Η ανάλυση των δεδομένων βασίστηκε τόσο στο λόγο όσο και στο περιεχόμενο των συνεντεύξεων.

Σκοπός της εργασίας είναι να διερευνήσει την συμπερίληψη ή τον αποκλεισμό των διαφορετικών ομάδων κοινού, διαφορετικών όχι μόνο ως προς τα κοινωνιογλωσσικά τους χαρακτηριστικά, αλλά και ως προς το επίπεδο της μύησής τους στον καλλιτεχνικό λόγο, μέσω δύο βασικών αξόνων: πρώτον, την γλωσσική επιλογή και χρήση, και δεύτερον, τις διαδικασίες παραγωγής νοήματος στο χώρο της μουσειακής εκπαίδευσης.

Στην τρίγλωσση κοινωνία του Λουξεμβούργου όπου λαμβάνει χώρα η έρευνα, και στην οποία είναι παρούσες περισσότερες από 150 εθνικότητες και γλώσσες, η παρούσα έρευνα έχει υψηλό κοινωνικό ενδιαφέρον. Η Λουξεμβουργιανή κοινωνία αποτελεί έναν ιδανικό μικρής κλίμακας χάρτη για την διερεύνηση του τρόπου με τον οποίο εκφράζεται αυτή η κοινωνική πολυμορφία σε ένα κοινωνικό ίδρυμα όπως είναι το μουσείο, καθώς και για την ετοιμότητα των μουσείων να ανταποκριθούν σε αυτή την κοινωνική πολυμορφία εμπερικλείοντας αλλαγές στα εκπαιδευτικά τους προγράμματα.

Συμπερασματικά, τα κυριότερα ευρήματα αυτής της έρευνας υποδεικνύουν πως το κοινό των τριών μουσείων τέχνης που συμμετείχαν στην έρευνα αποτελείται κυρίως από Γάλλους (ή από Γαλλόφωνους), Λουξεμβουργιανούς και Ιταλούς, οι οποίοι είναι υψηλού μορφωτικού επιπέδου και έχουν κάποια σχέση με την τέχνη ή είναι εραστές της τέχνης. Επιπρόσθετα, η πρόσβαση στον καλλιτεχνικό λόγο, ο οποίος σχεδιάζεται και ελέγχεται κυρίως από τους εφόρους, είναι πολύ περιορισμένη στο μη-μνημένο κοινό και οι εκπαιδευτικοί παρεμβαίνουν για να διασφαλίσουν την εκδημοκρατισμό αυτού του λόγου για το κοινό όπου απαιτείται περισσότερο, τα νέα παιδιά και τους μη-μνημένους ενήλικες.

Ωστόσο, η έρευνα περιορίζεται μόνο στις αντιλήψεις του εκπαιδευτικού προσωπικού των τριών μουσείων τέχνης, και δεν συμπεριλαμβάνει έρευνα κοινού, κατά συνέπεια, περαιτέρω έρευνα θα ήταν δόκιμη προκειμένου να συγκεντρωθούν πιο ολοκληρωμένα ευρήματα.

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*Ithaka gave you the marvelous journey.
Without her you wouldn't have set out.
She has nothing left to give you now.*

*And if you find her poor, Ithaka won't have fooled you.
Wise as you will have become, so full of experience,
you'll have understood by then what these Ithakas mean.*

C. P. Cavafy, "The City" from *C.P. Cavafy: Collected Poems*.

Translated by Edmund Keeley and Philip Sherrard.

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I. Abstracts

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1. Introduction

Museums are social institutions and most of them are state-funded fully or partially since they preserve and promote the cultural heritage of societies. One of their primary missions is educational (Hooper-Greenhill, 1994); consequently the role of museum education becomes central in their function. Many studies have been conducted around museum education with a focus on the benefits of museum education in academic achievement, the various approaches in museum education programs: constructive, de-constructive, post-modern etc.; the way interpretation or meaning-making is facilitated in the educational programs, and the role of museum educators. However, there is no research in museum education examining access to the artistic discourse and the meaning-making processes via linguistic practice, while exploring the power relations between museum professionals and the audience arising from these axes of inquiry. The rich ethnolinguistic and social diversity on the small territory of Luxembourg along with the societal trilingualism, constitute a very attractive and unique setting for this research.

This study seeks to explore the field of museum education in three art museums based in Luxembourg, named here as such: Museum 1, Museum 2 and Museum 3. It is an exploratory research aiming to investigate the field of art museum education in three main axes: the *linguistic practices*, the *meaning-making* processes and the *power relations* between the museum education staff and the audience. In a qualitative study with a sociological approach, data regarding the three main axes of inquiry were collected by semi-structured interviews with two different types of museum education staff: the pedagogic managers and the educators; and analyzed with a combination of discourse and content analysis.

The intent of this research thereby is to answer the three following questions according to the informants' perceptions:

- What are the *linguistic practices* in the museum education field?
- To what extent is the *artistic discourse* in museum education accessible to various ethnolinguistic and social groups?
- How do museum educators negotiate the *social and ethnolinguistic diversity* in Luxembourg and cater for this diverse audience in their educational programs?

More specifically, the present study intends to explore the inclusion or exclusion of different audiences, different not only in terms of sociolinguistic aspects, but also, in terms of their

level of initiation to the artistic discourse, via the two main axes: first, the *language choice and use* and second, the *meaning-making processes* in the art museum education field.

The choice of the topic for my Master thesis is relevant to my personal interest both in languages and arts, more specifically in art museums. As a certified translator in English by the IoL (Institute of Linguists, London, UK) and a graduate in Communication from the University of Paris VIII, France, I have personally been asked to study and work in English and French, while my mother tongue is Greek. In both fields of communication and translation, language is the main tool of work and I have always been very sensitive to linguistic use and its influence in terms of access to knowledge.

Moreover, I have always had a personal interest in arts, due to my family tradition in photography, since both my grandfather and my father were photographers and visual art amateurs, which had as a result to be exposed from a very young age not only to photography, but also to painting and plastic arts. However, during my visit in an art museum in Paris I realized that the linguistic choice of the museum educators was decisive to define my level of access to the artistic discourse they held. Moreover, the use of language was decisive for the interpretation and the meaning-making I could make out of the artworks. While in my early professional life I have held positions in the field of corporate communication and new media, publishing houses, translation offices and audiovisual productions, I later realized that I wanted to make a shift in my career and focus on cultural institutions, more specifically in art museums, since they were my domain of personal interest. My educational background along with my trilingualism, allowed me to pursue my studies in Luxembourg and conclude this Master program with a thesis dedicated to art museum education, in order to acquire in-depth knowledge that will consequently allow me to become an expert on the field and potentially shift my professional career towards the museums industry.

Furthermore, the topic proves to be of high social relevance in the trilingual society of Luxembourg, where more than 150 nationalities and their languages are present along with the societal trilingualism in the country. The Luxembourgish society provides an ideal small scale map to investigate how this diversity in society is represented in a social institution such as a museum and whether museums are ready to integrate this social change in their functions, especially in one of their primary functions which is education.

The choice of the three art museums was based on the fact that these are the three out of the four art museums in the city of Luxembourg where this research is conducted; the fourth being mainly a history of art museum. The fourth museum was not selected in this study for two main reasons: it is basically a modern art history museum and not an art museum and its profile is very close to Museum 3, since they both belong to the state of Luxembourg and their museum education approach is very similar. Consequently, for these two reasons and for reasons of limited space and time, it was excluded from the scope of research. The three art museums selected represent a different value of art museum and have a different history and profile, Museum 3 being the most conservative one present for twenty years and owned by the state of Luxembourg, while Museum 2 was founded ten years ago and is considered the most “avant-garde” in modern art, and Museum 1, does not even call itself a museum and functions more like an art center.

The present study is divided in nine chapters, including the Introduction. The second chapter introduces the theoretical framework and the main concepts of the sociological approach adopted to analyze the data of this study. The third chapter, provides an overview of the museum’s evolution since modern times, while it focuses on previous research conducted on museum education which is relevant to this study, while the fourth chapter focuses more specifically on previous research related to meaning- making in museum education, which is one of the two axes of inquiry of this study. Furthermore, the fifth chapter discusses the issues of inclusion, democratization and empowerment in art museums as they have been addressed in previous research. The sixth chapter presents the research context in Luxembourg and its specificity in terms of population composition and linguistic situation; it also refers to previous research conducted in three museums in Luxembourg and explains its relevance to the present study. Moreover, the seventh chapter explains the methodological framework and the methodological tools applied in this research, while it informs the reader about the researcher’s role and ethical considerations. The next chapter is dedicated to present the analysis of the data collected during this study which is subdivided in three main sections regarding the linguistic situation in museums, the discourse and meaning- making processes and the issue of inclusion, democratization and access both to museums and their discourse. Finally, the last chapter includes conclusions of the main findings, the discussion of their implications and of the restrictions of this study and a perspective for future research.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. Language as discourse: legitimate and dominant

This study explores the linguistic practices in art museum education in terms of *language* use: which languages are present in the museum education field, which are the dominant ones and which are less dominant, or even absent, but also, how the choice of languages conditions the *discourse* of the museum experts. *Discourse* in this study is the variety of language or a form of speech driven by curators, pedagogic managers, museum educators and artists, while the museum is considered to be the *linguistic market*. Each actor holds a certain *linguistic capital* depending on their position in the specific market of museum education and their competence in this *discourse*.

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Language, however, could also refer to a form of speech that is universally recognized as *legitimate* (Bourdieu, 1991, p.56), with those who dominate this form of speech or *discourse* holding a powerful *linguistic competence* and *capital*. The educators are the *instruments of implementation* (Bourdieu, 1991, p.57) of that discourse in the institutions, in this case the museums that *organize and reproduce* the dominant discourse about art which becomes the *legitimate language* of art. The audience is divided into categories depending on their *access to the linguistic resources* (Bourdieu, 1991), their level of exposure to this specific form of speech through education and their access to the means of expression depending on their position in the social structure; whether they belong to the *elites* that have more to *say*, in that case curators, artists, pedagogic managers, museum educators, etc. According to Bourdieu

the speakers who lack the legitimate competence are de facto excluded from the social domain in which the competence is required, or are condemned to silence. (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 55)

The two principal factors of production of the legitimate competence are the family background and the education system. (Bourdieu, 1991, p.62).

Like the sociology of culture, the sociology of language is logically inseparable from a sociology of education. (Bourdieu, 1991, p.62).

The findings of Bourdieu and Darbel (1985), along with the conclusion of Bourdieu's further studies (1979; 1991) on the *linguistic market* and the *legitimate language*, all sum up to the same outcome: the *linguistic* and *cultural competence* and the *linguistic* and *cultural capital* are all products of instruction and familiarity acquired through long-term exposure to the codes of respective systems of languages or discourses, facilitated by family background. The notions of *democratization* and the *elites* will be addressed later in this chapter, since

they are both relevant to the second research questions concerning the access to the artistic discourse in museum education of various sociolinguistic groups.

2.2.Linguistic capital and linguistic market

In the frame of my study, the *linguistic market* of Luxembourg includes all the three languages of the country – Luxembourgish, French and German- with each one of them holding a different status in the hierarchy of languages depending on the specific *market* and the *actors* implicated each time. In the context of museums, English language is added in the linguistic market and holds a special position, since it is considered a global language. (Horner & Weber, 2008, p.84).

In general, the actors who are *competent linguistically* hold a *dominant linguistic capital* against those who are less competent and they are *dominated* in the *linguistic market*.

The constitution of a linguistic market created the conditions of an objective competition in and through which the legitimate competence can function as linguistic capital. (Bourdieu, 1991, p.55)

The dominant competence functions as *linguistic capital*, assuring a profit of *distinction* in its relation to other competences only in so far as certain conditions (the unification of the market and the unequal distribution of the chances of access to the means of production to the legitimate places of expression) are continuously fulfilled so that the groups who possess that *competence* are able to impose it as the only *legitimate* one in the formal markets. (Bourdieu, 1991, pp. 56-57).

2.3.The concept of power in art museums

The questions of *power* and control are prominent in art museums, as Duncan (1995) argues, since museum professionals have the authority to control what is there to *see and not see*. Even though museum educators regard themselves as ‘neutral’ they are still creators of context, Hubard (2014, p. 104) argues, since they have the authority to choose which works to show to visitors and which to exclude; they also determine the processes through which visitors will engage with the works and they have the important mission to facilitate these processes in particular ways. All these facts constitute part of their power over non-initiated viewers who depend on their assistance to make meaning in art museums.

The people who have the authority to impose their opinion on culture are considered to be the style leaders or *taste makers* playing an even more important role than the opinion leaders

play in matters of electoral choice (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1985, p.119). Curators in the case of museum are those who decide what needs to be seen by others, since they consider themselves *charismatic* and *legitimate* connoisseurs of art; otherwise named as *taste makers*, since historically they were thought of as the *guardians of art* and they constitute a small elite of a closed world (“univers clos”). The legitimate way (“*la bonne manière*”) to appropriate art is acquired only through imperceptible and unconscious learning of a premium education. (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1985, pp. 103-104). The real connoisseur has interiorized unconsciously the principles of art and can rarely name them. This *elite* of people with taste has acquired their status through a social process of skills obtained through education and family background.

As Hooper- Greenhill (2010, p. 27) argues, museum professionals are not always aware of the power they hold, but “this power is very ‘real’ in constructing ‘reality’, in shaping consciousness”.

Regarding the concept of power, Mörsch (2011) presents the ‘deconstructive function’ of museum education, based on the critical examination of power relations inscribed in methods of education. She argues that the primary educational objective in the deconstructive function is the development of a critical attitude on the methods of teaching and learning.

Questions are raised such as: who determines what is important to communicate? Who categorizes ‘target groups’ and to what end? What is gallery education permitted within institution and what is considered inappropriate and by whom? (Mörsch, 2011, p. 2-3).

According to Duncan (1995), if one studies the history of any art gallery or museum one will realize that the organization of museums is trusted to highest circles of power. Thus, museums and art museums are excellent fields to study the intersection of power and the history of cultural forms (Duncan, 1995, p. 12).

2.4.Cultural competence and cultural need

Cultural competence is defined as the prior knowledge of the artistic divisions that allow situating a representation, by the classification of *stylistic* indications that it carries, among the possibilities of representation constituting the artistic universe (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1985, p.73). In other words, cultural competence includes all these schemes of interpretation that are necessary to appropriate and decode artworks. The degree of this competence

depends not only on the degree one manages the codes of classification, but also on the degree of complexity and refinement of this system, and is measured by the level of aptitude to operate in different classification systems and divisions (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1985, p.74). Actually, the artworks in museums function as transmitters of messages in codes and the visitors are the receivers. The *cultural competence* will regulate the *gap between the level of transmission and the level of reception* (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1985, p.77). The degree of reception is related to the cultural competence one possesses and has interiorized through their prior knowledge of the classification system.

According to the authors, in order for somebody to consume art, one has first to feel the *need* to consume it. This *cultural need* which is opposed to the *primary need* (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1985, p.69) is shaped by the exposure to long-term instruction and the family environment. People from *cultivated and higher social classes* (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1985, p.35) tend to go more often to museums and have acquired the *cultural competence* to appropriate art, understand it and decode it, since they have been exposed for a long period to the codes and the laws that form that *legitimate taste* through the educational system; *legitimate taste* refers to the taste that has been conceived, imposed and regulated by the *taste makers*, in the case of museums, as has already been explained previously, the curators. The inequalities in front of art and its consumption is the product of inequalities that the school has created (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1985, p.69). So the *culturally poor* can only see the color and forms of an artwork, but the *intelligent* ones see beyond that and appreciate the cultural value regardless the shape, form and colors that limit the pleasure to an aesthetic level. (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1985, p.13).

Despite the fact that the museum has the privilege to speak the language of our era, the language of the image, the language intelligible to everyone and to every country (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1985, p.16), only those who own the theoretical concepts, the intellectual concepts that are applicable in the artworks, can really see beyond them and appreciate their *cultural value*. The need of the culture is a product of education which offers the means to satisfy it (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1985, p.69). According to the authors, our society offers to everyone the “pure possibility” to profit from the artworks exposed in museums, however very few people actually have the “real possibility” to do so. The difference between pure and real possibility is that the first relies on the practical access to museums, such as low entrance fees, but the second relies on the cultural competence of people going to museums; and this

cultural competence is bound to the cultural practice and the cultural need of people. This *real possibility* that the authors mention could explain the reason why museums despite their low entrance fees or in some cases free entrance on special occasions, such as the Night of Museums, are still visited by a certain population, the population that exercises this cultural practice and feels the need to do so. The absence of cultural practice or the feeling of absence are interrelated, since the intention can be realized only if it exists, (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1985, p.70). So, it all depends on the *cultural competence* one has acquired mainly through education and family background.

2.5. Natural distinction: Charismatic ideology

The socially constructed illusion of the *natural distinction* which is central to *charismatic ideology* is based mainly on the authority that the dominant ones have to impose, simply by their existence, a definition of *excellence*, which is their way of being, and is supposed to appear both *distinctive* and different, thus arbitrary and perfectly necessary, absolute and natural. (Bourdieu, 1979, p. 286).

This ideology supports the idea that the authentic experience with art is “affection” of the heart or immediate comprehension of the intuition of the laborious steps and comments of intelligence, ignoring the social and cultural conditions that make possible such experience and treats the virtuosity acquired through methodic learning as *natural*. (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1985, p. 108). The more cultivated visitors and the professionals of *high culture*, among them the curators, consider that they possess the “*new eye*” or the “*pure gaze*” and avoid proving to the non-initiated ones their program of perception with which they are equipped and which constitutes their culture (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1985, p. 90).

Most of the time this power is unconscious but it is still “very ‘real’ in constructing ‘reality’, in shaping consciousness” (Hooper- Greenhill, 2010, p. 27).

2.5. Democratization and elitism

According to Bourdieu (1979, pp.253-4) the intellectual professionals of the artistic field, curators, artist, art critics, have an ambivalent relationship with the idea of *democratization*. On the one hand, they support it because of their interest to proselytize more people in their cultural practice, and on the other hand, they are afraid that they will lose their “cultural distinction” which is the only objective basis for their rarity. These intellectual professionals

of the artistic field, upper class, *bourgeois* of higher education claim that *democratization* could lead to “*vulgarization*” which would constitute a threat to their distinctive privileges and the affirmation of their rarity.

They bear this *sense of distinction* due to their old access to their privileges acquired through family traditions and their cultural capital acquired through early exposure to cultural objects and *rare and distinguished* spectacles (Bourdieu, 1979, p.298). According to Nietzsche (1973, pp.41-24, cited in Bourdieu, 1979, p. 281) the real secret of culture is that many people struggle to acquire culture, they work for culture, apparently for their own interest, but basically, only to allow the existence of the small number, the *elite*. The *dominant* classes, who constitute the *elite*, are distinguished by their freedom, their disinterest, and the “purity” of sublime tastes, while the *dominated* ones are distinguished by their distance from necessity, the interest and the baseness of material satisfaction. (Bourdieu, 1979, p. 285).

The *elite* of museums consider naively, according to Bourdieu (1985, p.41), that *democratization* is established with low cost entrance fees. This attitude, Bourdieu says, is illusionary, since the popular classes will not enter museums because of low price tickets, if they don't feel the need to do so at the first place. For Bourdieu (1979, p. 161-162) the only way to break the circle of *cultural needs* is by the means of education.

In conclusion, this chapter has provided the main concepts adopted and applied by the researcher for the data analysis of the present study. The work of Bourdieu and Darbel about museums in Europe conducted in the 1960s, along with the later works of Bourdieu (1979; 1991) on the concepts of *linguistic capital*, *cultural competence*, *linguistic market*, *legitimate language*, *democratization*, *elitism* and *distinction* have provided the main theoretical framework of this study. Additionally, the works of Duncan (1995), Hooper-Greenhill (1990; 1994; 2010), Hubard (2007a; 2007b; 2007c; 2011a; 2011b; 2014) and Mörsch (2011) presented in this chapter on museums and museum education with a main focus on the way they treated the concepts of *power*, *elitism* and *democratization* in the field of art museums, have been very decisive in the way power issues are addressed and analyzed in the present study.

The next chapter briefly presents the evolution of museums in modern times, while it presents previous research in the art museums field with a focus on issues of *power*, the role

of the museum as educator and the role of the museum educator, along with the various educational approaches and educational strategies of the latter, and finally, the conflict of power between museum's professionals: curators and educators. In conclusion, the next chapter revisits the concepts presented in the theoretical framework, such as *cultural capital*, *distinction*, *elitism* and *power*, and presents how these concepts are addressed in previous research on museums and, more specifically, on museum's education.

3. Research on the Museum and Museum Education

This chapter will discuss briefly the museum's evolution since modern times and will present previous research on the field of museum education where the reader will be informed about the way the theoretical concepts presented in the previous chapter of this study, have been revisited and addressed by other researchers in the field of museums and museum education. More specifically, the concepts of *capital*, *distinction*, *elites*, and *power* will be presented as they have been addressed in previous research on art museums and museum education.

3.1. The Museum from Modernity to Postmodernity

Museums are products of the Enlightenment, the period that we characterize as the Modern period. (Hooper-Greenhill, 2010, p.13). The values of the Modern period were influenced by the need to construct knowledge based on reason and rationality, in order to move forward from the Middle Age's superstitions and subjective knowledge. Museums at that time were the social institutions meant to produce and diffuse knowledge. The museum-audience relationship was established in that sense of transmission of knowledge to the visitors. Therefore, in art museums and galleries the artworks were grouped to materialize 'art history', and the role of the museum was to transmit knowledge about art history. This transmission was one-way from the experts who held the knowledge- curators and artists- to the passive learners, the visitors. It was a linear model of transmission where 'knowledge was conceptualized as something to be transferred from one mind to another' (Hooper-Greenhill, 2010, p. 16). That's exactly what Bourdieu & Darbel (1985, p.115) argued about museums considered to be the transmitters of knowledge and the visitors passive receivers; and where the success of the reception depended on the cultural level of the receiver. Since the museums transmitted knowledge which was destined to their traditional audience equipped with high level of reception, while the rest of the audience was not concerned in the way the message was constructed.

Education was thought to be a one-way process of knowledge transmission destined for a mass audience regardless of the knowledge this audience would bring into the museums. Unfortunately, Hooper-Greenhill argues, there are some art museums that still use this approach and are still unaware of their audience and the reasons this audience visits their museums.

The essentialist values of modernity are challenged in post-modernity. The social changes bring about changes in the 'nature, control and functions of knowledge' (Hooper- Greenhill, 2010, p.11.). The diverse social demands enable museums to play a valid role in post-modern

society and museums must “demonstrate their viability and argue their values in new contexts’ (Hooper-Greenhill, 2010, p.11). The post-modern museums face basically two challenges: the one refers to the discourse held and the people who hold it; and the second, to who are listening to that discourse and how this discourse is interpreted, understood and the way meaning is constructed. (Hooper-Greenhill, 2010, p.18).

Histories are being re-written and silent voices are being heard, such as oppressed indigenous groups, women, and ethnic minorities. According to Hooper-Greenhill, these issues of narrative and voice led to readapt the way knowledge is constructed and the relation between knowledge and power.

3.2. Art Museums: aesthetic and public institutions

The art museum, according to Bourdieu, even though it is accessible to anyone (as long as they have the necessary *cultural capital* to decode its messages) without dress code or expensive entry fee, is different to the theatre or other cultural events, in the sense that it offers exclusively high *aesthetic* pleasure, pure and sublime, claims the pure aesthetics, which is close to the feeling a library creates, with its austere and semi-scholarly disposition, oriented towards the accumulation of experience and knowledge or to the pleasure of recognizing and decoding than to the mere delectation (1979, p. 308). The art museum like the art gallery, he argues, are spaces of luxury where *aesthetically pure, rare, distinguished* and expensive artworks are exposed where only the *happy few* of the dominant classes could afford to appropriate materially (1979, p.309). Art galleries and art museums make sense only for the initiated ones, who are able to decode their messages and thus deserve access to the “high” culture. This perpetuates what Bourdieu (1979) calls “*social distinction*” and the “*feeling of exclusion*” among the culturally poor (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1985).

Art museums are the most prestigious and costly of all other museums and carry the symbolism of public beliefs and representations in the universes they construct. (Duncan, 1995, p. 11). As ritual structures, art museums, are very rich in political and social history. According to Rice (1995), there have been two big theoretical trends in art museums since the Modern era, *aestheticism* and *rationalism*; the first was influenced by the Aesthetic movement (1870-1890) which promoted the beauty of art and its power to “elevate the spirit” as an answer to the ugliness of industrialized manufacture, while *rationalism* considered art museums mainly as ‘teaching machines’ that had the mission to teach art history to their visitors. This tension between aestheticism and rationalism was very present

until the 1970s and later on in the 1980s the first audience-museum related studies made their appearance. Then, the focus turned on what visitors believe about art museums and the first debates about *democratization* started to take place.

However, Rice (1995), recognizes three main tensions in art museums that are still valid today:

- firstly, the fact that the *power elite* consisted of art collectors mainly, still governs art museums;
- secondly, the fact that museum curators are scholars, intellectuals that have a mandate to be leaders in art museum;
- and thirdly, because art museums can hardly escape the contradiction between making art accessible to all, but not too popular neither, they show art that is too easily pleasing to large numbers of people (Rice, 1995, p. 19).

The main problem of art museums still today is that they value art quality by the art world validation, and thus they remain esoteric while their aspiration is to reach broader public.

3.3. The museum as educator

Museums are seen by Foreman-Peck and Travers (2012) as ‘unique places of interest for nurturing curiosity and inspiring learners to develop their understanding about the world they live in’ (p. 28). In the same line Zeller (1987), argues that museums are unique educational environments in which learning is largely informal, sequential and usually involves a high degree of social interaction; learning in museums is usually intergenerational and geared to enlightened recreation rather than accumulation of knowledge (p. 53). Museums are shifting from being static storehouses for artefacts into active learning environments (Hooper- Greenhill, 1994, p.1). The concept of education itself has been redefined in society, where progressive education nowadays claims that learning can be enjoyable and fun. Education in museums is now understood to include different types of provision, including exhibitions, workshops and publications, for a greatly more diverse range of audience, including schools, families and adult learners. (Hooper-Greenhill, 1994, p. 142). The focus of museum education is to make exploratory, broad and experiential activities for all the types of audience. As Hooper-Greenhill argues, museums are perhaps the only social institutions that have the potential to satisfy the needs of learners at all levels, from those who are looking for experiences based on the educational content to those with very little educational content(1994, p. 142). Education is considered to be the primary

function of museums, underpinning all museum processes (Hooper-Greenhill, 1994, p. 19). The only way to establish *democratization* in culture is by the means of education, and museum education in that case can constitute the main pillar for *democratization*.

3.4. Contemporary museum education

One of the primary missions of museums is education and there is a lot written in academic literature about the benefits of museum education linked to academic achievement. One of the most significant scholars on the benefits of arts education is Eisner who published 'the ten lessons the art teach' (2002) which is the "Bible" of arts education professionals. However, museum education is not supposed to foster academic achievement in order to be meaningful and pleasant for children or adults. According to Zeller (1987) the intention of art museum education is to

develop citizens who are visually literate, aesthetically sensitive, aware of their artistic heritage in the widest sense, able to make discriminating aesthetic judgements and capable of giving individual visual expression to feelings and ideas (p. 50).

One of the advantages of museum education, he argues, is that it fosters intergenerational learning, since it promotes the dialogue and discussion about art between children and adults. Hubard (2014) claims that museum education is always a thematic one, because museum programs are always thematised, since the titles of their programs even if they are not thematic are related to concepts which in turn, function as frames for looking (p. 104-105). She claims that museum education has moved from the traditional top-down lecture, intended to transmit knowledge of art history to passive learners towards a constructivist approach often based on interactive group experiences where meaning and knowledge is constructed mutually through dialogue. (Hubard, 2014, p.104).

3.5. Constructivist approach in Art Museum Education

Constructivism has significantly influenced the design of learning programs and the interpretation and the display of objects. (Foreman-Peck & Travers, 2012, p.35). The focus has been given to dialogue and exchange among learners and between learners and museum educator, who has the role of facilitator rather than the role of expert who possesses the knowledge to be transmitted. In her article about constructivism and art education, Wiggins (2015) supports the idea that constructivism is both a philosophical perspective and a theory of learning that underlie both the formal policy and the work of museum educators. She makes the distinction between formal educational policy which is focused on *what* is to be taught and a constructivist approach which focuses mainly on *how* people learn, with an attention given to interaction, dialogue, engagement, empowerment, and peer scaffolding.

3.6. From the era of learning to the era of unlearning

In that constructivist perspective, Allen (2008, as cited in Mörsch 2011 p.1) highlights the “*educational or pedagogical turn*” from a “monolithic and narcissistic position into a dialogic, open and pluralist set of tendencies that renegotiate issues of representation, institutional critique and inter-disciplinarily”. Critical museum education challenges the traditional triadic model of education where there is an educator, a learner and a subject matter. The roles of learner and teacher in that case are interchanged, while the subject matter becomes the questioning of the subject matter itself. This requires an active reflective and critical attitude of both learners and educators in order to construct and co-construct knowledge by de-constructing the structures of the institutions and challenging the power relations that reside in them. (Mörsch, 2011, p.3) She coins the term of *unlearning privilege* of educators willing to suspend their own knowledge, renegotiate meanings and interpretations and remain open to different aesthetics and approaches by the audience, even if they are contradictory to their own.

Unlearning calls for a revolutionary “educational turn” in a post-modernist perspective in the arts field where no one is considered the holder of knowledge and expert that has to transmit their supreme knowledge to the others, the “laypeople”. Instead, it is the process of *deconstruction* of this role and its power and bears a more *democratic approach* to the learning process of art through peer work, constant role exchange between educator and learner, where both parties learn from each other and co-construct knowledge together, even if this knowledge does not stand for the traditional meaning making of art. In the same direction, Tzibazi (2012) supports the idea that emancipatory pedagogic approach in museum education is necessary in order to value people’s voices, acknowledge their expertise and engage them in the learning process. (p. 156).

3.7. The role of the museum educator

In the era of a constructivist educational approach, the museum educators act as facilitators and use their art history knowledge to help people gain a greater understanding, but not to impose on them their knowledge as the absolute, one and only truth. (Burnham & Kai-Kee, 2005). According to Hubbard (2014), educators see themselves as facilitators and visitors are regarded as “active makers of meaning”. However, she argues that, even if museum educators in contemporary museums see themselves as ‘neutral’ because they do not participate in the galleries’ and exhibitions’ design and they think they are simple

facilitators, they are still in their own way, creators of context, even in the most constructivist approach (Hubard, 2014, p.104).

For Pringle (2009) the key goal is to enable visitors to gain ‘tools for learning’, provide them with skills, confidence and knowledge to interpret art themselves, enable them to draw their own personal experience to gain understanding, develop new knowledge and articulate their ideas. (Pringle, 2009, p.176). According Foreman-Peck and Travers (2013), the museum educator should facilitate the discussion and encourage people to participate in objective and subjective questioning and analysis of objects. (2013, p.36). They highlight the importance of scaffolding and peer learning in the learning process between learners and museum educators.

3.7.1. Strategies of museum education

According to many museum education scholars, Burnham and Kai-Kee (2005), Hubard (2007a; 2007b; 2007c; 2011a; 2011b; 2014), Hooper-Greenhill (1990; 1994; 2010), Foreman-Peck and Travers (2013) and others, there are strategies that museum educators could follow in order to allow an interactive learning. In their article published in 2005, Burnham and Kai-Kee explain the way museum educators should proceed to facilitate visitors’ understanding. The museum educator, they argue, should invite people to reflect on the artworks, mediate in silence first and then share in public their observations or meanings. The role of the educator, according to the two scholars, is to guide people’s observation and emotions towards a collective experience that leads to a larger meaning and understanding. The main role of the museum educators, as Burnham and Kai-Kee (2005) claim, is to build a structure of engagement with visitors, where emotions and feelings play an important role. According to Foreman-Peck and Travers (2013),

At its best the museum educator facilitates a learning offer that is flexible, astute and creative in design, where learners and educators engage in a dialogue of discovery, in an environment of mutual respect, where discursive approaches and considered questions enable learners to construct their own ‘curated’ experience conducive to the development of meaning-making (Foreman-Peck and Travers, 2013, p.37).

Hubard (2014) mentions some of the approaches a museum educator could follow: non-thematic dialogues about artworks among other activities; thematic dialogues; use of non-discursive models of response; selection of the time and the way they should share contextual information in the context of discussion. Zeller (1987) claims that there are different learning strategies, such as improvisational activities, study sheets, storytelling and

poetry writing, depending on the reactions artworks provoke; cognitive, affective, associative or imaginative (1987, pp.52-53).

Apart from the knowledge transmission, teaching is art; it is a creative process and it is an art that is ultimately committed to expand and enrich visitor's experience (Burnham & Kai-Kee, 2005). And, according to Burnham and Kai-Kee (2005), experience is beyond storytelling, it has to somehow include the poetic and emotional side of the artwork.

Despite the importance of the role of the museum educators in the democratization process of the museum and of the artistic discourse, historically their status has been really low since curators are thought to be the "guardians of art" and the educators were limited to transmitting the curators' discourse to the visitors.

3.7.2 Curators versus museum educators

In aesthetically oriented institutions, educators were not asked to say much since art spoke for itself (Rice, 1995, p. 17). While in the more aggressively public-minded art museums such as the Metropolitan museum of Art in New York, educators, despite their nominal support from the director, were nevertheless marginalized by the curatorial staff (Rice, 1995, p. 17). In the past, the curator acted as a definer of the museum message without taking into consideration the views of other departments which resulted in information given to be so embedded in the curatorial code – most of the times incomprehensible to the large public (Hooper-Greenhill, 1994, p.116). Displays reflect the curator's academic and intellectual interest, excluding other points of view; this curatorial monopoly will break by enlarging the number and the nature of writers or producers of museum texts that will lead towards the democratization of museum as a social institution (Hooper-Greenhill, 1994, p. 118).

The educator's role is to intervene in order to make the curatorial code accessible to a broader audience by democratizing its content into a more accessible discourse and enhance meaning-making processes that would not require necessarily high educational and cultural competence of visitors.

What we have seen in this chapter is the evolution both in the museum and the museum education field through time in respect to the different movements and tensions and also in respect to the different museum educational strategies. What is essential to retain is that in the past, the art museum was seen as either an aesthetic institution, as a contrast to the

industrialized manufacture ugliness or as “teaching machine” influenced by the rational movement, that aimed to transmit knowledge to passive learners. Moreover, this chapter presented the various tensions that reside in the museum, with the most important still valid being the fact that the power elite consisted of art collectors still govern art museums, secondly, the fact that museum curators are scholars, intellectuals that have a mandate to be leaders in art museum, and thirdly, because art museums can hardly escape the contradiction between making art accessible to all, but not too popular neither, they show art that is too easily pleasing to large numbers of people (Rice, 1995, p. 19). Furthermore, several museum educational approaches have been presented and how they evolved from a linear model transmission of experts towards passive learners to the contemporary, constructive and co-constructive educational approach. Finally, the relation of museum educators and curators was presented in this chapter, along with the power relations between them that leads to the curators’ dominance in the museums, while it was discussed the importance of the educator’s role in the democratization of the curator’s discourse and the meaning-making enhancement to learners.

This conclusion leads to the next chapter where previous research on meaning-making in museum education is presented and allows the reader to acquire a better understanding of the importance of meaning-making in the museum education field.

4. Research on Meaning- making in Museum Education

Meaning making and interpretation are central in museum education, since they constitute the main task of educators, which is to facilitate and encourage meaning- making in the galleries for visitors. However, it remains a contested arena with scholars and museums educators being divided according different approaches of meaning-making and interpretation. This chapter will present the way meaning-making construction has evolved throughout the last decades, with a focus on contemporary practices in museum education.

4.1. The Meaning- making Framework (MMF)

Pringle (2009) proposes a meaning-making framework (see figure 1, steps of MMF) in art galleries to be applied by museum or artist educators in order to facilitate learners engage with artworks and construct meaning. In this framework learners are active and the artworks occupy a central place (Pringle, 2009, p. 178). The artistic learning as with practical knowledge, she argues, is experiential, complex and content specific (p. 175). The educators should enhance the embodied knowledge and be equipped with skills such as: ‘active looking and questioning, playfulness and risk taking, curiosity, imaginative responses, open-mindedness, and the freedom to explore concurrent strands of interest’ (Pringle, 2009, p. 176).

Moreover, Pringle (2009) provides the hierarchy of steps educators should follow in this frame, as follows:

- encourage engagement through prolonged looking (or even listening or touching in some cases)
- proceed to questioning
- share knowledge, give theoretical or other input they consider relevant to learners
- review what has already been said
- apply all the findings to construct meaning-making

What is important to maintain in this framework of Pringle (2009) is that there is conflict between the institutional, dominant discourse held by curators and art experts against the interpretation of learners; on the contrary, interpretation and meanings are anchored and produced around objects which are the only judged in this framework.

4.2. The Principles of Interpretation and the principle of “aboutness”

Barrett (1994) presented several principles for interpreting art in order to guide teachers in engaging their students in interpretative dialogue about artworks and to provide criteria for assessing their interpretation of art.

I will mention here the most important principles, relevant to my study, such as:

- responsible interpretations, based on evidence and reason, where interpretations are persuasive
- different, competing and contradictory interpretations deriving from a number of viewers and points of view; the fact that some interpretations are better than others, in the sense that they are better argued, grounded on evidence, against intellectual relativism
- objects of interpretation are artworks and not artists, in order to avoid biographical determinism and limit interpretation based on biographical information of the artist.

These principles derive from the writings of aestheticians, art critics, art educators and the author’s experience in writing criticism or teaching others to interpret art.

Many scholars, among others Hubbard (2007; 2011) refer to Danto and Goodman’s principle of ‘*aboutness*’ and Eco’s ‘*openness*’ in interpretation of artworks. Bal (1992) in his critique of Eco’s book *The limits of interpretation* (1991) issues the concept of power in meaning-making and argues that

Meanings are uncertain, undecidable, but at the same time dominating and centripetal. A similar uncertainty about meaning and its complicity with power and domination.’ (Bal 1992, p. 544)

The author claims that uncertainties are the ‘arena for interpretive freedom’ and the instability of meaning opposes the old scholars’ stability of meaning and refers to Eco’s three typologies of interpretative intention (Bal, 1992, p. 547):

- *l’intentio auctoris*, the authors’ intention
- *l’intentio lectoris*, the reader’s or in the case of art, the viewer’s intention
- *intentio operis*, which Eco claims is the literal meaning.

As cultural studies shift towards the realization that meanings are not innocent the nexus between meaning and power becomes more and more visible.

Hubard (2007a, 2011) refers also to Eco to analyze the conflict in interpretation with the artist's intent. Hubard agrees with the *openness* of Eco's interpretation, in the sense that the interpretation of the artist should not be the dominant one, and the work after it is exposed is open to be interpreted as the viewers want each time.

When a work is produced, the artist knows that he or she will be interpreted not according to his or her intentions, but according to a complex strategies of interpretation (Eco, 1992, p.67 cited in Hubard, 2007, p. 407).

4.3. Interpretive Communities

Hooper-Greenhill (2010) argues that meaning making and personal interpretations are 'forged through social and cultural environments, through local communities and through location in social structures' (p. 25). Despite our personal interpretations, she claims, we all belong to different *interpretive communities*, defined by Fish (1980) as 'those who share the same *strategies* for reading texts and assigning meaning' (as cited in Hooper-Greenhill, 2010, p. 25). These shared *interpretive strategies* or *intelligibility strategies* reminds us of Bourdieu & Darbel's (1985) *schemes of interpretation* that condition the *cultural competence* one possess. As Hooper-Greenhill (2010) argues, several questions arise concerning the interpretive strategies of museums and their audience, since they don't represent the same interpretive communities. She queries whether visitors to an art gallery should share the same interpretive strategies with an art curator holder of a doctorate in art history and several years of experience in order to benefit fully from their visit. (Hooper-Greenhill, 2010, p. 27).

4.4. Embodied response: Discursive and non-discursive approach

For Hubard (2007c, p.48) the embodied response to art can help visitors engage with their bodies and emotions in response to an object while they can express their responses mainly in two ways: discursive and non-discursive. In the first case, the educators can help elicit and deepen embodied responses through discursive language; by using language the audience can share and reflect on their responses. However, discourse which is the main medium of art critics, art historians and aestheticians, though it helps students to engage intellectually to artworks it has its limits, while, in the non-discursive approach the educators engage viewers through movement, sound, poetry, drawing, and other non-discursive means. (p. 48).

4.5. Decoding Museum Literacies – the role of space

The museum's space includes printed texts, images, three dimensional artifacts, texts on the walls and all these practices are called *museum literacies*. (Eakle, 2009, p. 204). In his article, Eakle (2009) studies the way adolescents decode these museum literacies, the museum's space, objects and text, and describes how they apply decoding practices in order to make meaning of these literacies. For Hooper-Greenhill the spatial arrangements of the exhibition 'divide, control and give meaning to the material things, the desires of the curator and the bodies of the public' (1990, p. 6). According to Eakle (2009), most young people ignore the printed texts and they focus on images, objects and space. (p.208). There is a preference for seeing and taking pleasure in the museum, rather than reading texts. (Eakle, 2009, p.209). Schorsch (2013) also describes how museum space conditions meaning-making. He argues that

The physical space of the museum, is a form with its individual components as architecture, exhibition design and display, the content dimension which reveals the key function of narrative as a human meaning – making tool in mediating the mutual relationship of spatial form, museological content and visitor experience. (Schorsch, 2013, p. 195)

Dewey (1934) in his book *Art as an experience* argues that "life goes on in an environment; not merely *in* it but because *of* it" (p. 13). In the same line, Schorch claims that there is a mutual dependence of spatial form and thematic content, in what we tell and how we tell it, within human communication and museum experience. (2013, p.197). Bourdieu & Darbel (1985) argued that the "artificial landscapes" that art galleries and museums produce make sense only for the initiated; the ones who held sufficient capital to be able to decode the specialist "enigma" and who therefore deserved the access to such higher grounds.

In short, the museum literacies and museum's space decoding contribute to what Bourdieu (1979) names as *social distinction* and *feeling of exclusion* (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1985).

4.6. Art as experience

Dewey (1934) in his book *Art as experience* places the role of emotions in the experience of art very high and argues that the perception of the artist is limited between what he did and what he will do next (p. 47). Dewey (1934) makes the difference between 'artistic' and 'aesthetic', with the first referring primarily to the act of production by the artist and the latter to the perception and enjoyment by the spectator. (p.48) For Dewey, it is as if the artwork is being created twice: once when it is materially produced by the artist, and secondly, when the spectator perceives and enjoys it.

In conclusion to this chapter, the reader has been informed about the different principles of interpretation and meaning-making processes in art museum education, as they have been addressed in previous research and the way they are linked to the main concepts addressed in the theoretical framework of this study. Additionally, over the last two chapters on museum education and meaning-making processes in museum education, issues of *power*, *democratization* and *elitism* have been addressed by many researchers linking them to museum education field; *power* in terms of power among museum's professionals, such as educators and curators that has been abovementioned, but also power in terms of museum's professionals and the audience: initiated or/ and non-initiated. These power relations between museum experts and audience, along with the concepts of cultural competence, linguistic capital and cultural capital, addressed in the theoretical framework of this study, regulate and define the level of access to culture by different audiences. As it is stated by many authors above, one of the main objectives of museum education is to democratize the curator's elitist artistic discourse and make it accessible to a broader audience which does not possess necessarily the same cultural competence and linguistic capital as curators or art experts. While *democratization* is central in museum education research, it is a contested arena in museum research where *democratization* is seen as a slip into commercialism and threatens the artistic quality and the role of art experts in museum field; mainly the role of curators and artists.

The next chapter will discuss the way museums can be inclusive, empowering and participative in terms of different communities and audiences and will also present the research of Maleuvre (2012) who claims that museums' educational mission is undermined if museum's priority is to be inclusive.

5. Museums: inclusive, empowering and participative

There has been a lot written in the academic literature about the social function of museums, the democratization of the museum, the way museums could and should include broader audience than the traditional audience, and especially in the UK and the USA the aspect of inclusion in museums has been taken into account in government agendas to assure the social function of museums. (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1985; Bourdieu, 1979; Hooper-Greenhill, 1994; 2010; Mörsch, 2011; Tzibazi, 2012, Foreman-Peck & Travers, 2013). However, there are also some scholars, such as Maleuvre (2012) who argue that postmodern museums in their effort to be inclusive, sacrifice their main role which is the educational one.

Despite the large amount of academic literature defending the role of *empowerment*, *participation* and *democratization* of museums, there is another discourse which prioritizes the museum's educational role and ethos. This discourse aligns itself with the curators 'fear' as Hooper-Greenhill names it to describe the fear that curators have to make it easier for visitors to understand the ideas that collections represent, because they believe that this easiness will begin 'a slide into commercialism, poor scholarship, facile interpretation, and mindless entertainment'. (1994, p.113) This curatorial fear that treats *democratization* as *vulgarization* is explained by Bourdieu (1979, p. 279) as a threat of the holders of distinctive properties to their status, since democratization will challenge the rarity of their properties.

5.1. Museums should (not) be inclusive

Maleuvre (2012) however, criticizes the role of the museum as leisure industry that encourages the role of 'the visitor as consumer of knowledge' and creates a 'safe environment' to make their *own* meaning. This postmodern relativism, as the author says, that started as an oppose to the traditional museums accused of being *elitist*, does not provide challenging knowledge to the visitor to make them question their own world; on the contrary it invites visitors to make their own meaning each time without taking into consideration the objective scientific information. He argues that these post-modern museums in their effort to be inclusive and democratic, sacrifice their main role which is the educational one and instead of preserving history and artifacts, they promote beliefs, and emotions at the place of knowledge and science (pp.117-118). Maleuvre (2012) emphasizes on the educational role of the museum which is to pass on accurate facts and objective and scientific knowledge (p.112). He dissociates social fairness and sensitivity from knowledge, since he believes that the confusion of the two endangers the mission of the museum (p.112).

However, there are many efforts to promote *democratization* in museums and include communities that do not have access to museums traditionally through emancipatory research, such as the Participatory Action Research (PAR) that is presented extensively in the following paragraph and the introduction of the audience surveys and the instauration of the audience advocate that includes the audience in the creation process of the museum's message and content at a preliminary level, so that the museum's texts are written by many writers in an effort to democratize their language and discourse and include the interests of various social groups and communities.

5.2. Empowerment through Participation of community members

Tzibazi (2012) coordinated and evaluated a three year Participatory Action Research (PAR) project in UK museum that engaged young people of 13-14 years-old, from secondary schools in deprived areas. Participatory Action Research is rooted in social justice movements, such as feminism and antiracism, and aims to examine an issue from the perspectives of the community members concerned, in that case the inclusion of young people in museum's practices, and place a critical gaze on institutions and their practices (p. 156).

PAR challenges the notion of legitimate knowledge, the control of knowledge by the experts as means of reproducing unequal power relations by the elites (Tzibazi, 2012, p.156).

In the project Tzibazi (2012) coordinated were also implicated the Learning officer of the museum, the artists and freelance workers of the museum and staff. The aim was to claim that a deeper notion of *participation* is required so that *inclusion* of young people is not a shift in rhetoric but a *meaningful experience* for all involved. (p. 154). According to Tzibazi (2012), over the past decade, the governmental agenda in the UK, in the service of *social inclusion* and *cultural democracy*, has been building a culture of participation for children and young people (p. 154). Social and cultural institutions were asked to collaborate and give a *sense of belonging* to those who were excluded from the community (p.155).

Museums are seen as institutions that could play an important role in empowering marginalized groups within the communities 'to determine their place in the world' and 'achieve their own potential. (DCMS, 2000, 8 as cited in Tzibazi, 2012, p. 155)

5.3. Participation of the audience through the Audience Advocate

Hooper-Greenhill (1994) in her book *Museums and their Visitors* focusing mainly on museums in the UK, presents how in the 1990s already museums in the UK have included in their policies the notions of inclusion, communities' empowerment, and cultural democracy. (1994, p. 10). To this end, museums in the UK but also in Australia, she argues,

have invested in audience surveys, since the only way to respond to people's need and include them in their exhibition planning and activities, is by knowing them first. (p. 60). The audience surveys, provide qualitative data regarding two main aspects of inquiry: firstly, get familiar with the audience who visits museums, and secondly, through focus groups of non-visitors, realize which reasons keep that audience away from museums. (p. 68). Museums as socio-cultural institutions, need to address a broader audience to justify their existence, and one way to develop their audience is through working together with groups of the communities, outreach communities and include them in the preparation of exhibitions and programs. (1994, p.22). To this end, museums in the UK, Australia and the USA had already included "*the audience advocate*' who acts as a person responsible for considering the needs of all sectors of the audience as new projects are developed." (Hooper-Greenhill, 1994, p. 9).

However, museums should also readapt inside their walls, since as Hooper-Greenhill claims, the curatorial monopoly in the museum's literacies does not assure many voices being represented in the museum's discourse; she suggests that

by enlarging the number and nature of writers or producers of museums texts will work towards the democratization of the museum as a social institution (Hooper-Greenhill, 1994, p. 118).

What we have seen in this chapter are the tensions around the *democratization* of museums which remains a contested arena among scholars with part of them in favor of the democratization and others against it on the grounds that it undermines the educational role of the museum and its quality.

In conclusion to the last four chapters including the theoretical framework of this study, I would like to remind the reader the three research questions and relate them to the abovementioned previous research conducted in museums and museum education field.

- What are the *linguistic practices* in the museum education field?
- To what extent is the *artistic discourse* in museum education accessible to various ethnolinguistic and social groups?
- How do museum educators negotiate the *social and ethnolinguistic diversity* in Luxembourg and cater for this diverse audience in their educational programs?

The first research question relies on the concepts presented in the theoretical framework, based mostly on the work of Bourdieu and Darbel (1985) and Bourdieu's (1979; 1991) later work about linguistic market, linguistic capital, and legitimate language, as they have been already addressed in the second chapter and linked to the present study. Although Bourdieu and Darbel and Bourdieu's later work findings refer to another era, several decades ago, are still valid since they are revisited by more recent scholars in museum and museum education's research. Several scholars on museum research, such as Rice (1995), Duncan (1995), Hooper – Greenhill (1991; 1994; 2010), Hubbard (2007a;2007b; 2007c; 2011a;2011b;2014), Mörsch (2011), Wiggins(2015) and others, in addition to more scholars on museum education such as Burnham and Kai-Kee (2005), Foreman Peck and Travers (2013) and others mentioned in the third and fourth chapter of the present study, they all revisit the concepts of *power*, *elite*, *democratization* in different ways regarding museum and museum education. Moreover, the research conducted in various ways of *meaning-making processes* based mainly on Pringle's meaning-making framework (MMF), but also the principles of interpretation as discussed by Barrett (1994) and Hubbard (2007a, 2011) revisiting Eco's approach, and Eakle's (2009) contribution on decoding museum literacies along with the work of Hooper-Greenhill on the same aspect, and finally, Dewey's (2005) approach to art seen as an experience, they all contributed to a great extent to the analysis of the present study's data and findings. All the above mentioned research has contributed both to the formulation of the research questions of this study and to the analysis part as well. The reading of the previous research allowed me to identify the main challenges in the museum education field and formulate my research questions according to the following three axes of inquiry: the language use and the access to the artistic discourse of various social and ethnolinguistic groups; the meaning-making processes and how they are facilitated by museum educators; and, finally, the power relations that derive from all the axes of inquiry and are to be found both among the museum's professionals – curators and educators- and between museum's professionals and the audience. These power relations, according to several scholars' research presented in the last four chapters, tend to regulate, condition, facilitate or discourage the inclusion and / or exclusion of different audience and communities in museums and in the artistic discourse held by museum's experts. Thus, power constitutes the main axe of inquiry in the present study, since it is met constantly in the other two axes of inquiry, which are on the one hand, the *language use* and *discourse* of museum's experts, and the meaning-making processes, on the other.

6. Luxembourg as research environment

The ethnolinguistic and social diversity on such a small territory as Luxembourg, constitutes Luxembourg as an attractive research environment, especially for research on linguistic practices and social diversity. This chapter will firstly present briefly a previous research project conducted in two museums of Luxembourg, in order for the reader to acquire a better insight into the research context, and then provide a brief overview of the country of Luxembourg and its specificities in terms of population and languages.

6.1. Previous research in museums in Luxembourg

In Luxembourg there has been only one previous research project concerning the museums *Who are We? Searching for Identities* (Brasseur, 2013). This dissertation analyses the relationship among issues of identity, power and the museum and investigates how these factors are linked to the museum's social and educational role. The study focuses on two exhibitions about identity in Luxembourg: *ABC – Luxembourg for beginners ...and advanced* that took place at the Musée d'Histoire de la Ville de Luxembourg (2012-2013) and *iLux Identities in Luxembourg* hosted at the Musée Draï Eechelen (2012-2013). Brasseur conducts a comparative critique of these two exhibitions and examines their explicit and implicit practices. Her work focuses mainly on identity and how the identity discourse in museums is linked to globalization and multiculturalism. The results of this study suggest that the museums' discourse on identity is linked to globalization and multiculturalism on the one hand, and to the deeply rooted national identities on the other hand.

Even though Brasseur's research addresses issues of power, it is mainly focused on the identity discourse held at the two exhibitions she compares. It is differentiated from the present study in the following aspects: this study explores the perceptions of museum experts on the linguistic practices, the artistic discourse, the meaning-making and finally, addresses the power relations that derive from the museum-audience relationship and that reside among the museum experts. Brasseur focuses on issues of identity, which is the main concept discussed in her study, and critically compares the two exhibitions, while she relates the identity discourse held on these exhibitions to the dominant political discourse. The present study focuses on the museum experts' perceptions in order to answer the three research questions regarding the language use and practices, the way meaning-making is constructed and how museum experts negotiate the social and ethnolinguistic diversity in the art museum educational programs. The aim of this study is to explore the inclusion or

exclusion of different audiences, different not only in terms of sociolinguistic aspects, but also in terms of their level of initiation to the artistic discourse held by the museum education experts.

The following section will provide the local setting of this research for better understanding of the local parameters that influence the research and its findings.

6.2. Ethnolinguistic and social diversity

With a population of 576,200 (STATEC, 2016) and a geographical size of 2.586 square kilometers, the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg is situated between Belgium, France and Germany and is one of the six founding member-states of the EU.

According to STATEC 2016, the biggest foreign community in the country is Portuguese with 93,100 residents that make out 16% of the country’s total populations, as it is illustrated in the following figure published by CEFIS, 2016. The second biggest foreign community is French with 41, 700 residents and the third is the Italian community with 20,300 residents.

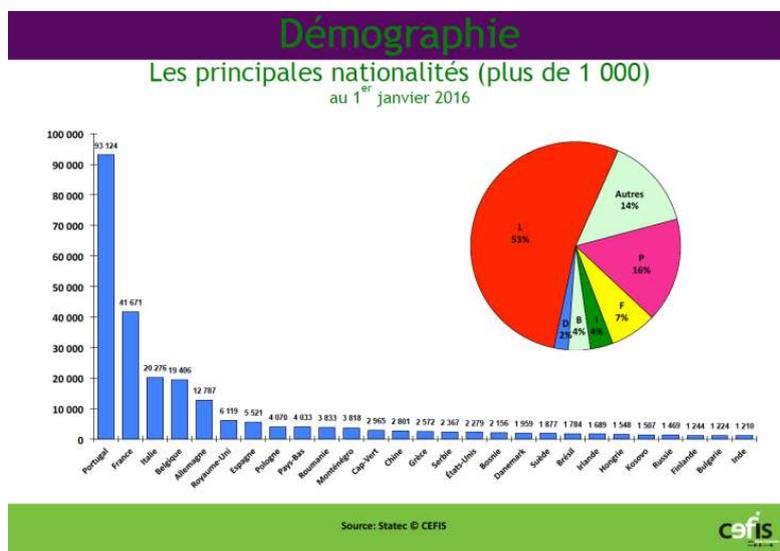


Figure 1. Main nationalities in Luxembourg, Source: CEFIS, 2016

The particularity of Luxembourg regarding the population relies on two major factors. Firstly, almost half of its population, 269,200 out of 576,200 residents (STATEC, 2016) are foreign passport holders. This ranks Luxembourg as the country with the highest percentage of foreign residents in Europe (CEFIS, 2016, Horner & Weber, 2008, p. 69). Secondly, there is a local particularity concerning the large number of cross-borders commuters or *frontaliers*, as they are called in French, with the most important percentage coming from

France, which represents 50.8% of the total cross-border commuters. The second biggest cross-border commuters are coming from Belgium, with 24.6 % and Germany 24.5%¹. During the last 20 years, between 1996 and 2016 the number of frontaliers has tripled, ranging from 57.573 people the 1st trimester of 1996 to 174.669 people during the 1^{er} trimester 2016². This is primarily due to the economic crisis in the neighbor countries and also to the small territory of the country. In total, there are 88.779 French, 43.088 Belgian and 42.817 German people coming to work in Luxembourg every day³.

Luxembourg is also the siege of some of the European Union's institutions, such as the Court of Justice, the Court of Auditors, the European Investment Bank, the Publications Office, the General Secretariat of the European Parliament and the General Directorate of the European Commission (Horner & Weber, 2008). Therefore, many expatriates working in these EU institutions have found their home in the country adding with their presence to the multilingual profile of Luxembourg.

❖ One country, three languages

One of the particularities of Luxembourg, together with its mixed population despite its small territorial size, is its trilingual system. In 1984, a language law was issued that recognized the three languages of the country: Luxembourgish as the national language, French as the legal, judicial and administrative in which all the official and legal documents are written, and German as one of the administrative written languages as well, since it is the language in which basic literacy skills are taught. The main reason for the latter is because Luxembourgish is a Germanic variety, thus it is closer to German than French and that Luxembourgish is not yet a fully standardized language.

Despite the fact that Portuguese is the second language spoken by most people after Luxembourgish, according to the survey STATEC in 2013, regarding the languages that are mostly spoken at workplace, school and/or house, Portuguese is only fifth in the row with only 20%. The most spoken language at workplace, school and/or house is Luxembourgish with 70.5%, followed by French with 55.7%, German with 30.6% and English with 21%. (STATEC, 2013).

¹ <http://www.luxembourg.public.lu/fr/actualites/2016/07/11-frontaliers/index.html>

² <http://www.luxembourg.public.lu/fr/actualites/2016/07/11-frontaliers/index.html>

³ <http://ceser-grandest.eu/IMG/pdf/160707-ceser-grand-est-note-conjoncture-2.pdf>

The official trilingual reality in Luxembourg has often been described as "diglossia", "triglossia" or "medial diglossia" (Gilles & Moulin 2003, p 304; Horner & Weber 2008, p. 70; Fehlen 2009, pp. 41, 48). Historically, there has been a distinction between oral and written languages with Luxembourgish being used mainly orally and German and French in writing (Gilles & Moulin 2003, p. 304). This is due to the educational system, where first German and French at a later stage are the languages used for literacy, while Luxembourgish is mainly and until very recently used exclusively for oral communication (Fehlen 2009, p. 50).

According to the linguistic survey *BaleineBis* conducted in Luxembourg and directed by Fehlen (2009), French is the most spoken language in Luxembourg, but Luxembourgish is gaining ground. The first chapter of this study provides an overview of the linguistic situation in Luxembourg. French is and remains the most widely spoken language in Luxembourg, with 99% of respondents who say they speak regularly. The second is Luxembourgish (82%) and the third is German (81%). The percentage of people who say they regularly use Luxembourgish increased however by two points compared to 1997, and this especially among Portuguese residents. The aim of that survey was to challenge the misconceptions about Luxembourgish language being threatened by a strong presence of foreigners in Luxembourg.

7. Methodological framework

This chapter outlines the methodological framework and discusses methodological issues related to this study. More specifically, this chapter presents the research design and the methodological tools, while it introduces the research site and the participants and provides reflection on the role of the researcher and on several ethical considerations related to this study.

7.1. The sociological approach and the research design

Both the sociological studies of Bourdieu (1979; 1991) and Bourdieu and Darbel (1985), and museum education literature allowed me to identify the axes of inquiry of this study, to elaborate the interview guidelines in order to obtain relevant data from the participants and to formulate the research questions as follows:

- What are the *linguistic practices* in the museum education field?
- To what extent is the *artistic discourse* in museum education accessible to various ethnolinguistic and social groups?
- How do museum educators negotiate the *social and ethnolinguistic diversity* in Luxembourg and cater for this diverse audience in their educational programs?

In order to answer the research questions of this study, a qualitative approach has been applied in data collection with semi-structured interviews and in data interpretation applying a combination of content and discourse analysis. This study could roughly be divided in the following 4-phases of research design:

- **Phase 1:** exploratory and planning
 - literature research
 - formulation of main axes of inquiry and research questions
 - interview guidelines
 - identifying participants/ access to the field
 - first contact with participants/ obtain consent & plan interviews
- **Phase 2:** data collection
 - Conduct semi-structured interviews
- **Phase 3:** data analysis
 - Software assisted - transcription of audio recorded interviews
 - Data exploration/ creating memos
 - Reduction of data/ creating categories
 - Interpretation
- **Phase 4:** writing/ reviewing/ member checking/ finalizing

More specifically, the researcher maintains Bourdieu's approach for the concept of *language as discourse: dominant and legitimate*, and analyzes it in the frame of the *linguistic market* where each language holds a different *linguistic capital*. Furthermore, the research of Bourdieu & Darbel (1985) on European museums in the 1960s and its findings provides a basic theoretical framework of this study. Their main findings relevant to the present study are twofold:

- first, art museums in Europe are less democratic in terms of social inclusion and are highly visited by a small minority of people coming from upper classes, the *elite*
- second, *cultural competence* is inseparably related to the level of education and family background.

These findings provoked my interest to investigate the art museums based in Luxembourg in these aspects and maintain a sociological approach based on Bourdieu's concepts of *power, legitimate language, linguistic capital, cultural capital*. Furthermore, I dived into the literature on the museum and museum education (Hooper-Greenhill(1990;1994;2010);Hubard(2007a;2007b;2007c;2011a;2011b;2014) Eisner(1999); Eakle (2009); Rice (1995); Zeller, and others) and the critical articles on the way meaning-making is constructed in museum education (Pringle (2009); Mörsch (2011); Foreman-Peck, L. & Travers, K.(2013), and others) along with studies on inclusion, empowerment and participation in museums (Tzibazi (2013), Maleuvre (2012), and others). These studies allowed me to acquire a broader overview of the museum education status-quo and the challenges in the field, concerning mainly the *democratization* of the *discourse* and the importance of the social role of museums.

7.2. Choice of method: qualitative approach

The study focuses on the experts' personal perceptions, beliefs and ideologies on the three main axes of inquiry and not on objective and quantifiable data. To this end, the research study is absolutely qualitative. The research aims to understand how museum education experts negotiate the ethnolinguistic and social diversity and how they cater for diverse audiences in their educational programs. In order to achieve this, a qualitative method was mainly used to obtain data: semi-structured interviews with two different categories of museum education experts in the three art museums.

The choice to interview both pedagogic managers and museum educators was meant to provide data from two different aspects of the museum education field and assure more than one insight into the production process; on the one hand, the pedagogic managers provide the aspect of conception, design and planning of the educational programs and represent the

policy makers of the field, and on the other hand, the museum educators, provide their insight concerning the practices of museum education and the implementation of these policies made by pedagogic managers, and they represent the practical aspect.

In short, the main advantage of this qualitative method investigation through interviews of two categories of experts is that the study assures the involvement of both parts implicated in the museum education field: the conceptual part and the practical part.

Finally, the study would be more complete if audience's perception and quantitative data concerning the visitors would be included; although, these were not included in the scope of this study. Therefore, further research is necessary to provide the audience's perceptions on the field.

7.3. Methodological tools

7.3.1 Data collection: Semi-structured Interviews

In order to obtain the perceptions of museum education experts upon the research questions, I conducted semi-structured interviews with four participants, and two participants answered the questions in written form.

The process of the interview's inquiry was based on Kvale's (2007) seven stages:

1. thematizing
2. designing
3. interviewing
4. transcribing
5. analyzing
6. verifying
7. reporting

During the first stage, I thematized the interviews by formulating interview guidelines, based on the theoretical framework adopted and the purpose of the study. At this stage, I had made clear the purpose of the study and obtained prior knowledge through the literature of the field, while I was getting familiar with different techniques of interviewing and analyzing in order to select the most relevant to the study.

Thereinafter, I prepared the design of the interviews taking into account the intended outcomes of the study. To that end, I decided to conduct face-to-face semi-structured interviews, since this technique was suitable for the study as 'it has a sequence of themes to be covered, as well as some prepared questions' (Kvale, 2007, p. 65). In order to obtain the data, I had already planned *direct* and *indirect questions*, but this technique allowed me to maintain an 'openness to changes of sequence and questions forms in order to follow up the

answers given and the stories told by the interviewees.’ (Kvale, 2007, p.65). Both interview guidelines for both participants’ categories are annexed to this study in English and French (Appendix I).

Since I had two different categories of informants, I had to prepare two different interview guidelines, while some questions were common, others were totally different, since the focus was different. Concerning the pedagogic managers, the focus was angled towards the linguistic policies and practices of the museums, their general pedagogical approach and their beliefs about central concepts of this study, such as democratization, inclusion and participation. I have attached as annexed to this study a copy of the interview guidelines destined for pedagogic managers, both in English and French, since two out of three informants of this category opted to give the interview in French and one in English.

Regarding the museum educators, they were also interviewed about the linguistic policies and practices, their pedagogical approach, but with an emphasis on their practical aspect since they are the ones who actually put into effect the policies made by pedagogic managers. Moreover, they were also asked to contribute with their beliefs about the central concepts of the study above mentioned. I have attached as annexed a copy of the interview guidelines I had prepared for museum educators both in English and French, even though only English was used finally.

Once the interview guidelines were ready for both categories of informants and I had acquired their written consent to record the interviews, I conducted face-to-face interviews at their work place. I had first scheduled the interviews with the pedagogic managers, who would later assign a museum educator of their museum to participate in the research. The average recording duration of the interviews was 90min. for all the four interviews I conducted.

Due to work overload it was not possible to interview the two museum educators, but I asked them to answer the interview guidelines in written form and communicated their answers via email to me. In total, I interviewed five informants; four of them on recorded face-to-face interview and two of them in written form; out of which one answered both as pedagogic manager and museum educator, since she has been working on both fields at the same institution. For reasons of trustworthiness and credibility, I obtained the written approval of this study’s supervisor in order to make sure that written answers are acceptable in this frame of this study.

7.3.2. Steps in data analysis and Interpretation

In order to analyse the data I followed the four steps according to Nagy (2006) as illustrated in the figure below.

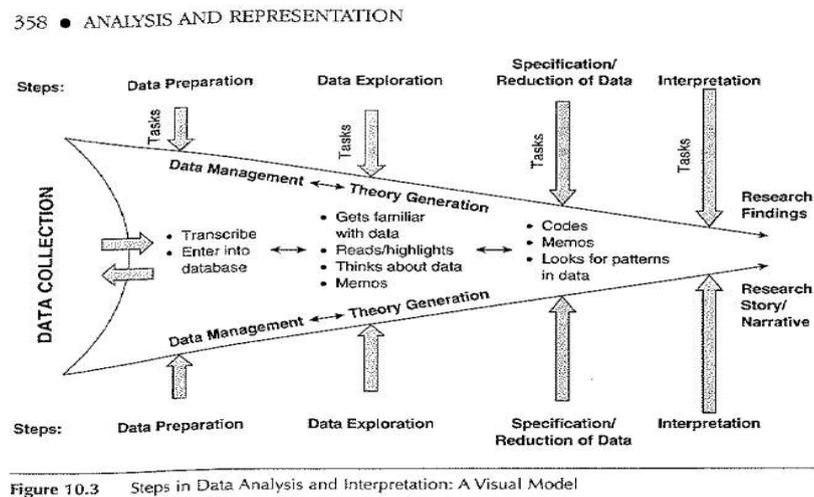


Figure 2. Steps in Data Analysis and Interpretation, Source: Nagy Hesse-Biber (2006, p. 358)

Step 1: Data preparation

The first step according to Nagy (2006) includes the transcription process. Once the recording was concluded, I decided to use online software to transcribe the interviews. After extensive research online, I discovered a software in demo version and free of charge to download, called F4 transkript; a tool which is quite widespread among qualitative researchers for being user friendly. The only drawback of the free version is that it allowed to upload audio files of 10min. duration; consequently, I had to edit all audio files into files of ten minutes in order to make use of the software. This explains the time reset every ten minutes at the interview transcripts, annexed to this research (Appendix II). The software's usability consists of the possibilities it offers in terms of quality and time; one can import and export text modules, insert timestamps in texts, while the software rewinds automatically every time one pauses to transcribe which makes the workflow smoother and faster. At the end of the online transcription, one can export the entire transcription text in a document format to proceed with the next step of data analysis.

According to Kvale (2007, p. 92), transcription is an interpretive process, where the differences between oral speech and written texts raise practical and principle issues regarding reliability, validity and conventions of the transcripts. The way a transcription is made reflects the translation from one narrative mode –oral discourse- into another- written discourse. (Kvale, 2007, p.93). The best way to assure the reliability of the transcript would be to have two people transcribing and compare the two transcriptions to check whether there are differences. Since this was not possible in the case of this study, I verified the

transcription by listening again to the audio file and comparing it to the transcript. This process was facilitated by the use of the f4 transkript software. Moreover, the fact that I conducted both the interviews and the transcriptions, allowed me to gain a better insight into the data and take notes of emerging topics during the transcription process that I could use later for the analysis.

Concerning the transcription conventions, I adopted a simple style of transcription destined mainly for content and discourse analysis that would follow, including signs of breaks, laughter, emphasis and hesitation in an effort to maintain the text as close as possible to the audio file and transfer the emotions as well as the speech. An example of transcription text is annexed to this study (Appendix II).

Steps 2 and 3: Data exploration and data reduction

Once the transcriptions were exported from f4 transkript in document files with timelines and line numbers inserted, I entered these documents on a database and professional software called MAXQDA, destined for qualitative and mixed methods data analysis. This software is used for organizing, categorizing, coding, retrieving and analyzing all kinds of unstructured data like interviews, articles, media, surveys, and more. During the data exploration phase, according to Nagy (2006), the researcher starts reflecting upon the material collected, taking notes, highlighting what feels important, summarizing, coding and writing memos of any first ideas concerning the data. By the means of MAXQDA software I started at this phase coding the interviews and creating some first memos and categories that would later change many times until the final interpretation phase.

I started the coding process as soon as I had my first interview transcribed; I had one week interval between the first and the second interview, which was enough time to proceed with the first transcription. By coding I mean identifying ‘chunks’ or ‘segments’ in the textual data and give them a label (Nagy, 2006, p. 349).

The coding process had many phases, but it started by coding line by line at first and giving simple labels, most of the times deriving from the meaning of words of the segment coded. This is what Nagy calls ‘*open coding*’ when one begins to code line by line, sentence and paragraph (2006, p. 348). The software allows besides coding the creation of memos and categories. Thus, after the first open coding, I started writing memos of the first reflections upon the data of the respective codes. The initial coding was open and descriptive, sometimes even literal coding of the words appearing in the text and gradually some concepts were revealed and I started creating categories under which I listed subcodes.

Apart from the open coding, I also applied ‘*focused coding*’; this type of coding relies on the researcher’s insights for drawing out interpretation and allows for the building and clarifying of concepts. (Nagy, 2006, p. 352). The idea for the use of focused coding was to go beyond the data labelling and develop more abstract categories that could generate theoretical constructs.

The following figure is an extract of MAXQDA coding where I had started creating categories, such as “*Inclusion*”, and regrouping codes under it, such as “Project for Refugees” or “*Inclusion for disabled people*”. On the right of the column with categories and codes, one can see the memos I had written about the respective category and codes. These memos were very useful at a later stage, when I had to start the interpretation process, since these memos reflected my first ideas about the data interpretation and every time a new element or idea came up; I could complete the memos so that later on I could follow the development of ideas through the whole transcription process saved under these memos.

Audience through Experience in the galleries	4
Initiated public in art	3
EXPATS/ FRENCH SPEAKING/ NATURAL TENDENCY	2
	<p>"there are a lot more French speaking, than all the other communities, the French have, generally speaking, a natural tendency to go to museums. It's the cultural background that is actually very revealing"</p> <p>The phrase that they have the "natural tendency to go to museums" because they are French is the same phrase all the pedagogic managers used in the interviews. So, for them being French equals "natural tendency to go to museums"</p> <p>Here, makes the profile of who goes to the museum in Luxembourg: Italians and French who are "naturally educated" and is "natural for them" to visit museums. They are educated, higher level of education, they work for the EU institutions and despite the fact that many Luxembourgers are also very well educated and could be also lawyers etc. They don't have the "natural tendency" of going to museums. The Luxembourgers would answer the question do you go to museums by "Ah, non, je ne suis pas. Je suis pas historien de l'art"</p>
Italians and French more used to culture in their life	6
	<p>The foreigners have higher cultural level than the Luxembourgers later by foreigners she will name French and Italians of high social status, like lawyers who are also collectionnaires</p> <p>"Oui, j'ai fait comme ça connaissance avec des familles...bah, je sais pas, je suis assez ouverte donc, et je me rends compte "bah oui ils ont une pratique... c'est tout naturel d'aller dans les musées"</p> <p>Well here we have again this "Natural" rhetoric about going to museums...It seems that here it's the Italians and the French who have this natural tendency while the OTHERS the locals-Luxembourgers don't</p> <p>Georgia : Quand vous parlez des étrangers vous avez mentionné Italien et Français... #00:01:07-5#</p> <p>: Naturellement, ils sont éduqués. Ouil #00:01:11-2#</p> <p>Well here she goes pretty far by saying that Italian and French people are "naturally educated"</p>

Figure 3.MAXQDA Coding sample with memos

The process of coding and writing memos is a very dynamic process that consists of cycles of coding, memos and coding again and again; since ideas, concepts and reflections keep emerging during the process and the more the analysis proceeds with new data, the more codes are created, renamed or subcoded and new categories are emerging. Thus, the use of memos is crucial in order to keep track of all this rich material and have a better and more

comprehensive insight of data, since memos are mainly used to summarize data, quotes, analytical notes, first interpretations.

Later on, after all the data had been coded, recoded, subcodes, put into categories and memos were written, I extracted from MAXQDA software an excel file of all the coding I had done so far, in order to process it and use it for the interpretation of the data. Then, I started working on document files and select codes that I would use for the analysis; I started creating my own tables to reduce the coded data, since I had ended up with 220 listings of codes that made it very difficult to process unless they were reduced once more.

The following two tables present on the one hand the way languages were coded on MAXQDA software and on the other hand how these codes were regrouped in the table I created afterwards on a document file.

Linguistic Policy of museum	"il n'y a pas vraiment de politique..On s'adapte" "Le mediateur adapte a la langue parlee des enfants"
Exclusion linguistique	It is avoided most of the times with translation
Linguistic plan for more languages?	: no complaints for more languages than the ones of the country.
Dutch and Flemish complain to add their language	
Linguistic Priority	For Florence it's clear: Luxembourgish and French or French and Luxembourgish Michaela gives an interesting explanation about the linguisti priority
Linguistic landscape in Luxembourg	
Adaptation on the public	: it depends on the public, on the majority of the public's language. But, if the guides speak only French, then it's French
Language for Lectures/ Courses	
Russian	
Luxembourgish	translation issues> parfois il y a des choses qu'on ne peut pas traduire
English	
French	translation often used >vill a vauban parfois on a des traducteurs , mais ca coute cher...
German	
Mixed Public One Language- French	Children workshops: When the public is "anglophone" as Florence says, they "normalement" speak another language too, "français"
	Nantia Adults
Mixed Public French and German	
Social Status of parents (children workshops)	Whose kids go there?
Children Workshops Linguistic practice	
German	When the artist is invited , apart from mediateur, to do a workshop, it has happened to be in German too..

Figure 4. Languages coding on MAXQDA

The coding process was facilitated with MAXQDA software in the sense that I could visualize the coding and have them stored digitally under specific categories.

But in order to treat them afterwards, I felt the need to work on document files and refine codes and categories in an effort to create a story for the data interpretation.

The table below presents how the data were transferred in word documents afterwards.

	Luxembourgish	French	German	English	Portuguese	More spoken	Other asked/ provided
<i>Museum 1</i>	Oral in children workshops	Written communication & children workshops/ guided tours/ lectures	Written Communication & guided tours/ lectures	Written Communication & children workshops/ guided tours/ lectures	Oral guided tours in the past / now one guide assures ES & PO if needed	FR& LU or LU& FR	DU ES CH
<i>Museum 2</i>	Oral in children workshops/lectures guided tours	Written communication & children workshops/ lectures/ guided tours	Written communication & lectures/ guided tours	Written communication & Workshops/ Lectures/ guided tours	Oral guided tours once or twice in the past/ not at the present	FR & LU	ES DU JA CH KO
<i>Museum 3</i>	Oral with schools/ Guided tours/ lectures	Written communication & guided tours/lectures (with translators if necessary)	Written communication & guided tours/ lectures (with translators if necessary)	Written Communication & guided tours	Oral guided tours in the past/ one guide now assures PO if necessary	LU & FR	ES RU IT

Table 1. Coding Language use in Museums (oral / written)

Step. 4. Interpretation phase

As abovementioned, the interpretation had already started during the coding process by writing memos and reflecting upon the data. But, once the coding had been concluded, the data had been reduced and the main categories had been established, the interpretation process required a conscious selection of data to include or exclude from the final story I would choose to tell. This process was very challenging because the decision of exclusion and inclusion of data is very difficult when data is very rich. Soon, I realized that I could tell many different stories if I selected different parts of the data.

According to the research questions and the research purpose, I selected to interpret the data by following the interview's rationale which was inspired by the theoretical framework of the research. As I explained at the interview's preparation phase, I had divided my research questions according the three main axes of study: *linguistic practices*, *meaning-making* and *power-relations*. So, the most evident to me was to follow the same structure and select the parts that were highlighted in the data to each category. Then, I had to decide how I would narrate the interpretation story, I had to decide on the 'thread' that would connect all these data in a meaningful sequence that would lead to the main findings of the research. So, I chose to follow the research questions sequence and connect the data according to that. I created the following scheme that I followed for the interpretation, based on the main theoretical concepts of the study.

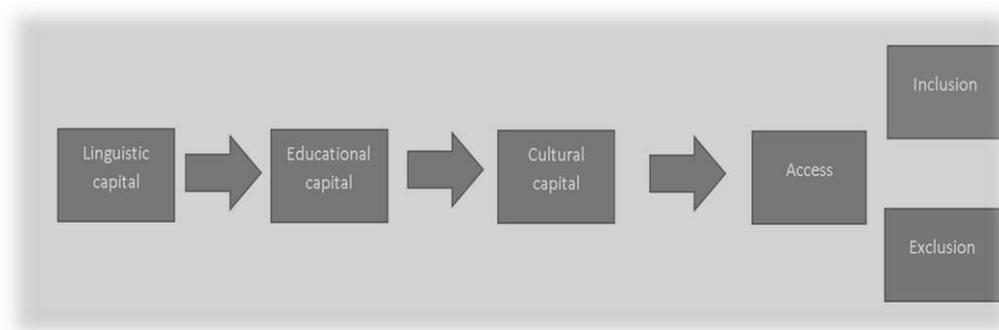


Figure 5. Conceptual scheme of interpretation

7.3.3. Content and Discourse analysis

The data analysis method was decided once the purpose of the study was set and the research questions were formulated; prior to all data collection process, the choice of the method the data would be eventually analyzed influenced all stages of data preparation, collection and transcription, in order for the data to be meaningful and respond to the needs of the analysis method.

In order to focus the data analysis both on the language and the meaning of the text since “language and meaning are interwoven” (Kvale, 2007, p.104), I adopted what Kvale (2007) calls an “analysis as a bricolage” (p. 104). The content analysis ‘focuses on the characteristics of language as communication with attention to the content or contextual meaning of the text’ (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p.1278). More specifically, I combined two types of content analysis: the *conventional* and the *directed content analysis*; the first, in an effort to include the *themes* that derive from the data without prior set of concepts or categories coming from the theory; and the second, in order to use existing theory to develop the initial coding prior to beginning to analyze the data. (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p.1286). According to directed content analysis, as the analysis proceeds additional *codes* are developed and the initial coding is revised and refined. Although, in the case of this study, I combined both methods without following them fully, I coded openly themes deriving from the text and also used some codes inspired by the concepts of the theory.

Moreover, I also applied discourse analysis in specific parts of the data, in order to reveal not only *what* is said, but also focus *on the way* this is said. According to Gee (2011, p.4) there are many different approaches to discourse analysis; some of them focus on the ‘content’ of the language being used, the themes or issues being raised in the speech, while other focus on the ‘structure’ of language and how this structure functions in order to make meaning in specific contexts. There are two main approaches though, according to Gee (2011): the descriptive and the critical approach to discourse analysis. The descriptive

suffices to describe how language works in order to understand it, while the critical approach aims not only to understand how language works but offer deeper explanations, related to social and political issues and controversies in the world. (Gee, 2011, p.4). In the case of the present study, the discourse analysis is critical in a sense that, as Gee argues, all types of discourse analysis are critical not only because the researcher is political, but because the language itself is political. (Gee, 2011, p.4).

In short, the analytical approach to data adopted in this study is a hybrid approach combining two methods: content and discourse analysis, in an effort to include both perspectives of themes' description arising from the content and the implied meanings of these themes revealed by the way the language is structured and used by the informants.

7.4. Introducing the Research site and the Participants

Here I will provide a short profile of the three art museums in order to introduce the reader to the research setting. The museums have been anonymized for reasons I explain further in the anonymity section of this chapter. Consequently, I have chosen to name them Museum 1, 2 and 3 and describe them briefly so that the reader acquires an insight of their main characteristics and differences.

❖ Museum 1

Museum 1 was created in 1996, even though the building exists since 1880. After lots of transitions, it evolved into what it is today after the end of "Luxembourg, European City of Culture 1995". Located in the heart of the city of Luxembourg, its aim is to present today's visual arts with all their diversity and complexity.

It differentiates itself from museums in the sense that it is self-defined as an "artistic and experimental think tank heading for the latest trends in the art scene."⁴ of contemporary art and artists representing the latest trends in the art scene. Its Board of Directors includes as members the Ministries of Public Works, of State, of Finance and of Culture, while the president is the Honorary director of the national museum of history and art.

❖ Museum 2

Museum 2 opened its doors in July 2006 in the Park Dräi Eechelen which offers magnificent views onto the old town just a short walk from the European district of Kirchberg. Its impressive architectural building hosts exhibitions on modern art on a national and international scale. It is considered the most "avant-garde" museum in modern art in

⁴ Source : Museum 1 website

Luxembourg and the following extract from the website is representative of the museum's ideological approach to art:

The cultural project of Museum 2 is based on a conception of art seen at a poetical distance from the world. Its key words are freedom, innovation, a critical mind, and all this, not devoid of humour.”⁽⁵⁾

The museum is run by the Foundation of Museum 2 created in 1998, an organization formed under civil law whose main patron is the State of Luxembourg. Recently S.A.R. la Grande-Duchesse Héritière de Luxembourg was appointed President of the Board of Directors.

❖ **Museum 3**

The museum 3 is considered to be as the most conservative among the art museums in Luxembourg. It is located in the city center, built by the fortress architect of Louis XIV and served as the foundation of the later residence. Today, Villa Vauban is an art museum that comprises collections of old and contemporary art as well as sculptures. Its mission is mainly to

Preserve, restore, inventory and study European works of art; Organize exhibitions of its own collections, collections of works from different sources that fall under the plastic arts in general.⁶

It is run by the state of Luxembourg, along with the history museum of Luxembourg and its educational team is shared between these two museums.

The Participants

Here, I will provide a brief profile of the key informants, starting by the pedagogic managers, in respect of their hierarchical order. As I will explain further at the ethical considerations of the study, all names have been replaced by fictitious first names to protect the participants and guarantee their anonymity, despite the fact that they had no objection to using their real names.

Pedagogic managers' profiles

The pedagogic managers of the museums are responsible for the planning, design, concept and resources of the educational programs: workshops, lectures and guided tours. The following table presents their years of experience, their field and country of studies, previous working experience and languages they speak. The choice to include information concerning their languages and countries of studies has been made in order to understand their perceptions over the different languages and their ideologies about their speakers.

⁵ Source : Museum 2 website

⁶ Source :Museum 3 website

<i>Informants</i>	Institution	Years at the same institution	Education	Country of Studies	Other professional experience	Languages
<i>Florence</i>	Museum 1	15	BA in Architecture	Brussels	One year internship in the Netherlands	LU, EN, FR, DE
<i>Nantia</i>	Museum 2	10	BA in Fine Arts, MA in Journalism	France & UK	Fine Arts Teacher in state schools	LU, EN, FR, DE
<i>Maria</i>	Museum 3	20	MA in Art History	France	Museum Educator in the same museum	LU, EN, FR, DE

Table 2. Pedagogic Managers

On the above table it is very easy to identify immediately that two out of three pedagogic managers studied in France, while the third studied in the University of Brussels in French.

❖ **Florence**

Florence has been working for the museum for almost fifteen years. She has studied Architecture in the University of Brussels and has conducted one-year internship in the Netherlands when she graduated. In 2001, she was recruited by Museum 1 to help in the construction of an exhibition. Ever since, she has occupied various positions in different departments of the institution; she has worked in the communication service assuring the press office, to finally work on the educational programs specialized mainly on children's programs. She is responsible for the conception, design, planning and resources of children workshops and she works in team with one more colleague, arts professor in state schools sharing her working time twice per week in the museum- to coordinate the educational service of the museum. She speaks all the three official languages of the country: Luxembourgish, French, German and English. However, when asked in which language she preferred to give the interview, between English and French, she chose French.

❖ **Nantia**

Nantia has been working for Museum 2 for ten years, since its opening in 2006. Prior to working in Museum 2, Nantia had been teaching Arts in state schools in Luxembourg. She was first recruited as museum educator and became the Public's manager, heading also the education department in recent years. She studied Fine Arts in France and followed post-graduate studies in Journalism in the United Kingdom. She is head of a team consisting of four people working in the education department, where she is responsible for the

conception, design, planning, coordination and resources of the workshops, lectures and guided tours. Even though it is not her task as pedagogic manager to provide guided tours herself, she enjoys doing it, because it allows her to have a better insight of the audience and their needs, as she explains during the interview. She speaks all the three official languages of the country and English. She is the only one of the pedagogic managers who chose to give the interview in English instead of French and this could be explained maybe by her post-graduate studies in Journalism that she concluded in the UK that allowed her to express herself with confidence in the English language. Moreover, Nantia chose to answer the questions destined to museum educators as well, since she has been working as a museum educator in Museum 2 since its opening and during the last years that she holds the position of head of education department.

❖ **Maria**

Maria works both for Museum 3 and the history museum of the City of Luxembourg, not included in the current study, which belong both to the state of Luxembourg. She is one of the two pedagogic managers, and she is responsible for the pedagogical activities; while her colleague, also present during the interview since they share the same office, is responsible for the redaction of the pedagogic program of both museums above mentioned. She has been working for the museums for almost twenty years now and she started as a guide, since at that time there were not any other educational programs. She studied Arts History in France and ever since she graduated she has been working for the city of Luxembourg and its museums. She speaks all the official languages of the country and English, but she chose French to English to give the interview. Finally, I think Maria represents a different generation from other pedagogic managers, since she is the oldest one and she has known museums in Luxembourg during a different era, when museum education was quasi inexistent.

Museum educators' profiles

Despite my initial aim to conduct face-to-face interviews with all of them, it was finally not possible due to their schedule. Consequently two of the informants provided their answers in written form. Moreover, it was not initially planned that there would be one participant interviewed representing both categories. The following table presents their years of experience, their languages and countries of studies.

<i>Informants</i>	Institution	Years at the same position	Education	Country of studies	Working Languages	Based
<i>Sophia</i>	Museum 1	4	MA in Arts and Art Pedagogy	Austria & Finland	LU/ EN/FR/ DE	Luxembourg
<i>Nantia</i>	Museum 2	10	BA in Fine Arts, MA in Journalism	France & UK	LU/EN/FR/DE	Luxembourg
<i>Michaela</i>	Museum 3	6	BA in History and History of Arts	France	French	France

Table 3. Museum Educators

I will present here the profiles only of the two museum educators, since I have already presented Nantia, who participated both as a pedagogic manager and an educator.

❖ **Sophia**

Sophia has studied Fine Arts and Arts pedagogy in Austria with a semester abroad in Finland. She is an artist and has worked for Museum 1 for four years. Additionally, she provides guided tours for Museum 3 as a freelancer as well. She speaks all the three languages of the country and English. She gave the interview in English with lots of code-switching in French. The special characteristic of Sophia that distinguishes her from the other informants is that she is an actual artist, producing artworks, but with an additional artistic pedagogical background; while the other informants are mainly art historians, with the exception of Florence who has studied Architecture. The first time she worked for the museum was as an artist invited by the curator to contribute to an exhibition of local artists. She was still a student at that time in Austria, and once back to Luxembourg, she started working as a museum educator animating guided tours and children workshops.

❖ **Michaela**

Michaela is the only informant I did not have the opportunity to meet in person due to her overloaded schedule at that time. She answered the questions in written form and communicated her answers via email. She has been working for Museum 3 for the last six years providing guided tours in French. She is French and resides in France as well. She has studied History and Arts History in France and has working experience in the field in France as well, where she received also professional training on providing museum guided tours. Despite that fact that she provides guided tours only in French, she answered the questions in English.

7.5. The Role of the Researcher and Ethical Considerations

During the interpretation phase it is important to keep in mind that the role of the researcher is crucial. The researcher is responsible of the voices heard in the interpretation and the way these voices are heard as well. Consequently, there are issues of power and control over the interpretation process. (Hesse-Biber, 2004, p. 356). Most qualitative research is based on interviews and observation where the interaction between researcher and researched can influence the research process. These important *power dynamics* between the interviewer and informant relationship, according to Nagy affect the interpretation results and the research process as a whole, from the access to the site of research, the social relations in the setting etc. (2006, p. 357). In the case of this study, I cannot omit to take into account the social attributes of myself and the interviewees, along with the power relationships deriving from these attributes.

Their authority was represented in the first part of the research, where I had to ask for their authorization to get access to their workplace and interview them, along with the fact that they are considered experts on the domain, while I had the status of a student which is inferior to them. Moreover, if I analyze further our social attributes, all the informants I met in person were native-born Luxembourgers, and I am a foreign student and can be seen as immigrant, so my social status is once again inferior to theirs. Furthermore, the interviews were conducted in their professional setting, their workplace where they had the power of authorized staff, while I was a guest for a few hours. Above all, the most important fact of their power over me was that I had solicited their help, I was the one who depended on their participation in the study, and not vice-versa.

However, my power is represented at the later stage of the research, when I started treating the data: coding, data reduction and interpretation. The fact that I held the power to choose which parts would be included and how they would be represented proves the importance of the researcher's influence. The analysis and interpretation process are the most representative stages of a researcher's involvement and impact on research findings. There were also some incidents during the contact with the participants where the researcher held a certain "pedagogic function", for instance when Michaela could not answer the question regarding meaning-making because she was not familiar with the term, since it is a theoretical concept and not ordinary language, and the researcher intervened to explain her what this term means in the context of museum education. We could say that in this incident Michaela and the researcher co-constructed meaning of the meaning-making term and therefore it was possible for her to answer the question.

❖ **Access**

The access to the informants was not very difficult, even though I had no previous contact with them or the museums they work for. I identified the pedagogic managers online through the museums' websites and contacted them via email. Initially, I used my student email account to prove that I hold official student status and use the academic prestige to reinforce my position. Unfortunately, for technical reasons, my first attempt to contact them had failed. So, in due time, I contacted them again via my personal email forwarding the prior email I had sent them. Their response was immediate and they were very cooperative and willing to participate. We scheduled the interviews very quickly with the pedagogic managers at their workplace, who in their turn, assigned the museum educators I could interview.

In short, even though I had no prior knowledge or contact to the field, the fact that I approached them as a student conducting academic research played an important role mainly for two reasons: firstly, because the participants felt reassured concerning the frame of this research; and secondly, because they were interested to participate in academic research.

❖ **Confidentiality and consent**

Concerning consent, I kindly asked all the informants to sign an informed consent, annexed to this study (Appendix III), where they declare that they are informed about the topic of research and they agree the interview to be recorded, as I will use this material strictly for academic purpose of this specific study. In the consent form it was explained that the data would remain confidential to the researcher. As for the two informants who answered in written form via email, I consider our online communication where they agree on their involvement in the research as proof of their consent. Actually, this applies only to one of the two participants, Michaela, who was the only participant I did not meet in person, because Nantia had already been interviewed as pedagogic manager and had accorded consent in written form. Even though it was omitted to mention in the consent form, once the research is conducted, the researcher and the supervisor will keep the data safe on a hard disc and are responsible for the maintenance of the data private and not exposed to anyone else than them.

❖ **Anonymity**

Regarding anonymity, even though all the informants accorded their agreement in written form via email to use their real names, I chose for ethical reasons to replace their names by factious names I invented, so that the analysis reads more easily.

The main reason I chose to protect their anonymity is because I consider that since they were not aware of the implications my analysis could have for their statements and beliefs, I did not want to challenge their trust and confidence in me and relate their real names to conclusions of this research that could possibly put them in an awkward position.

At a later stage of the research, and once the analysis had already been written, the participants were asked to read the text and provide their feedback. Moreover, they were asked after having read the analysis whether they agreed on the researcher's policy to maintain the museums' names and replace their names by fictitious names, which would still lead easily to their identification by the reader, since most of them have held their positions for decades at these institutions. The initial argument against the anonymization of museums is that Luxembourg is so small that they will be identified by the reader very easily and at the same time they are social institutions funded by the state partly or fully.

At this stage of member-checking, one of the participants' reaction was very strong against certain parts of the analysis and she asked me to either modify or remove the specific parts or she would be willing to withdraw her participation in the study completely unless I did so. It was a very critical moment for the process of this study, since this reaction was not expected at the first place and required action in order to negotiate the problematic parts of the analysis with the participant and adjust the text in order to respect both the participant's will, but also remain close to the scope of this study. This critical moment resulted mainly in two actions: first, to anonymize the thesis completely by removing the museums' names and replace them by Museum 1, 2 and 3; and secondly, to adapt the text so that the problematic parts avoid leading to some misinterpretation which was the reason the participant reacted so strongly against them. Following both the supervisor's and the second reader's advice I adapted the text and applied the anonymity wherever it was appropriate. For reasons of fluidity of the text, I maintained the museums' profiles in the methodology section to facilitate the readers of this study to make sense of the main characteristics of the museums I investigated. However, this part might need to be readapted once this study is completed for reasons of anonymity. The main issue that arises in this case is that the context of the city of Luxembourg in which this study took place is very small with not so many art museums, which makes them easily identifiable despite the complete anonymization. Consequently, the anonymization process in order to be fully successful might require further adjustments of the text after this study is completed.

8. Analysis

In this chapter I will present and analyze the perceptions of the pedagogic managers and museum educators according to the three research questions:

- What are the *linguistic practices* in the museum education field?
- To what extent is the *artistic discourse* in museum education accessible to various ethnolinguistic and social groups?
- How do museum educators negotiate the *social and ethnolinguistic diversity* in Luxembourg and cater for this diverse audience in their educational programs?

The analysis is split into three main sections as follows: the first section presents and analyzes the perceptions of the experts on the presence of different languages in museum education, with a special focus on Luxembourgish and French, considered the most spoken languages in museums, as opposed to Portuguese language, which is absent, despite the large Portuguese population in the country; while the second section focuses on the role of the curator's discourse in the meaning-making process, whether there is a dominant discourse in museum education, who controls it and who has access to it; issues of democratization and equality of access will be raised as well; and thirdly, the last section will provide a thorough analysis of the experts' perceptions concerning inclusion in museum education and the museum-audience relationship, with a reference to the '*charismatic ideology*' that experts hold about certain types of audience.

8.1. Overview of Linguistic policy and linguistic practices in museum education

Both pedagogic managers and museum educators were interviewed on the languages and the linguistic policy in the institutions they work for. Since the pedagogic managers are the ones who are responsible for the planning and structure of the educational programs, I insisted more on the current strategies and the future plans they have. Regarding the linguistic policy of museums, the answers of all the three pedagogic managers were more or less identical. Even though they claim that there is no official linguistic policy and that they adapt to the audience, it is obvious that there is an unofficial one, since there has been made a decision to communicate their programs in written form mainly in three languages: French, German and English and include oral communication in Luxembourgish as well, to respond to the needs of native-born Luxembourgers, especially for school groups and very young children⁷.

⁷ See table 1 coding Languages in museums

According to Nantia, (lines 74- 80) the situation of Luxembourg is “*rather particular and the linguistic situation is always a bit complicated*”. Therefore, the *Museum 2* she works for communicates in written form (brochures, catalogues and website) in three languages: English, French and German and orally in the educational programs, such as guided tours, lectures and workshops in Luxembourgish as well. The situation is similar to the *Museum 1* with the written communication being conducted in the same three languages abovementioned and Luxembourgish added especially in workshops with young children, as Florence, the pedagogic manager explains in the interview (lines 311-317). While in the *Museum 3* as Maria, the pedagogic manager argues “*les langues au Luxembourg, c'est toujours un problème*” and even though the institution communicates in written in the abovementioned languages, when it comes to school groups it is always Luxembourgish and this is also a prerequisite for the school tour guides, to speak Luxembourgish (lines 186-193).

When asked about other languages present in the museums’ programs, the pedagogic managers indicated various languages, depending on the exhibition and the season. More specifically, the *Museum 2* offers a variety of languages in brochures including Japanese, Korean and Chinese. While Maria answered that depending on the exhibition, if the theme refers to a specific culture as has been the case in the past, hosting exhibitions about Russian or Italian artists, they provide education programs, guided tours and lectures in these languages. Being asked whether there are linguistic groups complaining about the absence of their languages in the programs, all the three experts answered that Dutch and Flemish people who visit a lot the museums in Luxembourg ask very often to include Dutch in the programs.

As a conclusion to the experts’ perceptions on the linguistic practices in all the three museums, it is a fact that despite all the languages available, the most spoken languages that are also seen as a priority for museum experts are mainly two: French and Luxembourgish. In the following section I will analyze why this is the case and how the experts explain this linguistic priority.

8.1.1. The French and Luxembourgish priority

As indicated in the interviews, French and Luxembourgish constitute the two languages that are most frequently spoken in the three museums, and two pedagogic managers out of three also name these languages as the “*linguistic priority*” among all the other languages they offer. The main reason for this higher position of French and Luxembourgish is that they are

the most spoken among the visitors of the museum. Florence when asked about the linguistic priority in the *Museum 1* explicitly answers

« Une priorité...je pense que c'est quand même...le français et le luxembourgeois ou le luxembourgeois et le français » (lines 379-380).

Similarly, Maria answers to the same question, the following
« Le luxembourgeois et le français peut-être. » (line 242).

More specifically, Nantia argues that when they have children's workshops offered in French they have to do a second group, because they are overbooked, while groups in other languages are far smaller in numbers. While Sophia explains that French is most spoken in the museum, but it is not a matter of hierarchy, it is simply due to the fact that more French speaking people visit the museum.

“I think not really hierarchy, but I think mostly French is spoken here, because there are more French speaking people here. So, but when there are foreigners it's mostly English. But for the workshops, it's more French.” (Sophia, lines 238-240).

According to Michaela, museum educator in the *Museum 3*, the linguistic presence in museums is related to the historical background of the country and the fact that Luxembourg is a European capital city (lines 35-40).

However, if we analyze more deeply the answers of the informants, we get to realize that the 'French speakers' does not necessarily refer to French people and that Luxembourgish language is mainly necessary for school groups and in workshops with really young children who have not been to school yet to understand any other language. From Nantia's answer concerning the languages the museum offers for lectures, we understand that the public can be very mixed, but still the language be French.

“But the French is sort of very common language in most people who go there, because we have people, Luxembourgish people who come to that and we have English speaking people who also understand French and they come to the French.” (lines 118-121)

This is exactly what Florence also confirms about the English speaking public which also understands and speaks French as she says in the following extract:

« Mais, le public anglophone il est quand même assez présent. Mais normalement, ils parlent une autre langue aussi...ben, ils parlent aussi le français, voilà.... » (lines 351-353)

Regarding the Luxembourgish language, the answers of Florence (lines, 353-359) and Maria lead to the conclusion that it is mainly used with school groups or in workshops with really

young children who have not learned another language at school yet. As Maria specifies:

« *Pour les classes ici, pour les classes scolaires, c'est surtout le Luxembourgeois, c'est ça aussi pour les guides qu'on nécessite, il faut parler Luxembourgeois.* » (lines, 188-190).

The fact that French and Luxembourgish have the higher status in museum and museum education could reflect also the status that these languages possess in the country. According to Horner & Weber (2008) Luxembourgish, since it was officially recognized as the 'national' language in 1984, has a significant status in the country even though it is spoken by a small number of people, restricted mainly to the native born population, while French is considered to be the language of *prestige* in the country, since it is associated with secondary education that gives access to higher education, the *lycée classique*, and is seen as the language of 'decision makers, who direct the economy and who have an important impact on cultural life'. (Fehlen, 2002, p. 93, cited in Horner & Weber, 2008, p.83). However, there is a controversy about the use of Luxembourgish and French in Luxembourg (Horner & Weber, 2008, p. 84) with an official discourse supporting the ideal trilingual system and an unofficial one claiming that the system is not as ideal as it claims to be and people cannot cope with French language so well.

There is a great deal of popular discourse, though, the *discourse of endangerment* and a fear that Luxembourgish language will become a minority language. (Horner & Weber, 2008, p.83). It is very often associated with the presence of immigrant children at the school system, with a special focus of Portuguese origin children. A very big debate started in 2014 when the management of a "maison relais" which includes a kindergarten, in Esch-sur-Alzette, banned the personnel from speaking with the children in their mother-tongue, a prohibition which also extended to the conversations between the children, almost all of Portuguese origin⁸.

But the following question arises: Why is Portuguese excluded from the museums' educational programs, since Portuguese people constitute the most significant community in Luxembourg? The next section will try to explain why this is the case according to the experts' perception.

⁸ Source: <http://www.wort.lu/en/luxembourg/shocking-luxembourg-expose-children-punished-for-speaking-portuguese-in-kindergarten-maison-relais-5458e9a7b9b3988708082cb4>, Published on Tuesday, 4 November, 2014 at 15:58, seen 30.04.2016.

8.1.2. The absence of Portuguese language

The pedagogic manager of the Museum 2 museum recognizes that “*Portuguese does make sense. When you look at the population in Luxembourg*” (line, 154), but she says that the museum offered guided tours in Portuguese twice in the past, but without any success. So, consequently, they stopped providing tours in Portuguese. In the same vein, Maria, the pedagogic manager of the Museum 3, explains that they had Portuguese in the past and there is a lady on the list of guides that can provide tours in Portuguese if needed, but they don’t provide on permanent basis. Similarly, Florence, the pedagogic manager of the Museum 1, explains that they offered once per exhibition period, three times per year, a guided tour in Portuguese, but they do not provide it anymore, since they have hired a guide who can speak both Portuguese and Spanish if necessary. So she argues that people should come on the days their employee – guide is on site

« *Parce qu’ on a notre médiateur, de la maison, Pedro, il parle portugais et espagnole, donc, je crois que les gens qui veulent avoir des explications en portugais ou en espagnole ils devront venir quand il y aura Pedro.* » (line, 410-412)

The explanation, however, that the two out of the three pedagogic managers provide for the absence of Portuguese language in their programs is that Portuguese people do not have the habit to come to museums. As Nantia says “*it’s a public who is not used to go to museums and it’s difficult to change a habit.*” (lines, 661-662). More specifically, Maria mentions the educational level of Portuguese people that divides them in two categories, as she claims in the following extract:

« *Oh, il y a deux communautés Portugaises ici au Luxembourg; il faut dire, c’est les gens du Kirchberg et les personnes qui... n’ont peut-être pas un niveau éducatif élevé et qui pensent que parce qu’ils n’ont pas des diplômes requis qu’on ne peut pas entrer dans un musée. Donc, c’est les deux communautés, ceux du Kirchberg qui parlent français ou ils parlent une autre langue et les autres personnes peut-être parlent français, ou mal français, et le portugais* » (line 837-843).

For Maria, the Portuguese people are divided mainly in two categories according, firstly, to their educational level, and secondly, this educational level is related to their ability of speaking well French. According to Maria, the educated Portuguese working in the European institutions based in Kirchberg, are good French speakers as opposed to the working class Portuguese speakers that are poor French speakers. As consequent, the level of education according to Bourdieu (1979), is related to the *linguistic capital in French* language, which in its turn is related to the habit of going to museums, or the *cultural capital* as Bourdieu would name it. It is clear that for Maria, the French language is associated with

higher education and with the *cultural competence* of going to museums. The way Maria relates the absence of Portuguese people in museums to their level of education, reminds us also of what Bourdieu (1979) named the *sense of unworthiness*, since popular classes feel that museums, and especially art museums, are not meant for them.

Concerning the Portuguese language, Sophia, museum educator in the Museum 1 and freelance guide in the *Museum 3* as well, uses the *discourse of endangerment*, mentioned above regarding the general use of Portuguese in the educational system in Luxembourg. Luxembourgish herself, she supports the public discourse over Portuguese language at schools in Luxembourg which is seen as a threat towards Luxembourgish language learning. When asked whether Portuguese should be included in the museum education programs, Sophia focuses her answer on Luxembourgish language and its endangerment as we can see from her following answer:

“I am a bit mixed about that, because there's also a big discussion going on about how the Luxembourgish learning language is going to disappear more and more, because we know to speak fluently the other languages, but we don't know how to write correctly our own mother tongue. So, and we don't learn it really or we didn't learn it within school. So, the Luxembourgian will disappear also more and more and there is this discussion” (lines, 301-307).

For Sophia, Portuguese people do not make the effort to adapt to the local setting and speak the local languages and this is because, as she argues in the following extract, they remain isolated:

“Yes, I think because there are many Portuguese people they are here thirty, forty years and who still cannot really speak French, I don't even say they have to learn Luxembourgish, even if I think if you live in a country, you can make some effort to try to learn the language, if you are there for a long time.. But they stay in their own groups” (lines 330-337).

Here again the linguistic competence in French is an indicator of the level of education, it represents the *educational capital*, and consequently the *cultural capital* a Portuguese holds, since Sophia relates the *linguistic competence* in French to the fact that Portuguese people do or do not go to museums, do or do not adapt to the local setting. The *linguistic competence* here is not only related to the *cultural competence*, but also to the integration process of Portuguese people in the Luxembourgish society.

Portuguese language and Portuguese speakers will be presented more extensively in the last section of the analysis dedicated to the issue of inclusion in museums. However, the next section will analyze further the experts' perceptions on the way *linguistic capital* of different languages and their speakers in museum education is linked to the *cultural capital* people hold that leads to inclusion or exclusion of specific ethnolinguistic and social groups. The section that follows will focus on the experts' representation of *cultural competence* and how they encourage or develop the level of this competence for the visitors that hold different levels of *linguistic* competence and of initiation to art and its discourse.

8.2 Discourse and meaning-making in museum education

We have seen above the experts' perceptions on the presence of different languages in the three institutions and in their educational programs in order to indicate which languages hold the most significant *capital* in the *linguistic market* of the museums and in relation to the broader *linguistic market* of the country.

I use Bourdieu's concept of *linguistic market* as follows:

The constitution of a linguistic market created the conditions of an objective competition in and through which the legitimate competence can function as linguistic capital. (Bourdieu, 1991, p.55)

This section will present and analyze the experts' perception on the *discourse* in museum education, referring to a specific form of speech about art, driven mainly by curators, pedagogic managers, museum educators and artists. More specifically, this section will present how this *discourse* is maintained in the educational programs by museum educators and whether it is dominant over other discourses held by non-experts. Moreover, this section analyzes the experts' perception on the role of this discourse in the *meaning-making* process in the educational program; the role of the museum educators; and issues of *democratization* and *equality of access* to that discourse will be raised as well.

8.2.1 The curators' discourse

According to Bourdieu and Darbel, curators, historically, in France and other Western European countries represented the *elite*, since they were recruited according to personal relations and the family traditions and very often they were 'rich amateurs' whom the museum did not pay or assured any career, but they were in charge of conservation and development of the public collections. (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1985, p. 141). They had received no professional training and their status remained arbitrary until very recently. There is still an element of this today, as Nantia, suggests:

'I think the curator still has an important role. And the curator is such a... I mean now you have people who... Before that, there was just general art studies, or history of art studies, and that didn't really mean much. I mean it did, it was just a very poor knowledge. A lot of knowledge about art was put in, but not about the rest. And, I think that most people learn on the spot.' (Nantia, pedagogic manager, lines 967-971).

It is evident from this that Nantia is aware of the lack of specialized knowledge in the past: 'before that, there was just general studies' and that there is still some traces of the need to acquire specialized knowledge today, so that 'most people learn on the spot'.

Curators could come from any discipline, but they all share the '*passion about art*' which according to Nantia can be more important than studies. (lines, 995-996 & 1006-1007).

The museum provides information that can be addressed to anyone who is capable of reading it and becomes meaningful only to people able to decode it and taste it. (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1985, p. 113). In some museums the information given is so embedded in the curatorial code as to be incomprehensible to those who do not understand it. (Hooper-Greenhill, 1994, p.116). As Hooper-Greenhill points out, "we see things according to what is said about them" (p. 116) and traditionally it has been the role of the curator who had the task to choose the way objects should be presented. Consequently, the linguistic framework and the resulting intellectual structures within which the objects are placed, have been chosen according to the values and the desires of the curator. (Hooper-Greenhill, 1994, p.116). However, many museums especially in the UK, Australia and the USA have started integrating members of the public in the exhibition planning process in order to assure more voices represented in the way the message is constructed, in an effort to democratize the discourse and make it meaningful to a broader audience. The case of the three institutions I investigated, though, seems to be more related to the traditional model of message transmission, with the curator still being the main message conceiver and transmitter, as we shall see.

In the *Museum 2*, the pedagogic manager confirms that the curator is the one who has all the knowledge about the exhibition and presents it to them along with the artist during the installation process. Nantia, claims however, that the curator's discourse is not imposed on the educational programs, but the curator is the one who provides them with all the information about the artworks and as she argues "*It is important that our program is in line with the show's content, which makes it coherent with the curator's work.*" (Nantia, museum educator, line 43-44). Even though the curator does not impose his discourse explicitly, he

is the one who still conceives and transmits the message of the exhibition, since he is responsible for all the texts produced around an exhibition.

Similarly, in the other two institutions, both pedagogic managers confirm that after an exhibition is installed and before the official inauguration, they hold, as they call it “*visites guides modelés*” for the museum staff where curators and artists guide them around the exhibition providing information about the artworks. Usually, the museum educators have received in advance the written material, catalogues and brochures, prepared also by the curator in collaboration with the artists sometimes. In the final analysis, none of the experts implicated in education is part of the discourse conception and transmission; they are receivers at a later stage and are asked to retransmit the message to the visitors.

This linear model where the work of one department is finished, in that case the curator’s work, before the work of another begins, referring to the education department’s work, as Hooper-Greenhill argues, allows the curators who are the exhibition generators to act as ‘*power –brokers*’; since they define the content, and the message according to their point of view, without taking into account the views of other departments or the audience. The museum educator arrives far too late in the process and is forced into making the best of a bad job to reinterpret for visitors. (1994, p.47-48). All the museums experts participating in the research confirm follow this linear model, where the curator has the central role at the exhibition planning and its message. Despite the fact that all the pedagogic managers recognize the complexity and the difficulty of the curator’s discourse, they all consider it to be the primordial one in the exhibition that needs to be democratized by the museum educators and not altered for the sake of receptivity by a broader public.

8.2.2. Museum literacies and democratization

All the written material- brochures, catalogues, texts on the wall, along with the guidance arrows, the space and the objects in the museum constitute the museum literacies. The language used for the texts is very important, since ‘*words do more than name; words summon up associations, shape perceptions, indicate value and create desire. Words create power relationships and sustain inclusions or exclusions.*’ (Hooper-Greenhill, 1994, p. 118). As abovementioned, all the written texts for the exhibition are processed mainly by the curators who as ‘*guardians of art*’ represent the *elite*, since they hold a discourse about art based on the ‘*pure gaze*’ of the connoisseurs and denounce all effort to reduce the distance between *distinct* and *popular*. (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1985, p. 141). Similarly, Nantia makes a distinction of *popular* exhibitions that ‘*are not are not really coherent, at least not at the level that you expect*’ and she finds that a ‘*shame*’. She believes that the museum experts

have *'a certain role'* which is *'not to show people what they want, but to show people what they need to see'* (pedagogic manager, lines, 711-718). This exact phrase epitomizes the crucial role of the curator and exhibition managers who act as *taste makers*, since they are the ones who decide what the public needs to see, they have the knowledge and the authority to control it and diffuse it.

In the three institutions investigated, both the pedagogic managers and the museum educators confirm that the curator's discourse is complex and difficult to understand if one is not initiated in arts. The answer of Nantia illustrates the educator's role to democratize that discourse, since she believes that the curator's role is not to hold a *'simple'* discourse:

'I find that these texts are extremely nicely written but they are ...but they tend to be a little bit more difficult for some people [...]. Because you have all kinds of public. Some people will expect a more elaborate text, and some people will expect something extremely simple. The curators are not really good with the simple. That is true. It's not really their job either. So, that's our job.' (Nantia, pedagogic manager, line 245-250)

For Florence, it is evident that the educators have to rework the texts especially when it comes to children, in order to make them accessible: *'Oui, parce que sinon les textes du curateur... ben, pour les enfants...ça les découragent'* (lines, 517-518). However difficult the curator's discourse may be, the museum educators confirm that it is the basic material they have both for them and the public. Michaela's answer is illustrative: *'We used to work from them, there are a basic information for us and public'* (line 66). Nantia adds that the curatorial discourse makes their work often more important because *'it tends to serve a more educated public in need of a lot of well formulated content.'* (lines 52-53).

Despite its complexity, experts still believe that this is the way the curators' discourse should be, because otherwise it becomes very *popular*. As Sophia, museum educator in the Museum 1 claims *'you can't always do an exhibition which is so popular. Because then you change really the subject of art.'* (Sophia, lines 517).

According to Hooper-Greenhill, this answer represents the fear of the curators that making it easier for visitors to understand the ideas that collections represent, will begin *'a slide into commercialism, poor scholarship, facile interpretation and mindless entertainment'* (1994, p. 113). Through the answers of all pedagogic managers it is evident that democratization is limited to the educational function of the museum and not the curatorial, since they attribute the quality factor to the curator's mission that needs to assure high standard artistic quality not necessarily accessible to everyone, but made accessible by the educators in the workshops, guided tours and lectures. As Florence argues *'Ok pour la démocratisation, mais*

la démocratisation se passe au sein des ateliers, mais pas dans l'exposition, je crois. ' (lines, 939-940).

Similarly, Maria argues that it is difficult to democratize the discourse, because the public is very mixed; she uses a metaphor to compare the museum visitors to school students to say that some of them are *talented* and get bored easily, and others are not, so the best thing would be to separate them in order to respond to their needs:

*'Ah, oui, oui, c'est sure, c'est difficile de démocratiser le langage, oui. Mais, on ne peut pas parfois mélanger un public qui c'est difficile ... quelqu'un qui connaît tout, un autre qui a vraiment des notions de base, peut-être là il faut séparer les groupes et parce que sinon, c'est comme dans les écoles, si vous avez quelqu'un qui est très **doué** et il s'ennuie, et l'autre il ne suit plus. Donc, peut-être là, à ce moment-là, c'est intéressant d'avoir des différents groupes qui viennent et on peut s'occuper à fond de chaque groupe*'. (Maria, pedagogic manager in the Museum 3, lines 986-993)

The choice of the word *doué* (*talented*) will be thoroughly analyzed in the last section of analysis, since it refers to the *charismatic ideology*, as Bourdieu (1979) names it, that the *elite* holds to explain their connoisseurship about art as an innate natural characteristic, ignoring the fact that this *talent* is due to extensive exposure to art through long-term education and family environment. It is interesting though, that Sophia, Florence, Maria and Nantia all use the example of the school class to refer to the democratization process of the artistic discourse driven by the experts, especially when it comes to the co-constructive approach in meaning-making as a new trend in museum education.

8.2.3. Co-construction of meaning-making and interpretation

Despite the fact that democratization of the curator's discourse does not seem necessary or easy to happen, all the informants were in favor of the democratization in the educational programs, especially in workshops with children. In recent years, since the beginning of the feminist movement, the gallery's education discourse has become more revolutionary, more democratic, including more voices – women, gay, black people- and escaped the traditional model of one way knowledge transmission from the expert to the passive learner. This co-constructive approach⁹ seems to be recognized and in some cases adopted both by pedagogic managers and museum educators in this research.

Florence explains that most of the children's workshops in the Museum 1 are organized in a co-constructive pedagogic approach, based a lot on the children's '*liberty*' to create and

⁹ For more information see chapter 3.5. Constructivist approach in Art Museum Education

with a lot of exchange between children and educators, avoiding the *'top down'* approach. She also refers to the book "Maître ignorant" by Jacques Rancière to explain her pedagogic approach (lines, 624-636). For Maria, this trend is also adopted especially with school groups. Even though the museum does not offer workshops on site, they collaborate with several schools and students return to their classrooms to practice what they have learnt in theory in the museums. For Maria this approach refers to the practical aspect of arts education which contrasts with the theoretical part.

Nantia is aware of this approach and she is favorable to it, even though she has some reservations as to whether this co-constructive approach that favors experience in the learning process, tends to fall into the *'purely entertainment trap'*, as she names it. (Nantia, museum educator, lines 115-117). Additionally, she questions whether the term *'museum education'* is any longer right to use, since *'education sometimes has this connotation of I'll teach you something, and it's not really teaching, it's much more enabling them to discover themselves.'* (Nantia, pedagogic manager, lines 357,359).

According to Michaela, museum educator in the Museum 3, *'the one way model does not work up'* to her knowledge (line, 168-169), and she encourages people to talk *'express themselves no matter what they say'* (line 75). Whereas Sophia, museum educator in the Museum 1, is very enthusiastic about the co-constructive approach and argues that the traditional model of knowledge transmission belongs to the past and that today *'it's about the exchange where both parts could learn something and it's really important to be able to express your own opinion'* (lines 1052-1053). She claims that she doesn't want to be in a *'higher hierarchy'* during guided tours and that she invites people to feel free and ask questions *'because most of the people who go to the guided tours, they feel like hesitant, they can't tell questions'* (lines 1065-1066).

8.2.4. Meaning-making Framework

Meaning making¹⁰ and interpretation are central in museum education, since they constitute the main task of educators, which is to facilitate and encourage meaning-making in the galleries for visitors. Nevertheless, it remains a contested arena with scholars and museums educators being divided according to different approaches to meaning-making and interpretation. For some of the experts I interviewed, meaning-making as a term is either not understood, contested as not so important or recognized in its significance. However, the museum educators possess their own strategies for enhancing in a way meaning-making and interpretation. Following Pringle's (2009) Meaning Making Framework, I asked all of them

¹⁰ For more information see also chapter 4.1. The Meaning-making Framework (MMF)

in which order they would place dialogue, questions, emotions, engagement and context in the meaning-making process.

More specifically, for Michaela, the term meaning-making was not familiar at all. After some clarification, *meaning-making* for her ‘*is building bridges between the present and the past, like the past can answer, explain today’s questions*’, since she works in ‘*a museum of ancient art*’ (lines, 113-115). Nantia, contests the importance of meaning-making as a ‘*psychological*’ issue, reserved to individuals, and she adds that ‘*interpretation is a personal matter and should not be the role of the museum.*’ (Nantia, museum educator, lines 75-77). While Florence recognizes the importance of meaning-making in museum education, since it is central in the exhibition context: “*La fabrication du sens, ça c'est important. Ça c'est le plus important, je crois. C'est toujours...la chose se passe toujours dans le contexte de l'exposition.*” (Florence, pedagogic manager, lines 595-597).

Sophia, museum educator, in order to facilitate the meaning-making process, encourages visitors to ask questions and depending on the ‘*level they are standing at the art background*’ she provides some information ‘*about art itself or the creative process and so on*’ ; when people hesitate to ask questions in order not to show they are ignorant, she will ask first in order to provoke the dialogue, since ‘*by discussing about things and trying to hear what they think about something, then something can develop*’ (lines 411-418). Similarly, Nantia places the dialogue first in her strategy to enhance meaning-making ‘*because people (are) afraid of being exposed as not being knowledgeable and that is exactly what we try to avoid, because that is not the point of art. So, the dialogue is the first thing [...]. Not in a critical way. So, it's the dialogue what is most important.*’ (Nantia, pedagogic manager, lines 311-313). She also places the information just after the dialogue and the emotions really last, because it is very personal and it is not the role of the museum educators to “*push them*” as she says, meaning that educators should not force emotions on the visitors, since they are too personal and should be reserved to the visitors’ perception.

Concerning the role of context in meaning making, most of the informants find it very important, but for different reasons each one of them. Sophia includes the role of the curator in shaping the context of the exhibition, since it provides a “*mise en scène*” as she says in the following extract: ‘*the curator chooses where and how he or she wants to exhibit the objects or the artworks. So, that's already [...], une mise en scène [...] it's already the*

question how you expose something, in which situation, yeah, which light maybe, or... how it is exposed.' (Sophia, lines 796-798). The way it was chosen to be presented plays an important role in meaning-making as Sophia argues *'because it has a reason why it is hanging there, in this way or standing there in this way and it's always a reason.'* (lines, 940-941). For Michaela, context is very important, referring to the context of the artworks' production, but also to the input of art historical information in order to make piece of art meaningful. (lines 81-82). Even so, Sophia claims that it really depends on the artwork and the artist whether context is relevant or not (lines 921-928). When it comes to contemporary art, she finds it very important to provide the *'conceptual background'* and the *'realization information'*, since contemporary art is mainly based on concepts and in order to make meaning both concept and realization process should be explained and function together:

'But if it functions as a whole, then it's good. But it has to function as a whole. So, from a conceptual, like from the theoretical background idea, but also, how the artist realized it. So, these two have to come together. If they come together, and that makes sense, then it's...then it functions.' (Sophia, lines 728-732).

On the contrary, Nantia considers the role of the public more important when it comes to context information since, according to her: *'You need to adapt to your public, some might need more, other less, but you need to leave space for self-interpretation.'* (Museum educator, line (101-102).

Regarding the role of space in meaning-making, Michaela simply says that *'in Luxembourg we are very lucky; museum's building is gorgeous, well-kept and it allows a very comfortable quality in visiting'* (lines, 88-89). While Sophia places the role of the building's architecture very high, referring to the Museum 3 building and to the museum's building features, claiming that artworks look different in different spaces:

'So, that also has to do with the building. It's bit like the Grand Duchy in... standing there....I mean also... yeah, the [Museum 3] they have special windows which are milky not to destroy the photographs or the paintings and stuff and also the whole appearance of these paintings, it has another look in the Museum 3 that if it were somewhere else'. (lines, 834-839).

All the above different strategies of encouraging and enhancing meaning-making in museum education differ among the experts, but they differ also depending on the audience each time.

I will analyze in the next part the different approaches the experts adopt according to the audience they cater for each time.

8.2.5. Different audience, different approach

Maria, pedagogic Manager in the Museum 3, divides the visitors into two main categories: those who need more “*theoretical information*” about the artwork- including herself- and the others who simply appreciate the colors and shapes (lines, 531-535). Her opinion illustrates what Bourdieu & Darbel (1985) name the *phenomenal meaning* and the *meaning of the signified*, in order to describe the two different approaches to interpretation; the one that focuses on the simple ‘*aisthisis*’ and limited perception and the other that derives from literary knowledge (pp. 80-82). Furthermore, Maria adds that children should be brought early to museums in order for them to discover gradually, which is exactly what Bourdieu & Darbel (1985) claim about *the legitimate right way* (‘*la bonne manière*’) to interpret art that is acquired through unconscious and imperceptible learning by an early education (pp.103-104). Apart from the level of education implied here, Maria also makes a difference between academics and refugees to explain the different approach in meaning-making and interpretation that relates not only to the level of education, but to the different culture as well:

‘Par exemple, si vous avez un groupe des messieurs qui viennent de l’Université [...] il faut commencer la visite à un autre niveau, que [...] les réfugiés qui viennent au musée pour voir pour la première fois l’histoire de Luxembourg. Ouff! Il faut voir où les gens y sont, alors, il faut débiter là [...]. C’est vrai nous on partait du principe que les gens ils connaissaient Adam et Eve, mais il y a maintenant des cultures qui ne connaissent pas. Alors, il faut déjà commencer là. Donc, ça dépend toujours du public.’ (Maria, lines 449-464)

For Maria, Sophia and Florence the audience is also divided between adults and children. When it comes to adults, they all agree that they focus more on knowledge and theoretical information, since adults are more interested in ‘knowing something’. While with children, the museum educators encourage mostly the questions and the emotions in order to provide them a pleasant and creative experience. To that end, the Museum 3 has also tried in the past to organize theatrical visits which were very successful with children and young people by engaging them with the emotions. But these visits are not successful with adults, who tend to like ‘traditional guided tours’, as Maria argues (lines 415-425). Sophia confirms that

as well in her following answer: *‘For adults, I think it's knowledge, because they want really to know what it's about and then it's interaction’* (lines, 869-870).

Nantia, though, does not consider children as a homogeneous group; children are also divided according to the level of education and the social status of their parents, with some of them coming from *‘parents with academic background’* and others *‘from socially much weaker backgrounds and they are mixed in the school class’* (Nantia, pedagogic manager, lines 624-626). Nantia here refers to state schools, where most Luxembourgish children are mixed with immigrant children, mostly with Portuguese, where in some regions of the country, mainly the south, they make more than fifty per cent in the class. Despite the educational level of parents that distinguishes children among them, Nantia believes that contemporary art functions as a means of equalization since as she argues: *‘when they stand in front of contemporary art, they are the same level. It's very good, that is a big advantage of contemporary art. So, they are on the same level and that evens things out a lot that is really nice’*. (Nantia, pedagogic manager, lines, 626-629).

Referring also to one project the Museum 2 runs for children, *‘Jeune Médiateur’*, where children are invited to act as guides, she claims that it is very successful *‘especially with classes where students have very little exposure to culture, socially a bit weak classes, where they are not really used to museums, they are not used to people listening to them, necessarily, because academically they are not as strong so they don't really fall into the category that they actually have the possibility that people would listen to them. And it's a very, very good experience, actually.’* (lines 568-573). Similarly, Florence cites an example of a Masterclass that they provided along with an artist for a Lycée Technique d’Esch, located in the south of the country, where the educator had to translate into Luxembourgish the content, not because children would not understand French, but because the type of French used by the artist was very sophisticated for their level, implying that in technical schools children are not equipped *linguistically* and *culturally* to understand the artistic discourse. (Florence, lines 446-467).

In conclusion to this part, what is essential to retain is that even though, all the informants recognize meaning –making’s importance in their educational mission each one of them for different reasons, they all tend to attribute the way meaning-making is constructed to the public’s diversity. Firstly, they divide the public between adults and children, and secondly between initiated and non-initiated adults. The adults are also subdivided according to their

educational level and social class, as Maria explicitly mentions in her example with academics and refugees. In conclusion, according to the experts' perception, children and non-initiated public are limited to the *phenomenal* interpretation where knowledge is placed very low and emotions are placed very high in the meaning-making process; while, the initiated adults require more theoretical background and knowledge is placed very high and emotions are sometimes even irrelevant, according to Nantia's opinion, since they tend to be the least important in her strategy. Moreover, children as an audience are subdivided according to the same principles that apply to adults: the educational level and the social class of their parents imply their competence to understand art and make meaning of artworks at a certain degree. As Nantia claims, the more educated and higher in the social structure the parents are, the more the children tend to be exposed to culture and acquire the artistic competence to decode it.

So, the following question arises: do museums cater for a broad public and can museums be inclusive?

The following section of analysis will present whether this is true or not for the experts that participated in this research and the institutions they work for according to their perceptions.

8.3. Inclusion

Museums are seen as social institutions with communicators that need to address their messages to a broad audience in order to assure their democratic function. The research conducted by Bourdieu & Darbel in the 1960s in six European countries, however, proved that museums provide information that can be decoded only by a small group of people already initiated in art, who have acquired the cultural competence through long-term exposure to art via education and family background; these people belong mainly to the higher social classes with high educational level and economic capital. So, Bourdieu & Darbel concluded that educational capital, along with economic capital can assure cultural capital and determine the familiarization with art and cultural institutions, such as museums.

Hooper- Greenhill (1994) highlights the importance of museums communicating and having a broader social relevance otherwise as she argues "museums will die" (p. 34). And in order for museums to communicate successfully with a broader audience, they need to develop the museum- audience relationship. In order to do so, museums should get to know their

potential audience first, conduct audience surveys, visitor surveys and non-visitors surveys. Because as Hooper- Greenhill (1994, pp. 54-55) argues, museums as public institutions will not survive if they don't serve the public and if museum professionals do not have a broad understanding of the social functions of museums.

In Luxembourg, there seems to be no inclusion policy by the government concerning communities, disadvantaged children or people with special needs, as all my informants confirm. Additionally, in the three institutions I investigated in Luxembourg, the experts even though they acknowledge that one primordial mission of the museums is the inclusion of a broad audience, have not, however, integrated in their policies or practices any particular measures to that direction. Inclusion is still quite problematic in the three institutions and I will analyze here in detail the opinions of the experts, along with the explanations they provide for the lack of inclusion in their institutions, as they were presented in the interviews.

8.3.1. Who goes to the three museums?

All the experts I interviewed confirmed that there are no audience surveys conducted, since they require a lot of time and money to invest. However, they consult the entrance statistics concerning general demographic characteristics of the visitors, such as country of residence, age, student status, etc. Nevertheless, since most of them have been working for several years in the same institutions, they could answer the questions regarding the audience through their professional and personal experience during the educational programs; guided tours, lectures and workshops.

When asked whether they are aware of their audience, the informants answered "*It's always the same type of population who attends art institutions*" (Michaela, lines, 149-150) and "*People who are interested in art they go there, I mean, ok, that's always the same people*" (Sophia, lines 966-967). The fact that people related to art visit museums more often is validated by Bourdieu & Darbel in their study, as they argue that art professors and art experts are frequent museum visitors. (1985, p. 39). Even though museums are for everyone, not everyone comes, according to Maria: "*Moi je trouve que ça peut être pour tout le monde. Tout à fait. Mais, bon, pas tout le monde ne vient.*" (Maria, lines 943-944). Similarly, Michaela states that museums are for everyone and they should be inclusive "*Museums are meant to be for everyone so there should be inclusive.*" (lines, 157-158). For Maria the usual audience consists of "ladies with intellectual background", as she explicitly claims: "A

[Museum 3] *on a plutôt un public des dames qui viennent se retrouver ... qui ont un certain bagage intellectuel.*”(lines, 724-725). This could also be explained by Bourdieu & Darbel’s study (1985, p. 39) who claim that women from upper classes visit museum more often than men. According to Florence, the Museum 1 tries to be inclusive in terms of languages, ages, free entrances and low admission fee: « *Oui, je crois. Parce que, déjà, c'est pas cher, les ateliers c'est pas cher non plus. En générale, on a aussi la nocturne gratuite, les vernissages sont gratuits... Oui, on est inclusif par rapport aux langues, par rapport aux âges, oui c'est...* » (lines, 806-810).

Despite the inclusion efforts the institution makes in terms of languages, ages and low entrance fees above mentioned, according to Florence, the reason for people not coming is due to the fact that visiting a museum is an intellectual act, that requires intellectual reflection: « *Surtout parce que ça demande quand même un peu de la réflexion et tout ça, c'est un truc intellectuel quand même, on va jamais dire que c'est pas intellectuel d'aller dans les musées ou dans un centre d'art, donc, voilà*» (Florence, lines 815-818).

Regarding the entrance fee, however, according to Bourdieu & Darbel (1985, p.41) it does not relate to the visits of popular classes, since they argued that it is illusionary to believe that the entrance fee restrains people from visiting the museums; it is rather their *absence of need* to visit them or their *feeling of unworthiness* that keeps them away. This *absence of need* is what Nantia tries to describe by saying that some people just do not have the habit of going to museums and it is difficult to change this habit: “*Because I think it's a public who is not used to go to museums and it's difficult to change a habit*” (Nantia, pedagogic manager, lines 661-662). Additionally, she refers to the *feeling of unworthiness* by saying that it is difficult to change the idea that some people share about museums being places that are not meant for them: “*And, yet, it's very difficult to overcome, on a private base, to overcome this idea that the museum is not for us. And it's something which is very difficult to achieve.*” (Nantia, pedagogic manager, lines 642-644).

According to Michaela, people think or feel intimidated by museums or are not interested, because “*they have no art culture or taste for it.*” (lines, 146-147). Michaela’s phrase illustrates the argument of Bourdieu & Darbel (1985) that people with high cultural competence can only decode museum’s messages and taste art. (p. 113). The explanation that Maria provides is based on the cultural competence acquired through long-term

exposure and education; she actually divides the audience between people who have learned to come to museums very early in their lives and the others who have not: «*Parfois, ils ont l'habitude parce qu'ils sont venus de... depuis tous jeunes, mais il y en a d'autres qui n'ont jamais appris à le faire.*» (lines, 915-917). Additionally, according to the educational capital these people hold: «*les personnes qui... n'ont peut-être pas un niveau éducatif élevé et qui pensent que parce qu'ils n'ont pas des diplômes requis qu'on ne peut pas entrer dans un musée.*» (Maria, lines 838-840).

The above answers describe the *feeling of unworthiness* that Bourdieu & Darbel first mentioned in their study, referring to the feeling that culturally and educationally poor people share about their place in museums that represent the *legitimate culture* (1985,p. 89). The fact that all the informants relate the absence of people to their educational and cultural level, also corroborates the theory of Bourdieu that related the educational and the cultural capital to museum visits and arts appreciation. So, if museums are not for everyone, for whom are they then?

8.3.2. Art should (not) be elitist

According to Sophia, museum educator in the Museum 1, art should be “*elitary*” as she claims: “*So, but, I think art has to be at some point also ... maybe... in some point it has to be elitary.*” (lines 955-956), because if it is not elitist, then “*it gets really popular and then, then it's not anymore what, what it is really.*” (Sophia, lines 960-963). Additionally, Sophia believes that people who are interested in art will follow the exhibitions that are not popular, and the purpose of art is not to produce for a large number of people and sacrifice the quality; it is the work of museum educators to make it accessible to non-initiated visitors, but art should stay elitist in order to preserve its quality, and avoid to fall into commercialism. (Sophia, lines 965-984). On the contrary, Maria explains that the idea that museums are for a certain audience is old and snobbish: «*c'est snobisme que c'est seulement pour un public... ça c'est très vieux*» (lines, 964-965) and she believes that museums are for everyone. This is, however, contradictory to her previous statement referring to visitors with “*intellectual background*” and high educational level.

However, Nantia believes that democratization should happen through museum education, but the content of the exhibition should remain of high quality and elitist, and avoid to “*vulgarizer*” (line 1238), as she says in French, by making it popular which is not the real

purpose of exhibition experts who ‘*should show the public what they need to see and not what they want to see*’, as she argues. (Nantia, pedagogic manager, lines 1235-1255). Moreover, Florence referring to democratization, believes that curators should keep the quality standards of exhibitions high and don’t expose artworks not made by real artists, since «*not everybody is an artist*»: «*On a une responsabilité qualitative, et voilà... Donc, je crois qu'on fait... il n'y a pas tout le monde qui est artiste hé? C'est quand même important de savoir. Ok pour la démocratisation, mais la démocratisation se passe au sein des ateliers, mais pas dans l'exposition, je crois*» (Florence, lines 938-942).

Ending, we draw the conclusion that experts contradict themselves when it comes to democratization and elitism in art; on the one hand, they are supporters of the idea that art should remain elitist in its content and discourse to assure high quality standards and avoid the slip into democratization, and on the other hand, they claim that museums are meant for everyone and their mission is to make the artistic discourse accessible to everyone. The question that arises is how can museums be meant for everyone and then only people with intellectual background and higher level of education visit them?

8.3.3. Same social status different cultural capital

As mentioned earlier, most of the visitors in the three institutions, according to the informants, are French or French-speaking and Luxembourgers, along with a big number of English speaking people who could be expatriates working in Luxembourg, tourists, or coming from other countries and share English as a common language in the country. However, through the answers of all informants the most frequent visitors tend to be French or French speaking. In the first part of the analysis I presented and analyzed the experts’ perception of the role of French and Luxembourgish language in the local society and in the museum, and here I will present and analyze their perception of the role of the *cultural capital* as a means of distinction among the people of the same nationality or language and same social and economic status visiting the museums, since not all the visitors share the same *cultural capital*, according especially to Florence’s opinion.

Even though, French speakers and Luxembourgers seem to be the most frequent visitors, there is still a *distinction* made between them according to the level of their *cultural capital* that enables them to apprehend and appreciate art as a daily practice. More specifically, Florence compares the French and Italian expatriates living in Luxembourg and visiting

museums frequently with the local native-born Luxembourgers. She argues that Italian and French people living in Luxembourg possess a higher general culture than the local native-born Luxembourgers: *«j'ai parfois l'impression que leur culture générale est un peu plus élevée que celle des Luxembourgeois»* (lines, 963-964) and this is due to education, as she says:

“Alors, on se rend compte chez les Italiens ou les Français qui viennent ici, l'art fait partie de leur quotidien. Ils sont avocats, mais ils sont collectionneurs. Et ils n'excluent pas l'art de leur quotidien. Alors, que j'ai l'impression que les Luxembourgeois ils sont plutôt de... Ben, ils sont avocats et c'est tout. Et c'est ça que je trouve un peu dommage, et j'ai un peu l'impression que c'est dû à l'éducation” (lines, 917-978).

However, the fact that the example she uses to illustrate her argument includes people with liberal professions, such as lawyers, provides information of the *social* and *economic capital* of the visitors. She does not compare French and Luxembourgish workers, but lawyers. Consequently, visitors are firstly members of the upper class, and secondly French, Italian and Luxembourgish. Moreover, Florence argues that despite the fact that they all share the same *economic* and *social capital*, being all of them lawyers, they still don't share the same *cultural capital*, since the most significant difference among them is the education they have received. So, here the distinction is not only due to their economic and social status, but to their instruction that guarantees or not the cultural competence to appreciate and decode art. Even though, when asked to comment at a later stage on the analysis, Florence clarified that her reference to Italian and French lawyers was an example among other examples, and that the Museum 1's public is not limited only to Italian and French lawyer, nonetheless the example suggests that a distinction can be made between economic and social capital on the one hand and cultural capital on the other in this context, a distinction which it would be interesting to investigate further.

Additionally, she refers to Italy and France that, according to Bourdieu & Darbel, are seen as “countries of ancient culture” (*“les pays de vieille culture”*) with high *national cultural capital* that assures a higher individual cultural capital for their residents compared to other European countries they studied in the 1960s for their research.(1985, pp.64- 65). Moreover, the role of education is decisive in this distinction, since as Florence argues, in Luxembourg art is not placed as high in the educational system as it is placed in Italy or France: *« Mais, c'est aussi dû au fait que au lycée on a des sections A, B, C, et E c'est l'éducation artistique.*

Et je trouve ça va pas! Alors, on se rend compte chez les Italiens ou les Français qui viennent ici, l'art fait partie de leur quotidien.» (lines, 969-972). This argument is also to be found in the literature, since Bourdieu & Darbel claim that different education systems create different perceptions of art and its practices. (1985, p. 60). Finally, in this part I analyzed how the *cultural competence*, even among frequent museum visitors is linked to the *economic* and *social capital*, the nationality, and more specifically to the country they have received their *education*.

8.3.4. The role of education, school and family in the cultural practice

It is generally accepted both by the informants' answers and the literature that the access to culture and to cultural institutions, such as museums, is regulated by the level of instruction one has received and the family background as well. As Bourdieu & Darbel (1985, p. 42) argue, among all the factors that determine cultural competence and access to culture, education is actually the most important and decisive factor, since cultural competence is linked to long-term educational instruction one has been exposed to (1985, p.109). According to Bourdieu & Darbel (1985, p.107) the inequalities in a school system, will imply inequalities in access to culture and cultural practice among students. The role of the family background is also very important in forming cultural competence, since exposure to art from a very young age due to family's tradition leads to higher cultural competence and assures further cultural practice in the adult life of individuals (1985, p.43). Additionally, the level of education of parents affects the children's cultural practice as well. (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1985, p. 52).

The literature is confirmed by all the informants during the interviews whenever they refer to the school system, the school groups and the children in museums' educational programs. More specifically, Nantia refers to the academic background of parents to explain that children are not equal culturally since, in state schools especially, children are very mixed in classrooms coming from various social backgrounds:

“Especially, because in contemporary art, even you know some schools in Luxembourg are very mixed, so you have, because still public schools are still the most pop, I mean the most popular. So you have children who come from academic background from their parents and children who come from socially much weaker

backgrounds and they are mixed in the school class” (Nantia, pedagogic manager, lines 621-626).

Later on, referring to the absence of Portuguese people in museums due to their “lack of habit”, she recognizes the role of school as a means to change this habit and build a new generation, as she explicitly says: *“Because I think it's a public who is not used to go to museums and it's difficult to change a habit. You can only do that in long run, this is yeah (laughter) to do it through the schools and to give them the habit to go there. This is really what we are working on.”* (lines, 661-664), *“Create a new generation!”* (line, 669). So, for Nantia, school is a medium to bring children in museums and make them frequent visitors, because as she claims: *“some of these [children] really come back regularly. So, they are aware what the [Museum 2] is. They feel at home, they are fine with the museum, they know where things are. And they come back.”* (lines, 612-614). It seems for Nantia that the only way to engage children in the museum practice is through schools, because when many children would never visit as individual visitors otherwise:

“So, you achieve it in schools when they are all together and the teacher is behind it, but if you leave it to the private background it's quite difficult still to have people who are not used to museums to come, they still don't really come.” (lines, 644-647).

According to Maria, the educational programs of the museum with schools also ensures the visits of parents who would never come to museums if it was not for their children to bring them. So, inclusion through schools is efficient with two types of public: children and parents:

« Parce que vendredi dernier on avait une classe scolaire à [Museum 3], et c'est une classe qui vient de Esch, donc, c'était des élèves et qui ont invité leurs parents de venir au Musée, et c'était vraiment très charmant et les gens étaient très très motivés, très intéressés, et c'étaient, je dirais, souvent des personnes qui n'avaient jamais mis le pied dans un musée, surtout parce que [Museum 3] était trop (emphasis) chic d'extérieur. » (lines, 880-885).

The role of teachers in bringing children to museums is also very decisive for Maria. As Maria explains, during the project *Semaine Jeunes* that took place in February 2016, when all museums of the city of Luxembourg participated, the teachers were the ones who could decide whether students would visit one museum or the other (Maria, lines 677-680).

Additionally, the museums send educational material to the teachers and they have the responsibility of bringing the students to the programs. The role of teachers is highlighted in Nantia's answer as well, because it is always the teacher's initiative to support the educational programs in museums: *"You need to have the teachers who have the courage to do that, because also teachers...it takes a lot of time, so it's quite time consuming."*(Nantia, pedagogic manager, lines 579-581).

The school- museum relationship for inclusion of children functions both ways: on the one hand, the school brings children to museums who would never go since their family tradition does not encourage exposure to culture and cultural institutions; and on the other hand, through educational programs of museums, students with low academic and cultural background acquire a voice and feel empowered, because as Nantia argues, contemporary art evens the differences that students could have in the classroom (lines 623-627).

Moreover, museum educational programs for schools empower the students of low academic background and allow them to get a voice and be heard:

"a very good program that is working very fine especially with classes where students have very little exposure to culture, socially a bit weak classes, where they are not really used to museums, they are not used to people listening to them, necessarily, because academically they are not as strong so they don't really fall into the category that they actually have the possibility that people would listen to them."(Nantia, pedagogic manager, lines 567-573).

This empowerment is also very positive for the children-parent relationship with parents being proud of their children when they are invited to watch them participate in museum educational programs: *"Parents very often are extremely surprised that their child is talking about an artwork in front of thirty people, and they are extremely proud afterwards."* (Nantia, pedagogic manager, 576-578).

Families are considered a specific audience for museums and some institutions create educational programs responding to the needs of this specific audience; guided tours for families, workshops for families etc. To that end, the Museum 1 has established a new program for families since last January that takes place on Sunday afternoons. This program, according to Florence, encourages parents that would never visit the museum to come and bring their children. However, as she claims, this does not mean that parents are culturally

motivated and integrate art in their daily practice since many Luxembourger parents especially, come mainly because their children will be occupied for three hours with a museum educator and they see this program as a “*crèche*”. (Florence, lines 1031-1045).

In conclusion of this part, I would say that, in the perceptions of the participants, schools play a very significant role in democratizing museums and encouraging children and their parents to involve and participate in the museum programs; and regardless of the reasons for their visit initially, it is still better than non-visiting museums at all. It is the museum experts’ role then to engage them and encourage them to integrate the museum in their cultural practices.

8.3.5. Special education and disabled people

Talking about social inclusion made the informants think of inclusion of disabled people, children with special needs and special education. Their discourse concerning this group of people was also very interesting, since they all admit that there is no governmental or institutional policy concerning their inclusion even though they represent a percentage of the population in the country. Most of the initiatives are made by associations and national services related to them and their needs. Even though, all the informants acknowledge that disabled people would make a great public for museums, it doesn’t seem to be on the agenda in their institutions to take measures and adopt a policy for including and outreaching them.

More specifically, Maria discussing about inclusion refers to “*gens handicapés entre guillemets*” (lines, 252-253), as she names them to explain that the museums works together with a municipal service for cultural integration and sometimes via this service blind people, people with hearing loss and with understanding disabilities visit the museum. For this specific audience, Maria argues that the educators should adapt their discourse, adopt an easier one and there are certain guides who organize the visits of this audience. However, these visits are exceptional and do not take place on a permanent basis. (Maria, lines 250-259). Similarly, Sophia confirms that it is only via the associations that these people visit museums and have the opportunity to appreciate art and even practice it. (Sophia, 1471-1475).

Nantia also introduces the people with mental disabilities in the discussion. According to her, this audience is absent on a permanent basis from museums, except from some

occasions with group visits organized by an organization, most of the times it is the initiative of the caretakers to bring them to the museums and the museum staff tries to adapt to their needs.

“that is one of the big type of public that is sort of missing... We have groups who come to the museum, who have come in for a while, but it's on the initiative of the caretaker, and we try to sort of adapt to that and we of course are not professionals in that way” (Nantia, pedagogic manager, lines 1066-1070).

Therefore, the museum's 2 staff has worked with an institution to receive basic training on the way they should treat this audience, the way they should talk to them and react with them. It is important, as Nantia says, for everyone to know that the museum is open to them: *“And we thought that we are actually, that everybody would know that we are open to every public and that they could come and we would try to figure something out with the caretaker”* (Nantia, pedagogic manager, lines 1081-1083).

The explanation that Nantia provides as the main reason for their absence from museums is that these people *“do not have this natural tendency of coming [to museums]”* (lines, 1083-1084) individually, and that is the main reason that the museum works with local associations to outreach them. The expression “natural tendency”, as I will analyze later discussing the absence of Portuguese community in museums as well, is used by museum staff as a common sense explanation: people do not have the natural tendency to come- referring to disabled people- or “it is not natural for them to visit museums” referring to Portuguese community. This discourse based on people's *natural tendency*, even though it could be interpreted as a discriminative and imply that people visit museums according to their “nature”, it is not stated here as such. What is meant by the expression “natural tendencies” or “nature” here is to describe the habits or the practices of certain types of audience.

There may be other reasons for the absence of some groups – e.g. the lack of specific educational policy in the institutions taking into account social inclusion of communities, disadvantaged children and people with special needs – but these did not appear in the interviews.

I will analyze thoroughly that discourse in the next part of my analysis, concerning the absence of Portuguese community in museums; since all the three pedagogic managers

attributed their absence to people's "*nature*", referring again to people's habits and practices or their 'habitus' (Bourdieu,1979).

8.3.6 The absence of Portuguese community in museums due to 'lack of habit'

The first part of the analysis presented the experts' perception on the absence of Portuguese language in the three museums' educational programs, which was based on the lack of demand. It is widely acknowledged that Portuguese people are not frequent visitors of the three museums investigated, since most of the experts answered that the least represented community in museum visits is the Portuguese one. Even though, as Nantia explains, they have tried in the past to invite Portuguese to visit the museums by hosting an exhibition on Portuguese art:

"I mean traditionally you look at the statistics, people from Portugal, make up a big percentage in the country, they make up a very small percentage of the visitors in museums. And even with the exhibition we had on Portuguese art, we had the support of Portuguese media, and the radio station and they talked a lot about it, they made a lot of advertisement, the Embassy [...] but it was difficult to" (Nantia, pedagogic manager, lines 648-654).

The argument of Nantia that despite all the advertisement for the exhibition on Portuguese art nobody showed up, is seen as illusionary by Bourdieu & Darbel, who argue that it is not through advertisement that people who do not feel interested by the museum's message will respond to it; since it is *'like thinking that by shouting you will make a foreigner understand you'* (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1985, p. 146). The explanation, however, that Nantia provides for their absence in museums is the based on their "*lack of habit*" (Nantia pedagogic manager, lines 661-665). Here, she refers to the lack of *cultural need*, as Bourdieu & Darbel would translate the *lack of habit*. According to the authors, our society offers to everyone the "pure possibility" to profit from the artworks exposed in museums, but very few people actually have the "real possibility" to do so, as it was explained in the theoretical framework of this study. The absence of cultural practice or the feeling of absence are interrelated; since the intention can be realized only if it exists (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1985, p.70).

For Maria, as we saw earlier, there are two Portuguese communities in Luxembourg according to their education level and socio-professional status (lines 836-840). These two communities also hold a different *linguistic capital* in French with the educated ones speaking French well and the others poor French (lines, 840-843). Consequently, the

Portuguese non-visitors of museums are those who do not work in Kirchberg, where all the European Institutions are. So they do not have the status of expatriates, which also leads to the conclusion that they have very low educational level and poor level in French. If I reverse this phrase, it means that the Portuguese who could potentially attend museums are well educated, speak French well and work in Kirchberg as expatriates. Maria's reasoning validates the findings of Bourdieu & Darbel (1985) who proved during their study in six European countries in the 1960s that museum visitors are traditionally members of the upper social class, holders of significant *educational* and *linguistic capital*, which translates into high *cultural capital*.

Moreover, Maria attributes their absence in museums to their different tastes and interests; she explains that "*these people*" are tired at the weekend, suggesting that they are manual workers, and she opposes football - generally acknowledged as a popular sport - to museums, in order to show that popular classes prefer popular sports, while she distances herself from these tastes by saying that she does not watch football on Sundays:

« *Et aussi bon, ils ont d'autres soucis. Et le weekend ils sont fatigués ces gens-là. Ils ont d'autres soucis, ou ils vont peut-être voir du football comme je fais jamais (rire) Donc, ils ont d'autres intérêts. Parce que nous aussi qui travaille au monde des musées on pense aussi que tout le monde doit visiter des musées. C'est pas le cas. Moi aussi je vais pas voir le football de dimanche* ». (lines, 843-849).

So, again, if we reverse that phrase, it means that museums are not meant for popular classes neither for popular tastes and the fact that she dissociates herself from football, is like distancing herself from the popular class and tastes; consequently, this reasoning again implies that Maria as representative of the museum, does not belong to the popular class, so museums are not meant for popular classes. This was described by Bourdieu & Darbel as the inequality of cultural needs; since popular classes tend to prefer to satisfy primary needs, while upper classes have more sophisticated cultural needs (1985, p. 69). It refers also to what Kant in his *Critique de Jugement* meant by the "*popular taste*" that is satisfied with "*what pleases*" and not with the *disinterest* that assures the esthetic quality of contemplation. (Kant, 1790, as cited in Bourdieu & Darbel, 1985, p. 73). However, this point of view is contradictory to what Maria argued earlier about inclusion in museums, since she claims that museums are for everyone (lines 943-944).

In conclusion, the absence of Portuguese people in museums is due, according to the experts, either to their *lack of habit* or their level of education and social status; which implies that

museums, finally, are not meant for everyone, since they tend to be visited only by highly educated people of the upper class, because, as Maria argues, museums correspond to their tastes and preferences.

8.3.7. Charismatic Ideology: ‘It is *natural* for French to visit museums’

The charismatic ideology according to Bourdieu and Darbel (1985, p 108) is based on the idea that the authentic experience with art is “affection” of the heart or immediate comprehension of the intuition of the laborious steps and comments of intelligence, ignoring the social and cultural conditions that make possible such experience and treats the virtuosity acquired through methodic learning as *natural*. Some of the experts of the three museums seem to share, consciously or unconsciously, this ideology and base their arguments on that. More specifically, regarding the large number of French visitors in museums, Nantia and Florence tend to attribute that fact to their ‘*nature*’, referring to their habits and practices – which may be attributed to methodic learning as Bourdieu and Darbel suggest - and not to their “nature of being French” ; there is no implied discriminative or racist discourse here.

According to Nantia, many visitors in the Museum 2 are actually expatriates, working for either the European Institutions or international organizations and “most of them are French speaking, rather than all the other communities”, because as she argues: “*the French have, generally speaking, a natural tendency to go to museums. It's the cultural background that is actually very revealing*”. (Nantia, pedagogic manager, lines 797-800), and here she equates ‘natural’ with ‘cultural’, as Bourdieu and Barbel would too. Whereas when it comes to Portuguese or disabled people, as analyzed above, she reverses that phrase by saying that their absence in museums is this time due to their *lack of natural tendency* implying again that these people don’t have the habit of going to museums or the ‘cultural’ support or habitus for doing so: “*Well, they don't have this natural tendency of coming*” (Nantia, pedagogic manager, lines 1083-1084).

Whereas for Florence, Italians and French make frequent visitors of museums because they are also *naturally* highly educated: “*Naturellement, ils sont éduqués.*” (line 994).

She confirms once again the hypothesis that museum visitors are highly educated and belong to the upper class by arguing that visitors- Italian and French- are not only educated, but also practice liberal professions, like lawyers: “*Mais, ben, là je parle en règle générale des gens qui ont fait des études! Par exemple, des avocats... Des études supérieures*” (lines, 1004-

1005). Moreover, she argues that for Italians it is *normal* to include museum visits and art in their practices: “*Alors que, pour les Italiens, je sais pas, c'est tout à fait (emphase) normal. Que l'art soit là, ben, soit présent*” (lines 108-110). Whereas for Luxembourgers she believes it is *not as 'natural' ie cultural* as it is for French or Italians to visit museums, because they tend to associate museums as a practice for art historians: “*Alors que je l'impression que ici...ben...c'est pas si naturel si on demande à un avocat [Luxembourgeois] 'est-ce que tu vas dans le musée?' – 'Ah non je suis pas... je suis pas...historien de l'art'.*” (lines 1013-1015). As already mentioned before, here Florence refers to the habit of going to museums and not to the nature of being French, Italian or Luxembourgger. As she clarified at a later stage when asked to comment on the analysis, her intention was to provide an example of typical visitor among other visitors that visit the institution she works for.

In conclusion, in this part I presented the main reasons that certain museum experts provide concerning the type of visitors and the frequency of their visits. Most of them associate the high *educational capital*, the *linguistic capital* in French specifically and the high *cultural capital* that guarantees the museum visits with the habits and the *nature* implying the *habitus* of certain people, especially French and Italian, as opposed to a certain category of Portuguese and Luxembourgish people. This charismatic ideology tends to ignore that the cultural capital here described as natural by the experts, in reality is a product of long-term education and exposure to art since a very early age due to the family's background.

9. Discussion – Conclusion

After we have explored in depth the museum experts' perceptions on the three main axes of inquiry of this study, this last chapter summarizes the main findings and discusses their implications. Furthermore, this chapter presents the shortcomings of this study and suggests potential topics of inquiry for future research in the field of museum education. In order to discuss the main findings, it is essential to recapitulate the three main axes of inquiry of this research:

- What are the *linguistic practices* in the museum education field?
- To what extent is the *artistic discourse* in museum education accessible to various ethnolinguistic and social groups?
- How do museum educators negotiate the *social and ethnolinguistic diversity* in Luxembourg and cater for this diverse audience in their educational programs?

I will answer these questions with respect to the three main chapters of analysis and their main themes that reflect the experts' most prevalent perceptions as they have emerged from the data.

The first chapter of analysis refers to the overview of the linguistic policy and the linguistic practices in the art museum education field with the following two main themes emerging from the data: first, the French and Luxembourgish priority, and second, the absence of Portuguese language in the educational programs. In relation to the theory chapter 2.2. that explores the concepts of *linguistic capital and linguistic market*, I analyzed the data regarding the languages based on these theoretical concepts and applied these concepts in order to make sense of the data and interpret them. In this respect, the participants' answers indicated that the French and Luxembourgish languages hold the most significant capital, since they are the most spoken by visitors in the three art museums investigated and as a consequence, they are given a priority in their programs, but the participants explain that this does not amount to an official linguistic policy in the institutions they work for.

Furthermore, the museums communicate in writing in three languages: English, French and German and in oral language they include Luxembourgish, especially in educational programs that include young children or state school groups. Occasionally, and depending on exhibitions they host, they include other languages as well in their educational programs or in written material but, despite the presence of other languages, French and Luxembourgish are given a priority, mainly due to the large number of visitors speaking mostly these two languages. Both pedagogic managers and educators say that language is

always a problematic issue in Luxembourg due to the presence of various ethnolinguistic groups on the small territory of Luxembourg and the official state trilingualism. They don't say there is a need for museums to communicate in any other language than the ones they already provide.

However, since Portuguese is the biggest ethnolinguistic group present in Luxembourg since many decades, as it is explained in depth in the 6th chapter of this study, we would expect that Portuguese language even though it is not one of the official languages of the country, could be included in the educational programs with respect to the large number of residents in the country. However, the data proved that this is not the case and the experts explain that this is due to the absence of Portuguese people in museum visitors' population.

In conclusion, and in relation to the theory chapter 2.2. regarding the concept of linguistic capital in a linguistic market (Bourdieu, 1991), we conclude that in the micro scale market of the three art museum educational programs, the languages that hold the most significant capital are French and Luxembourgish for the reasons provided earlier, while Portuguese language seems to have no capital at all, since it is not present in this market. Additionally, in the macro scale linguistic market of the country of Luxembourg, Luxembourgish and French are legitimate languages, recognized as national and official ones respectively and they hold a very significant capital. Whereas, Portuguese language despite the large number of population present in the country, has no official status and therefore it has no official linguistic capital; its linguistic capital is limited among its speakers for their casual exchanges.

Moreover, because of their long presence on the territory, Portuguese people are accused by certain museum experts of not being proficient speakers of the significant languages in capital, i.e. French and Luxembourgish. This lack of proficiency in the dominant languages is connected to their lack of integration as well. The main findings of that section are summarized in the recognition of the Luxembourgish and French languages as the dominant ones in the art museum education field, while the absence of Portuguese language, despite it is spoken by one third of the population in the country, is attributed mainly to the absence of Portuguese people in the museums. The reasons for this absence will be summarized later in the third chapter of analysis concerning the inclusion of various ethnolinguistic and social groups in the museum educational programs.

The second chapter of analysis regarding the discourse held by the museum experts and the meaning-making processes in the art museum educational programs presented five major themes emerging from the data: firstly, the role of the *curator's discourse*; secondly, the

role of the museums' literacies in the *democratization* of the experts' discourse; thirdly, the role of *co-construction* in the meaning-making processes; fourthly, the way *meaning-making* is facilitated by the educators; and finally, the *different approaches* held by the experts towards different audience.

Regarding the first theme, we conclude from the data that the curators act as "power-brokers" who are responsible for the discourse held around an exhibition, since they are the ones who conceive it and transmit it to the educators at a later stage. This process refers to the linear model of transmission that all the three art museums have adopted, where the curators have the main control of the artistic discourse. All the museums' experts participating in the research confirm following this linear model, where the curator has the central role at the exhibition planning and its message. Despite the fact that all the pedagogic managers recognize the complexity and the difficulty of the curator's discourse, they all consider it to be the primordial one in the exhibition that needs to be democratized by the museum educators and not altered for the sake of receptivity by a broader public. As we have seen in the theory chapter 2.3. about the concept of power in art museums, but also in theory sections 2.5. regarding democratization and elitism, and 3.7.2. that discusses the roles of curators versus museum educators, the curators historically were the ones who imposed, controlled and diffused the discourse in art museums and educators are the ones who are asked to democratize that discourse to the audience.

This leads us to the second theme of this chapter which is the democratization of the experts' discourse via the museums' literacies. According to the experts' perception, the curators act as *taste makers*, a concept analyzed thoroughly in theory chapter 2.3., since they are the ones who decide what the public needs to see, and they have the knowledge and the authority to control it and diffuse it. In the three institutions investigated, both the pedagogic managers and the museum educators say that the curator's discourse is complex and difficult to understand if one is not initiated in arts. Despite its complexity, the experts still believe that this is the way the curators' discourse should be, because otherwise it becomes very *popular*. According to the data it is evident that *democratization* is the educational function of the museum and not the curatorial, since museum experts attribute the quality factor to the curator's mission that needs to assure high standard artistic quality not necessarily accessible to everyone, but made accessible by the educators in the workshops, guided tours and lectures. Here, we could say that the experts' perception reflect that *curating* is more important than *education*, since education plays a secondary role in the museum's discourse which is mainly addressed and controlled by the curators.

Theoretical work throws another light on this issue. The democratization of the curator's discourse could be accomplished via the *co-constructive* approach in *meaning-making* and interpretation by educators in their programs. This co-constructive approach, explained thoroughly in theory chapter 3.5, seems to be recognized and in some cases adopted both by pedagogic managers and museum educators in this research. They all tend to admit that the traditional one-way model of knowledge transmission from the educator towards the passive learner belongs to the past and that today educators tend to co-construct knowledge with the audience in their educational programs, despite some reservations of certain experts that this approach could limit the educational function and slip more into entertainment.

Regarding the fourth theme of this chapter, museum educators hold their own educational strategies concerning the way meaning-making is constructed and facilitated in their programs. Following the Meaning-Making Framework by Pringle (2009) explored in depth in theory chapter 4.1., the analysis shows that some experts prioritize dialogue and questions with the audience, while others consider providing context more important and emotions are usually positioned last among certain experts. However, they all tend to differentiate their approaches according to the audience they cater for each time, which leads us to the last theme of this section related to the different approaches towards different audiences.

According to the museum experts, the audience is firstly divided between adults and children, and secondly between initiated and non-initiated adults. The adults are also subdivided according to their educational level and social class. According to the experts' perception, children and non-initiated public are limited to the *phenomenal* interpretation where knowledge is placed very low and emotions are placed very high in the meaning-making process, while the initiated adults require more theoretical background and knowledge is placed very high and emotions are sometimes even irrelevant. Moreover, children as an audience are subdivided according to the same principles that apply to adults: the *educational* level and the *social* class of their parents imply their competence to understand art and make meaning of artworks at a certain degree. According to certain experts, the more educated and higher in the social structure the parents are, the more the children tend to be exposed to culture and acquire the artistic competence to decode it.

Consequently, the last question of this research arises: How do museum educators negotiate the *social and ethnolinguistic diversity* in Luxembourg and cater for this diverse audience in their educational programs?

This question leads us to the third chapter of analysis, where the themes of *elitism* and *democratization* are central, and the role of *school, family, social, economic* and *cultural*

capital are interrelated in the access to art museums and to their educational programs. Moreover, this chapter is related to inclusion of diverse ethnolinguistic and social groups in art museums and highlights the absence of two types of audience: disabled people and Portuguese people. In Luxembourg, there seems to be no inclusion policy by the government concerning communities, disadvantaged children or people with special needs, as all my informants confirm. In all the three institutions investigated however, the experts even though they acknowledge that one primordial mission of the museums is the inclusion of a broad audience, say that they have not integrated in their policies or practices any particular measures to that direction. This means, in our view that inclusion is still quite problematic in the three institutions.

Regarding the typical audience of art museums, most of the participants agree that it is always the same type of people visiting museums: people who are related to arts somehow- artists themselves, art professors or art historians- or just art amateurs with a high educational and intellectual level, very often connected to high economic capital. However, they say that, regarding the cultural capital of visitors, it could vary even among representatives of the same social and economic capital due to their family tradition and education that allowed certain people to be more accustomed to art than others. According to the participants, this means that the role of the school is very significant in democratizing museums and encouraging children and their parents to involve and participate in the museum programs.

Whereas when it comes to *democratization* and *elitism* in art museums, experts hold dissonant views; on the one hand, they are supporters of the idea that art should remain elitist in its content and discourse to assure high quality standards, and on the other hand, they say that museums are meant for everyone and their mission is to make the artistic discourse accessible to everyone. Here it seems that *democratization* is opposed to *quality* where democratization challenges the quality of art, according to the experts. This reminds us of the main tensions in art museums identified by Rice (1995) in the theory chapter 3.2. where she explains that the main problem of art museums still today is that they value art quality by the art world validation, and thus they remain esoteric while their aspiration is to reach broader public. By broad public here we understand everybody who does not correspond to the typical museum visitor profile, does not necessarily have any relation to art and could come from a family and social background where visiting museums is not part of the cultural practices.

Regarding disabled people, even though, all the informants acknowledge that they would make a great public for museums, it doesn't seem to be on the agenda in their institutions to take measures and adopt a policy for including and outreaching them. Most of the experts attribute the absence of disabled people in museums to their *lack of habit* and their lack of *natural tendency* of visiting museums, as certain experts name it, referring to their practices and habits. Although, some other factors could be related to their absence, such as the lack of specific educational policy in the institutions taking into account social inclusion of communities, disadvantaged children and people with special needs – but these did not appear in the interviews.

The question that arises, however, is the following: How can certain types of audience become interested in visiting exhibitions, if museums do not involve these people's needs and voices during their exhibition planning and communication, so that these people feel interested and included at the first place?

This has been achieved, as it is explained in the theory sections 5.2 and 5.3., in the UK, Australia and USA museums by the implementation of two different programs: first, the participatory action research (UK) that outreached disadvantaged teenagers that would never enter a museum in the exhibition planning and made them active participants; and second, the installation of the 'audience advocate' in the exhibition planning of museums in an effort to include more voices, other than the curator's voice, in the preparation of the exhibitions in order to provide exhibitions and texts around them that could appeal to a broader audience. So, these could potentially be steps that museums could take in an effort to include social groups that are not yet included in their programs that could function in two directions: first, they would change the tradition of museums exhibition planning and allow more voices to be heard and outreach to broader audiences; and second, create the foundations for a new tendency of certain social groups by the installation of programs that include them and are destined for them.

The same applies to Portuguese people, whose absence is due, according to the experts, either to their *lack of habit* or their level of *education* and social status; which implies that museums, finally, are not meant for everyone, since they tend to be visited only by highly educated people of the upper class, since they correspond to their *tastes* and preferences as

Bourdieu (1979) would also argue. Again here, the experts attribute the absence of Portuguese people to their lack of habit or *habitus* as Bourdieu (1979) would say, and do not seem to consider other factors that could be implicated in their absence, such as the lack of outreaching them by the museums by creating exhibitions and educational programs that could be of their interest, while they could also be included in the planning and preparation to assure their voice is being taken into account and implicate them actively in the museum processes.

Furthermore, the significant presence of French, Luxembourgish and Italian visitors is again attributed to their *nature*. While *nature* here is implying the *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1979) of certain people, and does not imply their ‘natural characteristics’ that could be misinterpreted as discriminative or racist. Nevertheless, the fact that museum experts tend to attribute the presence of certain people and the absence of others to their *habits* and *nature*, or *habitus* and do not talk about how this could be changed is quite problematic since they seem not to take into account objective factors that could lead to this phenomenon, such as the lack of long-term exposure to art through education and the family background and how this could be remedied. Their tendency to attribute the preferences of certain types of audience to *nature* corroborates with the *natural distinction* as basic concept of the *charismatic ideology* (Bourdieu, 1985) explicitly discussed in the theory section 2.5. This ideology supports the idea that the authentic experience with art is “affection” of the heart or immediate comprehension of the intuition of the laborious steps and comments of intelligence, ignoring the social and cultural conditions that make possible such experience and treats the virtuosity acquired through methodic learning as *natural*. (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1985, p. 108).

In conclusion, the main findings of the study suggest that the three art museums investigated are mostly visited by French (or French speaking), Luxembourgish and Italian people, who are members of a highly educated social group with a relation to art or art amateurs. Regarding the languages that are mostly used in the educational programs, it is mainly French and Luxembourgish and constitute also a priority for the museum experts. Furthermore, the access to the artistic discourse mainly designed and controlled by the curators is very limited to non-initiated audience and educators intervene to assure the democratization of that discourse with the audience that needs it the most, i.e. young children or non-initiated adults.

This democratization of the artistic discourse remains a contested issue among museum experts, because of the fear that art could become very *popular* and challenge the quality of exhibitions. As a consequence, they prioritize quality that is validated by their peers, museum experts, curators, artists, and remain esoteric in the art world. This approach reflects the *elitism* that is still valid in the art museum field as a “quality guarantee” and is opposed to the museum experts’ statements about their will to outreach a broader public. How could a broad public be outreached if the communication is made by an *elite* and is destined to the same elite of the traditional art museum audience? According to Hooper-Greenhill, museums as socio-cultural institutions, need to address a broader audience to justify their existence, and one way to develop their audience is through working together with groups of the communities, outreach communities and include them in the preparation of exhibitions and programs. (1994, p.22).

❖ **Limitations**

After the discussion of the main findings, I will present the shortcomings of this research and suggest potential topics of inquiry for future research.

Firstly, the present research is a small-scale and short-term project and therefore it has limitations and drawbacks. The main drawback is that the perspective remains one-sided, with no audience representatives interviewed, since the study focuses on the perceptions of the museum education experts only. Another drawback could be considered the lack of quantitative data and as a consequence, the impossibility to make generalizations. Consequently, the study would be more complete if audience’s perception and quantitative data from visitors would be included; although, these were not included in the scope of the present study. Moreover, the theory section is mainly focused on theoretical and not on empirical studies. This is principally due to reasons of limited space and time, but also the choice of the researcher to focus on theoretical research since many theoretical concepts are used in the data analysis that needed to be explained thoroughly in the theory section in order for the analysis to be meaningful and valid. As a consequence, and in the frame of the small –scale and short-term project it was not possible to include empirical research as well. Nevertheless, the research would be more complete and sound if empirical research was also included in the theory section.

❖ **Future research**

Finally, future research in the field could add to our understanding about art museum field in general and in the educational programs in particular. Furthermore, it could shed light on the link between audience and museum relationships and unveil practices that could be adopted to ameliorate these relationships. A potential topic for future research in the art museum education field, could be to focus on the link between democratization and quality of art and its discourse, since it was just one of the inquiries of the present study and despite its importance, it was not given enough focus to develop it more. However, from the data, this emerged as a central theme that could be developed more in a future research.

Another suggestion would be to focus future research on the audience-museum relationship by including the perception of the audience on art museums; this research would result in providing better insight of the audience's perceptions to museum experts and would allow them to adapt their policies and practices according to that and be able to outreach to a broader public. Furthermore, I would suggest to investigate more the role of state school in the museum-audience relationships and the ways school can affect or not the relations to art and to art museums; this question could be also reversed to explore how art and art museum educational programs could facilitate the learning process in state schools and act as an agent of social cohesion among the different ethnolinguistic and social groups present in state schools, since as certain museum experts stated, contemporary art evens the differences among children and they are at all the same level before a contemporary artwork.

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11. Declaration

I hereby declare that the thesis entitled

Discourse and Power in Art Museum Education: Exploring Linguistic Practices, Meaning-making and Power relations

Three case studies: Museum 1, 2 and 3

has been carried out in the Master in Learning and Communication in Multilingual and Multicultural Contexts, at the University of Luxembourg, under the guidance of Prof. CONSTANZE WETH. The work is original and has not been submitted in part or full by me for any degree or diploma at any other University.

I further declare that the material obtained from other sources has been duly acknowledged in the thesis.

Luxembourg, January 2017

12. Appendix

I. Interview questions for Pedagogic managers and museum educators (EN/FR)

I. i. Pedagogic Managers (EN)

General Questions/ Background info

- Could you describe in a few words your educational background and your actual position?
- For how long have you worked for this institution?
- Can you describe your educational programs? To whom are they destined? How do you conceive them? Which agents (professors, educators, curators?) are implicated?
- What is your educational approach when you design a program? What are the main aspects/ factors you take into consideration?
- I know that your museum took part in the project <http://museumsmile.lu/> in February (1-19/02) which had as a title the “Experience Musee” ou “semaine Jeunes publics” and was conceived for secondary education classes. Can you describe this program and your museum’s implication into that? What was the main objective of your ateliers?

Linguistic Practices

- What is the linguistic policy of the museum? How do you comment on that?
- How do you deal with it in your ateliers?
- Do you think any of these languages is of priority?
- Question for Villa Vauban. I know that recently you added free guided tours in Spanish and Portuguese. What made you take this decision? Why these two languages on the top of the other three that the museum offers; French, German/ Lux, English?
- And for the others 2 museums the same question about Villa Vauban: Villa Vauban has recently integrated Spanish and Portuguese in their free tours. How do you comment on that? Do you have plans to integrate more languages and if yes, which languages would that be?
- (Discourse) What is the museum’s policy around the institutional/ curatorial discourse of the exhibitions? Does it have a central role in the gallery education? Are the educators invited/ asked to follow this discourse?

Some theorists conceptualize museum spaces, objects, printed texts and labels as an integral text to be decoded, understood and critiqued by the visitors; it is what they call the museum’s literacies. How do you organize your museum’s literacies and are you aware of the visitors’ perception of them? What is their role in the educational programs? [brochures/ texts on the walls/ audio guides/ other material]. Is it a discourse easily accessible to non-initiated public? [Meaning-Making/ Interpretation](#)

- Meaning- Making Framework by Emile Pringle (table 1.) In which order would you imagine/ put the following for the gallery education practice: dialogue/

knowledge/ meaning-making/ questions/ engagement/ emotions/ content/ learners/ artist educators

- The last years, especially since the feminist movement, the gallery education's discourse became more revolutionary and escaped the traditional model of one-way knowledge transmission from the expert to the learner. The tendency nowadays in art galleries education, such as Tate museum, MoMa etc., is to incorporate a postmodern educational approach that requires active learning and encourages co-construction of meaning, taking into account the audience's prior knowledge and emotions. What is your opinion? Do you agree with that tendency? Have you adopted that in your educational programs?
- According many art theorists, such as John Dewey already in the 1930s who wrote a homonym book, art is seen as an *experience*. What is your opinion on that? And if art is an experience, how do you manage to integrate this aspect in your educational programs?
- (Tzibazi, 2012, p156) To what extent do you think are museums willing to take risks and offer experiences that unleash the full potential of the participants and their imagination?
- (Tzibazi, 2012, p156) It is important for museums, if they want to be viable community institutions and not just to present their cultural offerings to their visitors but to create processes where visitors can be participants and act as co-creators of knowledge and museum experiences. How do you comment on that?
- Do you encourage young people to become co-creators of the produced experiences that museums offer during the ateliers/ guides?
- Art galleries' experimental approaches to art interpretations highlight the need for the development of emancipatory pedagogies in museum/ gallery education that acknowledge young people's expertise in the learning process (Sayers, 2011). Do you agree?

Power Relations

- Do you believe the museum should be inclusive? And what about your museum? Do you think it is inclusive? If yes, in which way?
- Didier Maloeuvre in 2012 wrote an article defending the museum's educational role and advocating that postmodern museums should not sacrifice their educational role in their effort to be inclusive. His main argument is that social fairness and sensitivity is one thing and knowledge is another; the confusion of these two could endanger the moral mission of the museum. Do you agree?
- Are you familiar with your audience? Have you executed any survey of your audience?
- There is a big discourse the last years around the topic of arts education and a big movement of "democratization" of arts and its discourse. Are you familiar with this? If, yes, how do you deal with it in your educational projects?
- Helen- Grooper Greenhill, a British theorist of museum education mentions in one of her articles the different interpretive communities of the audience. She specifies that the audience apart from its demographic characteristics is also subdivided in

some interpretive communities according their background, taste, cultural and social status. How do you comment on this? Would you take that into account for the designation of your pedagogic design?

- Museums struggle for funding, mécénats. How does the financial situation affect the educational role of the museum?
- Museums as an industry, market oriented. How does this influence the pedagogy in museums?
- The last years new roles have emerged in the museum administration; such as marketing manager, exhibition designer, museum educator. Do you think that the traditional roles of the curator and the artist are challenged? And if yes, in which way?
- Many museums especially in the UK, have conducted Action Research, some of them even Participatory Action Research (PAR) inviting also young people to contribute to their own reflections and practices. Are you familiar with this research? Would you be in favor to apply this in your museum?
- (Tzibazi, 2012, p. 156) If museums are placed in the role of teacher then there are some difficult questions to be asked. How open are museums prepared to be to their communities and what are museums hoping or intending to share?
- (Tzibazi, 2012,p.153) Since the introduction of the UK's New Labor governmental agenda for social inclusion, museums have sought to act as agents for social change and to engage in their programs young people (aged 13-19) who have traditionally been excluded by the museums. Although there is an ongoing discourse about the way museums and galleries exclude individuals and social groups in their cultural practices, there is a lack of in- depth research on young people's engagement in museum's practices. How do you comment on that? (Tzibazi, 2012, p. 155). Uk gov/ment Agenda: Museums were seen as institutions that could place an important role in "empowering marginalized groups" within the communities "to determine their place in the world" and "achieve their own potential" (DCMS, 2000,8). Is there any relevant specific policy of the institution you represent?
- P. 159 Museums are seen as places that "are of no interest, old, dead, and boring" focused on the preservation of the past. Similar perceptions of galleries seen as places "of no interest" have been portrayed in several research studies (Mason, and MacCarthy, New Zealand, 2006). How do you comment on that? Are there such studies/ surveys done by the institution you represent? // Are you aware of the young people's perception of your museum in Luxembourg?

I. ii. Responsables pédagogiques (FR)

[Background info](#)

- Pourriez-vous décrire en quelques mots votre formation éducative et votre poste actuel?
- Pendant combien du temps avez-vous occupez ce poste?
- Pourriez-vous décrire vos programmes éducatifs ? Ils sont destinés à qui? Comment vous les avez conçus? Quels agents sont impliqués? (professeurs, éducateurs, curateurs)
- Quel est votre approche éducative/ pédagogique quand vous désignez un

programme? Quels sont les aspects/ facteurs que vous tenez en compte ?

- Je sais que votre musée a participé au <http://museumsmile.lu/> en février (1-19/02) titré l' "Expérience au Musée " ou "semaine Jeunes publics" et a été conçu pour l'éducation secondaire. Pourriez-vous décrire votre/ vos programmes et l'implication du musée a ce projet ? Quel a été l'objectif principal de vos ateliers?

Pratiques Linguistiques

- Quelle est la politique linguistique de votre musée? Qu'est-ce que vous en pensez ?
- Comment vous gérez/ intégrez cela dans la désignation de vos programmes?
- Pensez-vous qu'il a une priorité/ hiérarchie parmi ces langues?
- Question for Villa Vauban. Je sais que vous avez introduits récemment des tours de guide gratuits en espagnol et en portugais. Pour quelles raisons avez- vous pris cette décision ? Pourquoi ces deux langues au sommet des trois autres langues du musée : français, luxembourgeois et allemand ?
- And for the others 2 museums the same question about Villa Vauban: Villa Vauban a récemment introduit espagnol et portugais aux tours guidées gratuits. Qu'en pensez-vous? Est- ce que vous planifiez d'introduire/ intégrer plus des langues à vos programmes ? Et si oui, lesquelles?
- (Discours) Quelle est la politique du musée concernant le discours institutionnel/ du curateur des expositions ? Est-ce que ce discours est central dans l'éducation en galerie ? Est-ce que les éducateurs/ médiateurs en salle sont invités à respecter ce discours?
- Certains théoriciens conçoivent les espaces du musée, des objets, des textes imprimés et des étiquettes comme un texte intégral à décoder, comprendre et critiqué par les visiteurs; il est ce qu'ils appellent les littératies du musée. Comment est-ce que vous organisez les littératies dans votre musée et êtes-vous conscient de la perception de vos visiteurs ? Quel est leur rôle dans vos

programmes éducatifs? [brochures/ textes sur les murs/ audio guides/ autres matériels].

- Pensez-vous que le discours est accessible au public non-initié ?

Meaning- Making/ Interpretation

- Meaning-making Framework by Emile Pringle (tableau 1). Dans quel ordre mettriez-vous les suivants dans la pratique en galerie: dialogue/ savoir-connaissances/ meaning-making (fabrication du sens) / questions/ engagement/ émotions/ contenu/ apprenants/ éducateurs d'art.
- Les dernières années, surtout depuis le mouvement féministe, le discours de l'éducation en galerie est devenu plus révolutionnaire et il s'est échappé du modèle traditionnel de la transmission du savoir à sens unique de l'expert à l'apprenant. La tendance aujourd'hui dans le domaine d'éducation artistique est d'incorporer une approche pédagogique postmoderne qui nécessite d'apprentissage active et renforce la co-construction du sens, en tenant en compte les connaissances préalables et les émotions du public concerné. Qu'en pensez-vous? Etes-vous en accord avec cette tendance? Avez-vous adopté cette perspective à vos programmes ?
- Selon de nombreux théoriciens de l'art, tels que John Dewey déjà dans les années 1930 qui a écrit un livre du même nom, l'art est considéré comme une expérience. Quelle est votre opinion à ce sujet? Et si l'art est une expérience, comment vous intégrez cet aspect dans vos programmes éducatifs?
- (Tzibazi, 2012, p156) Dans quelle mesure pensez-vous que sont les musées prêts à prendre des risques et d'offrir des expériences qui libèrent le plein potentiel des participants et de leur imagination?
- (Tzibazi, 2012, p156) Il est important pour les musées, se ils souhaitent être des institutions communautaires viables et pas seulement de présenter leurs offres culturelles à leurs visiteurs, mais de créer des processus où les visiteurs peuvent être participants et agir en tant que co-créateurs de connaissances et d'expériences muséales. Quels sont vos commentaires là-dessus?
- Avez-vous encouragé les jeunes à devenir co-créateurs des expériences produites que les musées offrent des cours aux Ateliers / guides?
- Les approches expérimentales de galeries d'art aux interprétations de l'art mettent en évidence la nécessité pour le développement de pédagogies émancipatrices en musée / éducation en galerie qui tiennent compte de l'expertise des jeunes dans le processus d'apprentissage (Sayers, 2011). Êtes-vous d'accord?

Relations du pouvoir

- Pensez-vous que les musées doivent être inclusifs? Et votre musée, est-il inclusif ?
- Didier Maleuvre en 2012 a écrit un article défendant le rôle éducatif du musée et en préconisant que les musées postmodernes ne doivent pas sacrifier leur rôle éducatif dans leur effort pour être compris. Son principal argument est que l'équité sociale et la sensibilité est une chose et la connaissance est une autre; la confusion de ces deux pourrait mettre en danger la mission morale du musée. Êtes-vous d'accord?

- Connaissez-vous votre public? Avez-vous exécuté d'enquête de votre public?
- Il y a un grand discours ces dernières années autour du thème de l'éducation artistique et un grand mouvement de la «démocratisation» des arts et de son discours. Connaissez-vous cela? Tenez-vous en compte cela dans vos projets éducatifs?
- Helen- Grouper Greenhill, un théoricien britannique de l'éducation muséale mentionne dans un de ses articles les différentes communautés d'interprétation du public. Elle précise que le public en dehors de ses caractéristiques démographiques est également subdivisé dans certaines communautés d'interprétation selon leur origine, le goût, le statut culturel et social. Quels sont vos commentaires à ce sujet? Voulez-vous en tenir compte pour la désignation de votre conception pédagogique?
- Musées luttent pour le financement, mécénat. En quoi la situation financière affecte le rôle éducatif du musée?
- Les musées comme une industrie, orientée vers le marché. Comment cela influence la pédagogie dans les musées?
- Les dernières années, de nouveaux rôles ont vu le jour dans l'administration du musée; comme directeur du marketing, concepteur d'exposition, musée éducateur. Pensez-vous que les rôles traditionnels du curateur et de l'artiste sont mis au défi? Et si oui, de quelle manière?
- De nombreux musées en particulier au Royaume-Uni, ont mené la recherche-action, certains d'entre eux, même recherche-action participative (PAR) a aussi invité les jeunes à contribuer à leurs propres réflexions et pratiques. Connaissez-vous cette recherche? Seriez-vous en faveur d'appliquer cela dans votre musée?
- (Tzibazi, 2012, p. 156) Si les musées sont placés dans le rôle de l'enseignant, puis il y a des questions difficiles à poser. Sont les musées prêts à être ouvert à leurs communautés et quels sont les aspirations du musée à partager?
- (Tzibazi, 2012, p.153) Depuis l'introduction du nouveau plan gouvernemental de travail du Royaume-Uni pour l'inclusion sociale, les musées ont cherché à agir comme agents du changement social et de se livrer à leurs programmes des jeunes (âgés de 13-19) qui ont traditionnellement été exclus par les musées. Bien qu'il y ait un discours en cours sur la façon dont les musées et les galeries excluent les individus et les groupes sociaux dans leurs pratiques culturelles, il y a un manque de recherche en profondeur sur l'engagement des jeunes dans les pratiques des musées. Quels sont vos commentaires là-dessus?
- (Tzibazi, 2012, p. 155). Uk gov/ment Agenda: Musées ont été considérées comme des institutions qui pourraient placer un rôle important dans "l'autonomisation des groupes marginalisés» au sein des communautés "pour déterminer leur place dans le monde» et «réaliser leur propre potentiel" (DCMS, 2008). Y at-il une politique spécifique pertinente de l'institution que vous représentez?
- P. 159 Les musées sont considérés comme des endroits qui "sont d'aucun intérêt, vieux, mort, et ennuyeux" axé sur la préservation du passé. perceptions similaires de galeries vues comme des lieux "sans intérêt" ont été décrits dans plusieurs études de recherche (Mason, et McCarthy, Nouvelle-Zélande, 2006).

Quels sont vos commentaires là-dessus? Y at-il de telles études / enquêtes effectuées par l'institution que vous représentez? // Etes-vous conscient de la perception des jeunes de votre musée au Luxembourg?

- Que changeriez-vous dans l'éducation de musée si vous le pouviez? Quelle est votre vision de la bonne pratique?

I. iii. Gallery educators (EN)

General questions/ Background info

- Could you describe in a few words your educational background and your actual position?
- For how long have you worked for this institution?
- Have you received any specific training to become gallery educator?
- What are the qualities you think a gallery educator should have?
- Which is your pedagogic approach once in the gallery?
- How would you define yourself as artist and what particular knowledge and experience do you think you possess?

Linguistic Practices

- In which languages do you provide gallery education?
- Do you think language affects in any way your pedagogic approach?
- Do you believe museum education should be provided in more than 3 languages? And which languages would that be?
- Do you code switch sometimes during the programme? Or do you encourage learners to code-switch during the program?
- What is the linguistic policy of the institution? How do you comment on that?
- Do you think there is a priority of any kind among the languages the museum communicates?
- What is the feedback you get from the visitors concerning the linguistic policy? Are there any groups that complain more often for their language not being represented?

Meaning-making/ Interpretation

- Could you describe a typical, routine educational program that you provide?
- What are your strategies to facilitate learners' interpretation"? How do you encourage the interpretive process in the gallery?
- Do you take account of the learners' prior knowledge?
- Do you consider there is an "objective" knowledge/ learning in art?
- Are you in line with the curator's policy while providing a gallery education program?
- Do you integrate the museum's literacies (texts, labels, space, objects) in your gallery educational programs? Are you aware of the visitor's perception of them?
- Do you find sometimes the institutional discourse on the exhibition restrictive or limiting for your educational strategy?
- Would you encourage dialogue among the learners?
- Do you feel you are also learning during the gallery education?
- In which way do you encourage co-construction of knowledge?

- How does the piece of art contribute to the meaning making process itself? (Embodied knowledge)
- What are the requirements of the art practice in order to make meaning?
- What qualities are required for a museum educator?
- How does the space of the museum itself intervene in the interpretation and meaning making process?
- How would you define the educational role of the museum?
- Meaning-making Framework by Emile Pringle (table 1). In which order would you put the following for the gallery practice: dialogue/ knowledge/ meaning-making/ questions/ engagement/ emotions/ content/ learners/ artist educators.
- The concept of meaning-making has been of growing importance within the museum community, since it can help bring together human experience and museological practice as well as human needs and the role of museums with society. (Mason, 2005; Silverman as cited in Schorch, 2013). How do you comment on that? What are your strategies for enhancing meaning-making in the gallery?
- Context is a heavily debated issue in today's museum world, one camp regarding it as essential to democratize cultural institutions and the other side accusing it of desecrating aesthetic pleasures. (Schorch, 2013). What do you think of context? How do you use it in your practice?

Relations du pouvoir

- Do you think the museums should be inclusive? And what about your museum, is it inclusive?
- Do you think your educational programs are accessible to non-initiated audience?
- There is a big discourse around the democratization of arts education and its discourse. The role of the expert is challenged and the expert is put at the learner's position in order to co-construct meaning and share knowledge in a more interactive way, contrary to the traditional one-way knowledge transmission model, where learners are mainly passive. Are you aware of this trend? How do you feel about that?
- Do the new roles that have emerged in the museum industry, such as exhibition designer, marketing manager etc. affect your work? And in which way?
- Does the fact that museums are dependent on funding affect in any way their educational role?
- What would you change in museum education if you could? What is your vision of the best practice?

I. iv. Médiateurs

Background info

- Pourriez-vous décrire votre formation professionnelle et votre poste actuel ?

- Combien du temps vous occupez ce poste?
- Est-ce que vous avez reçu de formation spécialisée pour devenir médiateur dans le musée?
- Quels sont les qualités d'après vous qu'un médiateur doit posséder ?
- Quel est votre approche pédagogique?
- Comment est-ce que vous vous définissez en tant qu'artiste et quel savoir et expérience possédez-vous, selon vous ?

Pratiques linguistiques

- Dans quelles langues vous animez des ateliers dans les musées ?
- Est-ce que vous croyez que la langue influence votre approche pédagogique ?
- Selon vous, est-ce que l'éducation dans le musée devrait-il se dérouler en plus des trois langues officielles ? Et quelles seraient les autres langues dans ce cas-là?
- Est-ce que vous faites de code-switching pendant l'atelier ? Encouragez-vous les apprenants à code-switcher pendant les ateliers ?
- Quel est la politique linguistique de l'institution? Comment vous la trouvez ?
- Est-ce qu'il y a une priorité d'une langue par rapport aux autres quoi que ce soit dans la façon le musée communique ?
- Quel est le retour que vous avez des visiteurs concernant la politique linguistique ? Est-ce qu'il y a des groupes des gens qui se plaignent que leur langue ne soit pas représentée ?

Meaning-making/ Interpretation

- Pourriez-vous décrire une routine / programme typique des ateliers que vous animer?
- Quels sont vos stratégies pour faciliter l'interprétation des apprenants ? Comment encourager vous le processus d'interprétation?
- Est-ce que vous tenez en compte le savoir préalable/ les connaissances préalables des apprenants?
- Croyez-vous qu'il y a un savoir / apprentissage « objectif » dans l'art ?
- Etes-vous en accord avec la politique du curateur tout en offrant un programme de formation en galerie ?
- Est-ce que vous intégrez les literaties du musée (textes, labels, espace, objets) dans votre programme en galerie ? Etes-vous conscient de la perception des visiteurs d'eux ?
- Trouvez-vous parfois le discours institutionnel de l'exposition restrictive ou de limiter votre stratégie éducative ?
- Voulez-vous encourager le dialogue et l'échange entre les apprenants?
- Sentez-vous que vous apprenez pendant l'atelier en galerie ?
- De quelle manière encouragez-vous la co-construction des connaissances?
- Comment est-ce que l'œuvre d'art contribue-t-il au processus de fabrication du sens? (Embodied knowledge)
- Quels sont les exigences de la pratique de l'art dans le but de donner du sens?
- Quelles sont les qualités requises pour un éducateur de musée?

- Comment est-ce que l'espace intervienne dans les processus de l'interprétation et de fabrication du sens?
- Comment définiriez-vous le rôle éducatif du musée?
- Meaning-making Framework by Emile Pringle (table 1). Dans quel ordre mettriez-vous les suivants dans la pratique en galerie: dialogue/ knowledge/ meaning-making/ questions/ engagement/ émotions/ content/ apprenants/ artist educators.
- Le concept de fabrication de sens "meaning-making" est très important dans la communauté des musées, puisque il peut aider à rassembler l'expérience humaine et la pratique muséologique ainsi que les besoins humains et le rôle du musée dans la société. (Mason, 2005; Silverman as cited in Schorch, 2013). Comment vous trouvez cette phrase? Quels sont vos stratégies pour renforcer "meaning-making" en galerie?
- Le contexte est un aspect largement débattue dans le monde de musée aujourd'hui, d'un côté le considérant essentiel pour démocratiser les institutions culturels et de l'autre côté l'accusant d'avoir profané plaisirs esthétiques. (Schorch, 2013). Qu'est-ce que vous croyez du contexte? Comment d'en utilisez-vous dans votre pratique?

Power Relations

- Pensez-vous que les musées doivent être inclusifs? Et votre musée, est-il inclusif ?
- Pensez-vous que vos programmes éducatifs sont accessibles aux non-initiés ?
- Il y a un grand discours de démocratisation dans l'éducation d'art et son discours. Le rôle de l'expert est contesté et l'expert est positionné a la place de l'apprenant afin de co-construire le sens (meaning) et partager les connaissances/ le savoir d'une manière plus interactive, contrairement au modèle traditionnel de transmission à sens unique, où les apprenants sont principalement passive. Etes-vous conscient de cette tendance? Comment vous réagissez par rapport à ça?
- Est-ce que les nouveaux rôles qui ont émergé dans l'industrie du musée, comme exhibition designer, directeur du marketing, etc. affectent votre travail? Et de quelle manière?
- Est-ce que le fait que les musées dépendent du financement affecte en rien leur rôle éducatif?
- Que changeriez-vous dans l'éducation de musée si vous le pouviez? Quelle est votre vision de la bonne pratique?

II. Interview Transcription example

125 Nantia: To writing, we don't... It's very rare that we write it in Luxembourgish.
#00:00:10-1#

Georgia: Ok. So, do you think in any of these languages you mention that there
is a priority for the museum or for the public maybe? #00:00:20-0#

130 Nantia: No! Not really. We really try to figure out also when it comes to the
guided tours that we have regular guided tours free of charge that they could
come ...also the languages are mostly catered to the public that is mostly
present on these days. So, we try to. There is no priority. The idea is to cater to
135 as many people as possible and you have to be very realistic about the
language situation in Luxembourg. And take that into account. But we have no
program...that we have to push more one language or...French or another...
#00:01:04-3#

140 Georgia: Depending on the public? #00:01:06-4#

Nantia: It really depends. #00:01:06-4#

145 Georgia: So, you even provide free guided tours in Luxembourgish or only the
workshops? #00:01:10-5#

Nantia: Yes. We have them in the four languages. #00:01:14-2#

150 Georgia: In the four languages. Ok. I don't know if you are aware that
integrated recently Portuguese and Spanish in their free tours. I was
wondering why these languages on the top of the other four let's say...
#00:01:31-5#

155 Nantia: Portuguese does make sense. When you look at the population in
Luxembourg. We did have tours in Portuguese but they were not very
successful. And we have... It also depends on...we have on top of us, we have
freelance tour guides, because we cannot cover all the tours. And when we
have eh...The last person who was doing the Portuguese guided tours, when
she left for maternity leave, then we stopped it as well. Because it was not really
160 successful, I am afraid. We tried several times, but it didn't bring a lot of public.
#00:02:18-3#

III. Consent form

University of Luxembourg

Consent Form for the following MA thesis:

Discourses and Power in Art Museum Education: linguistic practices, meaning-making, power relations

A project by
Georgia NTAI

Supervised by
Professor Constanze WETH

USAGE: Within the frame of this thesis, an interview will be recorded. The resulting product will be analyzed within the frame of the thesis.

I, the undersigned participant, hereby accept to take part in this project. I give *Georgia NTAI* specific permission to use the recorded material for purposes of research and analysis. I understand that excerpts of the recording might be used for academic research. I understand that the material will not be used for any other purposes nor distributed anywhere.

By signing below, I acknowledge that 1) I have read this agreement carefully; 2) any questions I have about the use of my recording have been answered satisfactorily; 3) any additional assurances or verbal qualifications that have been made to me have been added in writing to this document; 4) I have been given a copy of this form, including any changes or restrictions, initialed by me and by *Georgia NTAI*.

I understand and agree to the conditions outlined on this consent form and I hereby allow *Georgia NTAI* to use this recording for research purposes.

Participant's signature: _____

Date: _____

Participant contact information (optional): _____