

LEISURE-LEARNING: REVITALISING THE ROLE OF MUSEUMS
A survey of Cape Town parents' attitudes towards museums

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Abstract

The aim of this project was to assess the image of museums in Cape Town society in the context of the changing needs of South African people. A questionnaire examining museum-visiting habits and perceptions of the role of museums was distributed to parents via nine schools in Cape Town. Each school represented a different socioeconomic package so that the sample included parents with varying educational status and incomes. Parents of school-going children were sampled because they may be predisposed towards museums as institutions that offer their children educational and recreational opportunities and, therefore, represent a best-case scenario. The majority of the sample had visited a museum.

A relationship exists between museum-visiting and higher socioeconomic status. Museum-visiting, though, was not limited to people with a higher level of education. Parents who were actively involved in a broad range of leisure activities were most likely to have visited museums. Although socioeconomic status and participation in leisure activities are related, museum-visitors appear to have leisure-lifestyles and not level of education in common.

The results showed a contradiction in parents' attitudes towards museums; the image of museums was good but the image of the museum experience was often bad. This was particularly the case for infrequent museum-visitors. This group also experienced a feeling that 'museums are for a different type of person', which may explain why they do not visit despite believing that museums are worthwhile institutions.

Museums appear to be perceived as institutions that offer children opportunities for learning and recreation. This could be the reason why young adults or seniors do not participate in museum programmes. This survey also showed that museums were associated with research on and preservation of the past. Black parents, though, were least likely to make this association and it is possible that the emphasis of most museums on the post-colonial past of South Africa is one reason why Black South Africans do not visit museums.

There does, though, exist a generally positive image of the role of museums. The emphasis placed on leisure-learning or semi-leisure by young and old people in the townships does indicate that museums could meet an important need for constructive leisure opportunities.

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Everywhere I went I asked, without exception: 'What do your black visitors think about their museum?' and always they would say: 'Well we don't know.' I would say: 'Why don't you know?' and they would reply: 'I don't know.' Kenneth Hudson on a visit to South African museums. The Saturday Star July 11 1992.

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CONTESTED SPACE: MUSEUMS FOR LEISURE AND FOR LEARNING

The provision of non-formal education should be planned in such a way that on one hand it interacts directly with and supplements the provision of formal education and on the other serves both the career and leisure needs of the individual. De Lange Report. Cited In: Krohn, 1985: 356.

Like many other institutions in South Africa, museums are facing a crisis caused both by diminishing public funding and critical self-evaluation. Meeting the needs of more and more people, thereby increasing their favour with the public, is one way for museums to thrive. Museums in Europe and America have been addressing the need to change and are examining their role in society and in the eyes of the public in an often successful attempt to become more people-orientated (eg. Allen, 1981, Ambrose, 1987, Blatti, 1987, Lumley, 1988, Solinger, 1990, Vergo, 1989).

The role of museums in South Africa, how they present the South African past and their education and collection policies have been critically examined by South African museologists (Davison, 1991, Dominy, 1992, Irvine, 1989, Mabin, 1992, Ritchie, 1990, Shepherd, 1989, Wright and Mazel, 1988). Museums have been challenged to provide a service that meets the needs of all South Africans and to represent a history that acknowledges the roles played by all the people of South Africa. Meeting this challenge requires the participation of the museum's visitors and potential audience through research and consultation. The aim of this approach is for all people to feel that they have a stake in museums and to believe that museum are places for them to find both learning and enjoyment (Brown, 1987). I have examined museums as a single unit yet even within South Africa the name museums is used to refer to a varied group of institutions. Each museum offers its visitors a very different experience and in some museums visitors can already find the people-orientated experience that I argue for throughout this thesis.

In South Africa an important role of museums has been to supplement school curriculum teaching through their educational services. Experience abroad has shown that emphasis on school visits has led to museums being associated with only a single period in a person's life and thus dismissed in adulthood (Brown, 1987, Gunther, 1990). Yet the blurring of the barriers between work and leisure, leisure and education means that education has become a lifelong process (Gussin, 1990). Leisure-time is being used to gain skills for work through leisure-learning in both wealthy and deprived environments (Møller, 1991, Munley, 1987).

This thesis examines the potential for museums to offer adults opportunities for lifelong learning. This is particularly relevant in a country where so many have been deprived adequate formal education. South African research that focuses on the use of leisure to fill this gap proves useful for examining the potential role of museums (Møller, 1991). Museums are ideally suited to meet the need for adult and skills education (Carr, 1990). They offer both information and interpretation yet allow adults to build their own interpretations, they offer choices from a wide range of interests and are not restricted to any age group (Brown, 1987). Adult education and potentially museum education can merge with formal education in schools, colleges and universities as well as with informal activities of youth clubs, community centers and voluntary organisations. By building links with informal activities as well as formal educational institutions, museums can play a vital role in redressing the imbalances created by the educational system in South Africa. It is in the context of developing ways to achieve such an aim that this research is being conducted, although it may not be on the agenda of all South African museums.

Given that museums offer opportunities for both learning and leisure it is necessary to consider how the image of museums as offering either learning or leisure opportunities influences visiting. Families are frequent visitors to museums and parents are likely to play an important role in developing their children's image of museums. This project, therefore, focuses on a specific group, parents of school going children, who represent a best-case scenario in terms of visiting habits and attitudes towards museums. In order to meet the leisure-learning needs of all South Africans museums need to understand the way their audiences define museums and their role in South African society. The aim of this research is to provide information that museums can use as a base line for building working relationships with a range of different audiences.

EVALUATING VISITOR ATTITUDES

In its affected self-esteem the (museum) professional has not lost touch with its public - it simply never found it or even attempted to. Doughty, 1968a: 20.

This chapter discusses the results of previous museum-visitor surveys conducted in South Africa and abroad. These surveys show that museum-visiting is restricted to relatively few people and as a result can provide only an incomplete understanding of why many South Africans do not visit museums. I also review studies of the public's attitudes to museums, mainly conducted in Britain, Canada and the United States, which offer a range of explanations of why some people visit museums while others stay away. These surveys show that the focus on Western-European heritage and culture in museums acts to exclude other groups from museums and that while attitudes towards the role of museums are positive, many visitors and non-visitors do not perceive the physical environment of museums to be attractive.

Visitor surveys at South African museums

While statements by museologists often emphasise the importance of understanding the public, South African museums have not intensively set out to learn about their visitors (Hartman, 1989, Hofmeyer, 1987, Holleman, 1989a, 1989b, Inskeep, 1970, Oberholzer, 1985, Stuckenberg, 1987, Till, 1989). The few published visitor surveys and the complete lack of more qualitative research on museum audiences in South Africa indicates the degree of complacency that museums appear to feel about their role in society and their image in the eyes of the public.

The available research, though, does allow some understanding of Southern African museum-visitors. The research includes surveys conducted at the South African Museum (Lotter and Botha, 1962), the East London Museum (Bigalke, 1984, Immelman, 1972), the Queen Victoria Museum, in what was then Salisbury, Rhodesia (Kerr and Hobley, 1974), the Museum of Malawi Culture (Sembereka, 1987) and the South African Cultural History Museum and its satellites (du Toit, n.d., du Toit-Shay, 1987). Other surveys focused on visitors to all museums in the Western Cape (van Zyl, 1976), one specifically studied the reactions of visitors to Human Evolutionary exhibits at the South African Museum, the National Museum and the Transvaal Museum (Mathers, 1990) and finally, a survey was conducted recently in the South African Museum to assess visitors

understanding of the ethnography gallery and the 'Bushmen' diorama (Davison, 1991, 1992).

These surveys consisted of questionnaires designed to establish the demographic characteristics of museum visitors, including whether they were local or from out of town, their reasons for visiting, how they had heard about the museum, how they got to the museum and particular points about exhibits and services offered by the museum. Most information is not reported here because it refers to specific exhibits and services offered by the particular museums.

The results from the surveys are not directly comparable because of the different format of the various questionnaires and the different needs of the researchers and museums. But a remarkable similarity does exist between the visitor profiles at each museum and through time. This is particularly obvious when comparing the demographic characteristics of the visitors. Tables 1 to 5 summarise the results from museum-visitor surveys conducted in this country. Comparisons could only be made when the results were reported in similar ways.

Table 1: AGE¹

Lotter & Botha 1962		Immelman ² 1973		Kerr & Hobley ³ 1974		van Zyl 1976	
Age	%	Age	%	Age	%	Age	%
15-24	27.4	14-24	31.6	18-25	28.2	19-35	40.8
25-24	27.4	25-39	24.5	26-39	28.4		

Bigalke 1984		Mathers 1990		Davison ⁴ 1991		Davison ⁵ 1991	
Age	%	Age	%	Age	%	Age	%
19-24	13.7	19-25	13.7	20-29	25.0	20-29	25.0
25-39	40.6	25-35	23.2	30-39	19.4	30-39	19.4

1. Percentage of total sample, unless otherwise stated. Other age-categories were not comparable.
2. Reported in Bigalke 1984.
3. Salisbury residents only.
4. Based on interviews conducted in the ethnographic gallery at the South African Museum.
5. Results from questionnaires left near the Bushmen diorama.

Table 2: SEX RATIOS

Lotter & Botha 1962		Kerr & Hobley 1974		Mathers 1990		Davison 1991 ¹		Davison 1991 ²	
Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
63	37	62	36	63	37	51.5	48.5	41.4	49.8

1. Based on interviews conducted in the ethnographic gallery at the South African Museum.
2. Results from questionnaires left near the Bushmen diorama.

Table 3: LANGUAGE

	Lotter & Botha	Immelman	Bigalke	Mathers	Davison ⁴	Davison ⁵
ENGLISH	53	41.6	69.9	40.1	62.5	67.4
AFRIKAANS	40	28.5	18.5	40.1	27.8	21.2
AFRICAN	7	24.5 ¹	2.9 ¹	8.5		
FOREIGN			3.6 ²	11.3		
OTHER ³		5.4	5.1		9.7	11.4
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

1. Xhosa speaking only.
2. Other African languages and foreign languages.
3. Language not reported.
4. Based on interviews conducted in the ethnographic gallery at the South African Museum.
5. Results from questionnaires left near the Bushmen diorama.

Table 4: EDUCATIONAL LEVEL¹

	Lotter & Botha	Immelman	Kerr & Hobley	van Zyl	Bigalke	Mathers
High School	69	34.2	72.8 ²	37.2	67.5	49.3
Diploma		7.3 ³	8.3	18.5	8.9 ³	14.1
Degree	17	20.4 ³	72.8 ²	28.7	36.5 ³	19.7

1. Levels below high school not comparable.
2. 72.8% either had matric or a degree.
3. These results were recorded in number of years of Tertiary study. In this case diplomas have completed one or two years of study and degrees three to five years.

Table 5: HOME TOWN VISITORS¹

Lotter & Botha	Kerr & Hobley	Immelman	Bigalk	du Toit Shay	Mathers	Sembereka
39.0	55.4	24.2	35.4	40	38.0	71.9 ²

1. Percentage of total sample that lived locally.
2. This sample is exceptional as it is not dominated by travellers or holiday makers.

All samples, except for those from the National Cultural History Museum (du Toit-Shay, 1987) and the 'Bushmen' diorama at the South African Museum (Davison, 1991), were dominated by male respondents. These results could be due more to the method used in distributing the questionnaires, which was not always described, than the actual ratio of male to female visitors. For example, sex of interviewer could influence who responds (Schnetler, 1989). Response factors, such as the language of the interviewer, may also have influenced the ratios of different language speakers.

All these surveys indicate that the visitors to South African museums are not representative of the South African population as a whole and that this has not changed substantially over 30 years. The 'typical' visitor is generally young (under the age of 40), English or Afrikaans speaking, educated at least to the end of High School and is from out of town. The results from these surveys also indicate that museum visitors do not visit museums regularly nor do they spend a long time on a visit. Most surveys did not record race but home language and observation of visitors in museums around the country indicates that the majority of visitors to South African museums are 'white'. The dominance of European language speakers, including languages other than English and Afrikaans, over African language speakers reflects both the large numbers of foreigners visiting South African museums and that black South Africans generally do not visit museums.

Local visitors are more likely to visit on their own (Lotter and Botha, 1962) but most visitors come in groups of friends or family (du Toit-Shay, 1987). Most visitors come to the museum out of general interest, rather than with a specific aim, and even when a particular exhibit was indicated in the questionnaire this was often crossed out and "exhibits in general" (van Zyl, 1976) was written in as the reason for visiting (Lotter and Botha, 1962, Kerr and Hobley, 1974, Sembereka, 1987). Another reason often given by respondents for visiting was to bring their children (Lotter and Botha, 1962, Kerr and Hobley, 1974). 'Old things' or a desire to learn encouraged visitors to the National Cultural History Museum (du Toit-Shay, 1987).

Friends and family have much more influence in encouraging people to visit than does advertising (Kerr and Hopley, 1974, Bigalke, 1984, Immelman, 1973, van Zyl, 1976, du Toit-Shay, 1987, Sembereka, 1987). The sign outside the National Cultural History Museum also attracted many visitors (du Toit-Shay, 1987). An entrance fee was not thought to be a problem by many visitors, though this did vary with income and occupation of respondents (van Zyl, 1976). More local residents and visitors who had been before attended the South African Museum on Wednesdays, when entrance is free, than on any other day. This indicates that free days can encourage return visits or local participation (Lotter and Botha, 1962). Refreshments were thought to be important by many visitors who would prefer to relax during their visit, which would otherwise be cut short by a break for refreshments outside the museum (Kerr and Hopley, 1974, van Zyl, 1976).

Museum visitors abroad

Museums in Britain and America have given more attention to their audiences and potential visitors than South African museums. Many museums have conducted visitor surveys and published them and these reflect very similar visitor profiles to those found in South African museums, though there are some differences (Alt, 1980, Doughty, 1968a, 1968b, Griggs and Alt, 1982, Mason, 1974). The purpose of such research ranges from the broader need of developing policy for museum education (Doughty, 1968a, 1968b) to assessing plans for renovations in terms of the visitors needs and comfort (Mason, 1974) or to assess changing trends in visitors' needs over the years (Alt, 1982, Griggs and Alt, 1982).

A survey conducted at the Ulster museum during the school holidays, incorporating a short and simple questionnaire for children under the age of 13, was used to obtain the demographic characteristics of their visitors, where they came from, the frequency of their visits, the time they spent in the museum, the reason for their visit, the size of groups, their transport and the visitor's experience (Doughty, 1968a, 1968b). The visitors were predominantly young (under 30 years of age), male, from local areas and dominated by unskilled and semi-skilled workers and students. Most came to the museum for general interest as a social group of family or friends.

Visitors leaving the Manchester Museum were asked to complete a questionnaire over various periods during holidays and term time (Mason, 1974). Most visitors were local students or skilled workers and professionals. They visited about once to twice a year in a social group with friends or family from whom they also tended to hear about the

museum. They were loathe to be critical of the museum. A similar phenomenon was found at the British Museum (Natural History) and was attributed to the 'Halo effect', a reluctance to criticise anything that has just been seen (Griggs and Alt, 1982). This is also likely to be a factor influencing respondents to South African museum surveys (Bigalke, 1984).

Six surveys were conducted at the British Museum (Natural History) every September between 1976 and 1981 (Alt, 1980, Griggs and Alt, 1982). Before and after interviews with different visitors were done to compare visitor expectations with their actual experience in the museum. The sample was dominated by males, though this decreased over time. Under 11 year olds and young people between the ages of 24 and 34 made up most of the visitors. The majority of adult visitors had completed education beyond school, although they were not qualified in the Natural Sciences. Most were visitors to London and, therefore, visiting for the first time and came with family or friends. A general, rather than specific interest encouraged them to visit or else they came in order to bring their children. Despite some variation museum-visiting appears to be a similar phenomenon in Europe as in South Africa. It is a social event participated in by a limited group of people, who have a general interest in what museums have to offer them, but do not visit often or for very long periods of time.

Population surveys

The museum-visitor studies cited above are generally quantitative, gathering facts about visitors and the popularity of exhibits. Such research contributes to a description of the museum experience and museum visitors but offers little explanation about why some people visit and others do not (Ries, 1985). While museum-visitor surveys offer information on the motivations and expectations of visitors, they neglect the non-visitor because they do not represent the community that museums should serve (Ries, 1985). Qualitative research is necessary for a broader understanding of what really brings the visitor into the museum and about their experiences during their visit.

In order to reach people who do not visit museums and for museums to develop educational programmes that really do serve their communities a general population survey is necessary (Loomis, 1987, Munley, 1987). Such research has hardly been done in South Africa, where the diversity of the population increases the difficulty in meeting the public's needs. A basic marketing principle is to know and understand your product, your audience and their perceptions of the product (Hartman, 1989, Van Rijssen, 1989). This is important for two reasons; to insure that the product fulfills the needs of the people to

whom it is aimed and, secondly, to develop an image for that product that is compatible with factors that the audience feels are important and, of course, matches what museums actually do offer (Rodger, 1987). At the moment South African museums can do neither. The lack of qualitative research on museum experiences and the paucity of information on the image of the museum in society and the characteristics and needs of non-visitors make it difficult for museums to plan educational and other programmes that could meet those needs, or for them to develop an image that would attract a broad spectrum of the South African public.

One survey conducted by the Africana museum in Johannesburg does examine the attitudes of people outside of the museum (Ben-Guri, 1990). This project was aimed at assessing attitudes to the Africana Museum's current displays and, in the light of their move to new premises, which subjects should be represented in the 'New Africana' museum. Questionnaires were posted to groups such as universities, colleges, the tourist industry, town clerks, cultural associations, women's groups, youth and education organisations and groups representing the aged and the disabled. The questionnaire dealt with why people visit museums and which historical and contemporary events should be exhibited in the Africana Museum. Black respondents (the results were analysed in terms of racial classifications) were least likely to have visited museums, mainly because they did not believe that museums represent all South Africans or because they had never been exposed to museums. The main reasons given for visiting museums by all groups was for educational purposes. Only white South Africans believed that they could visit museums to learn about their own people or to discover how all South African communities live (Ben-Guri, 1990). Beyond this the report focuses on specific topics and does not deal further with the attitudes of non-participants and museum visitors.

This paucity of knowledge about non-participants has to some extent been met by museums in Europe and North America, which have recognised the need to become dynamic attractive organizations that can depend on their audiences for support (Loomis, 1987). The research has been varied in its aims, guiding principles and theory but all projects have one thing in common: they place the public first in their calculations about how to improve museums and the roles that they play.

Following up on the Ulster museum visitor survey a street survey, sampling selected areas of Belfast so as to gain a representative sample, assessed the visiting habits of the general public (Erwin, 1971). Most of the sample (61%) had visited the museum, though more men than women had visited and it was the young people (13 to 19 years old) that were most likely to have visited. Socioeconomic factors did not influence museum-visiting at all

but geography was an important factor as the closer people lived to the museum the more likely they were to have visited it. The majority (87%) of non-visitors had heard of the museum, largely from friends but many of them did not know where it was (63%). Lack of time was indicated by many respondents to be the reason why they had not visited. It is interesting to note that socioeconomic factors did not distinguish museum visitors from non-visitors.

Interviews were conducted in two areas of New York to examine the image of Art Galleries and to assess why people did not visit them (Nash, 1975). The image was generally good, though on a superficial level of being beautiful rather than a personal encounter with something exciting and moving (Nash, 1975). Negative images revolved around the atmosphere of museums, as people felt uncomfortable, physically and emotionally. Women were more likely to have visited and were more predisposed to want to visit. Previous experience of museums and conditioning through education and peers, rather than a negative image of art galleries, were the most influential factors in discouraging people from visiting.

Questionnaires examining attitudes to museums in order to study the possible role of museums and art galleries in community education were sent to members of the public in the cities of Derby, Leicester and Nottingham (Chadwick, 1980). The sample was dominated by housewives and unskilled and skilled workers who were married with children and were in the older age category, that is older than 41 years. As this was a postal survey it is possible that this sample represents those people who are most concerned about their children's education and the possible role of museums in their lives. This factor was used to select parents of school-going children as the sample used in my research.

Most respondents in the Chadwick survey felt that museums provide a valuable service to the community and that the public should be more actively involved in the organization and administration of the museum. But respondents did not know enough about what museums offer and felt unqualified to contribute to museums. Museums were perceived as catering to a wide range of ages but not to offer facilities for children. Housewives and old people were not seen as the museum's main audience nor were museums thought to be restricted to well-educated people. Respondents believed that museums could offer further education to people who had left school early, that they helped people to think for themselves and that museums could be used to solve real-life problems. The majority of the sample believed that people visited museums more for enjoyment than education and

that they helped people to make constructive use of their leisure time. But museums were still strongly associated with the past and with educational programmes.

Museum-visiting and, particularly, non-visiting has been examined recently in two studies, one in Ontario (Audience Research Consortium, 1990, 1991) and one in London (Trevelyan, 1991). They attempt to address issues raised by previous research and to develop policy for museums. The Audience Research Consortium was formed between the Art Gallery of Ontario (AGO), the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM), The Ontario Science Center (OSC) and the Ontario Zoological gardens (ZOO) in order to assess whether a shared audience existed, which could perhaps be extended through better co-operation between the 4 attractions in Ontario. This 3 year programme of research was also aimed at expanding the audience to include a more diverse section of Ontario's population. Visitor surveys at all four attractions and a random household telephone survey of people who had not visited at least 1 of the attractions were conducted. Focus group discussions with a range of groups, including first-time visitors and frequent visitors were also conducted to gain more qualitative data. In the second year qualitative research was conducted in the form of 100 interviews and focus group discussion with people from groups who were not traditionally participants in the four activities.

The distinction between visitors to the AGO, ROM, the OSC and the ZOO in terms of their age, sex, education, occupation, who they visit with and where they come from was represented in terms of a spectrum. The AGO and ZOO fell on the extremes of this spectrum while visitors to the ROM and the OSC combined characteristics of visitors to each of the other attractions. For example, visitors to the Art Gallery were more likely to visit as couples or on their own, to be adult, female, to have a higher education than visitors to the other attractions, to be from the local area, to be frequent visitors and to constitute a lower proportion than at the other attractions of people of British/Canadian origin. Visitors to the ZOO, in contrast tended to come in large family or social groups, were more likely to be children or to include children in their groups, to be male and to be on a repeat visit. This spectrum was repeated in the image of these attractions; a contemplative experience was associated with the AGO and a social experience associated with the ZOO, while the ROM and the OSC are closer to the AGO and the ZOO respectively in terms of the type of experience associated with them. This indicates how the image of certain activities can influence leisure choices

A body of shared visitors did exist, though, and consisted of those people who have visited all four of the attractions in the last 3 years. They tended to be male, well educated, between the ages of 12 and 19 or 30 and 49, were students or worked in managerial and

professional positions. This is a typical profile of frequent museum visitors but the fact that shared audiences exist between events that are superficially very different may be an important factor for South African museums and their role in the competitive leisure market. Non-visitors, who had never visited any of the 4 attractions, were less educated than visitors, between the ages of 12 and 19 or older than 50, were retired or unemployed or worked in clerical, skilled/technical and production/maintenance jobs and were largely from 'non-traditional ethnic groups', defined as not being of British/Canadian descent.

Respondents in Ontario had heard of museums through word of mouth, which is typical for most museums (eg. Erwin, 1971, Kerr and Hopley, 1974, Mason, 1974 and see chapter 8, this survey). Respondents felt that special exhibits or events would attract them, especially repeat visitors. This is supported by research that indicates that 'blockbuster' exhibits, such as the Treasures of Tutankhamun attract to museums a larger audience that is more representative of society as a whole (Sobol, 1980). Frequent visitors lived close to the attractions, illustrating the role that geographic position plays in encouraging museum-visiting (Doughty, 1968).

Visitors to the different attractions in Ontario were characterised by their different leisure lifestyles. Visitors to the AGO were most likely to enjoy reading, hobbies, watching the performing arts and movies, taking a course and visiting museums, heritage centers and galleries. They tended to be involved in the arts professionally and found it difficult to identify leisure time, as their leisure choices impacted on their professional interests. ROM visitors were similar to AGO visitors in their leisure choices, but were least likely to socialize at home and perceived a museum visit as a combination of intellectual stimulation and recreation. OSC visitors were most likely to watch TV in their spare time, to socialize at home, to participate in team sports, to go to theme parks, belong to social clubs and to participate in courses. They saw their visits as a fun, family event. ZOO visitors were most likely to spend free time watching videos and playing games. They looked for outdoor, physical activity when visiting the zoo. Non-visitors were essentially observers, rather than doers. They were least likely to read, socialize, play sports, go to movies or the performing arts, visit museums and theme parks, take a course or belong to clubs but were likely to watch TV, have personal hobbies and watch live sports. They were less involved in their communities than visitors. This could be due to economic constraints or to illiteracy, in particular in the official languages.

Non-visitors were aware of the attractions available to them in Ontario but did not know where they were and felt that more advertising was essential. They saw a lack of time and interest as the main factors preventing them from visiting, rather than cost and distance

which were stated as barriers to repeat visiting. Non-visitors expressed more interest in visiting the OSC and the ZOO than ROM or the AGO. Childhood experience and media stereotypes of these attractions (ZOO = prison for animals, museum = boring) were most influential in preventing visiting. This was also found by Nash (1975) in terms of attitudes towards the New York Gallery. Many non-visitors from the 'non-traditional ethnocultural' groups perceived a code of behavior associated with visiting the Ontario attractions, which they found uncomfortable. Although Canadian and South African audiences are by no means identical, the existence of a large population of people who see themselves as alienated from the main stream of Canadian culture indicates that much could be learnt from this research.

Intensive research on non-visitors was conducted by the London Museums Committee to identify the factors that discourage museum-visiting and to determine how to make museums more attractive and accessible to the general public (Trevelyan, 1991). Focus group discussions were held with groups that had been identified by previous research as being characterised by non-visiting.

Leisure opportunities for each group in London was related to their age and their family responsibilities. General constraints to their leisure choices experienced by most discussants were cost, time, transport and lack of inclination to try anything new. Young men and women had different availability of leisure time as children and household chores often limited women to the house. These factors are likely to be universal and even intensified in South Africa (Møller, 1991), where museums need to take into account restrictions placed on different audiences by their varying family obligations.

The London focus groups believed that the purpose of museums was education, in particular for children, and preservation of the past. But museums were a low priority leisure choice for the London sample. They thought that museums would appeal more to intellectuals, or people with nothing better to do, tourists, "yuppies" and mothers trying to educate their children for better things.

London respondents associated a negative image of museums with bad experiences as children. This image was perpetuated by the perception of museums as places visited only by old people and children. Although people in the groups knew about the big London museums, awareness of local museums was very low. This lack of knowledge about local museums played a major role in discouraging visiting. Interviewees felt that advertising was vital and should be much more dynamic. Most respondents had not visited a museum for years, if at all, except when they had children or grandchildren to take to a museum.

People did feel that local communities should be involved in organising topical exhibits and programmes but a strong lack of confidence in their ability to achieve this was expressed as was the case in the Nottingham survey (Chadwick, 1980). Respondents felt that museums should be about everyday life in the past or be presented from the point of view of the local area or community. They would like to see contemporary issues dealt with by museums as well as their own family histories or genealogies.

Many of these respondents felt a strong interest in the past that had not led to a desire to visit museums (Trevelyan, 1991), a factor also found by Merriman (1988). Afro-caribbean youth felt that museums only dealt with white culture, which made them uninteresting. They believed that, as Afro-caribbean people were part of the local community, local museums should deal with their history, land of origin and more importantly their role in the broader history of England, which was generally felt to be ignored in traditional history exhibits. The focus of the London research on people who do not visit museums and who felt alienated from museums makes its conclusions valuable for South African museums.

Much of the above research set out to identify non-visitors in the context of their attitudes and knowledge of a specific museum. It showed that the lack of people's own cultural heritage in museums prevented them from becoming participants. Yet educating children about the past was considered to be an important function of museums. Leisure lifestyles varied between museum visitors and non-visitors. As in the local and other museum-visitor surveys, the role of the museum was considered important but the actual image of how the museum fulfills this role and the atmosphere in museums are factors that discourage visiting. A bad visiting experience was generally the cause of a negative image of museums. Respondents in most surveys believed that the public could be more involved in museum projects but felt frustrated by their lack of knowledge of what museums do, when they are open and where to find them. The studies cited do not attempt to understand museum-visiting in its social context and cannot be extended to provide a general understanding of the factors that encourage or discourage museum-visiting (Hooper-Greenhill, 1988).

Three projects have attempted to use the information gained from surveys of the community outside the museum to explain the phenomenon of museum-visiting in the context of the broader society. They include a survey conducted in Kingston-upon-Hull by interviewing people on the streets at 7 points through the town over the period of one month (Prince and Schadla-Hall, 1985), a telephone survey of a proportionate sample of Toledo residents, focusing on the Toledo Art Gallery (Hood, 1981, 1983) and a postal

survey of a random sample of England's electorate that studied museum-visiting in the context of heritage visiting and attitudes to the past (Merriman 1988, 1989a, 1989b). These projects are valuable because they each take the extra step of explaining the choice to stay away from museums in terms of social or cognitive factors. They address museum-visiting as an adult leisure activity and discuss the factors that influence the choice to visit a museum or to stay away.

Leisure choice was the governing factor in a survey of randomly sampled Toledo residents. The sample was representative of the Toledo population and similar interviews were conducted with visitors to the Toledo Art Gallery itself, which was the focus of the questionnaire (Hood, 1981). The aim of the survey was to identify the leisure values associated with museum-visiting and to explain why some people stay away. Four different values that people look for in their leisure activities were identified using psychological theory. These were: being with people/social interaction, feeling at ease in one's surroundings, having a challenge or a new experience and the opportunity to learn and participate actively. Based on her research of the leisure values associated with museum-visiting Hood added a fifth: 'doing something worthwhile' (Gunther, 1990).

Respondents were divided into 3 categories of museum visitor by Hood; the frequent visitor that visits more than 3 times a year, the occasional visitor that visits 1 to 2 times a year and the non-participant who visits less than once a year (1981). These are fairly arbitrary divisions since the range defining the frequent visitor extends from 3 to 40 times a year and non-participants include people who have never visited a museum as well as those who have simply not visited a museum in the last 2 or 3 years, reflecting an enormous variability in museum-visiting habits. Nevertheless museum-visiting frequency was measured against the values respondents believed to be important in selecting their leisure activities and it was possible to relate a set of values to each group. Frequent visitors valued all attributes but, in particular, they considered that a leisure activity should offer the opportunity to learn, a challenge and a new experience and should be a worthwhile thing to do. Non-participants believed that it was more important that their leisure activities incorporated being with people and social interaction, participating actively and feeling at ease.

Museums were perceived as offering an opportunity to learn and as being worthwhile activities by most respondents in Toledo. These attributes made the museum attractive for some people, whose leisure choices were informed by the need to learn, but were a negative factor for people who preferred active leisure pastimes or to spend time with family and friends. Occasional visitors resembled the non-participants in terms of the

attributes that were important to them when choosing a leisure activity. They were particularly family orientated in their leisure pursuits and occasional visitors tended, therefore, to visit museums in a family or social group. The resemblance between non-participants and occasional visitors could be a result of the definition of these categories, as there was not necessarily a difference between those who visited museums once a year and those who visited every two years. Yet people with similar backgrounds have different museum-visiting habits indicating that museum-visiting is not solely influenced by education and peer background

The survey of residents in Kingston-upon-Hull indicated a generally positive attitude towards museums (Prince and Schadla-Hall, 1985). Most respondents felt that the museums were interesting and educational, and that their role of preserving the heritage was a good one. Despite this, many people did not visit local museums regularly or at all. Visiting museums was associated with a lifestyle that included 'high culture' activities such as going to the theatre. An examination of the respondents' actual perceptions of the museums indicated that non-visitors had negative images of museums as boring, old-fashioned and for intellectuals and not for recreation. Prince and Schadla-Hall (1985) conclude that the image of the museum informs the public's choice to include or exclude the museums in their range of leisure choices and that this image changes as individual leisure needs change over time.

Research aimed at defining the cultural meaning of museums in British society was conducted amongst a randomly sampled sector of society (Merriman, 1988, 1989a, 1989b). While museums were perceived as worthwhile, this positive attitude was not reflected in the visitor profiles. Although the majority of respondents had visited museums some time during their lives and the number of regular visitors was as high as 47% of the sample, the attitude amongst non-visitors and rare visitors, who had not visited a museum for over 5 years, showed a very negative image of the actual museum experience.

The different museum-visitor surveys and population surveys outlined in this chapter effectively describe the museum visitor and point to the various structural factors that influence museum-visiting. The importance played by the image of the museum and the experience of visitors in encouraging or discouraging further visits is made clear. A gap, though, is found by some researchers who try to understand the factors that create the museum's image or the visitor's experience. These surveys, although conducted abroad, address issues that are relevant to South African museums such as the problems posed by a multi-cultural society and the influence of socio-economic factors on museum visiting. The next chapter discusses these surveys in more detail and focuses on the theoretical frameworks which may contribute to our understanding of museum-visiting.

MUSEUMS-VISITING: A LEISURE CHOICE

Obviously leisure cannot abolish social conditioning or promote complete liberty in some miraculous way, but freedom of choice in leisure time is a fact. Dumazedier, 1967: 41.

In this chapter I briefly outline the theories that have been developed by various authors to explain museum-visiting. Although much of this theory is potentially useful for gaining some understanding of the impact that a museum has on its visitors and on society, it lacks the power to explain the actual decision to visit or not to visit museums. This is a fault even with the theory generated by surveys of the public abroad. Therefore I propose that the decision to visit a museum needs to be viewed in terms of an element of choice that exists when embarking on any leisure activity. In particular I examine the concept of semi-leisure, which combines a sense of obligation with the sense of personal fulfillment and freedom normally associated with leisure. Such a framework for studying museum-visiting facilitates further research on the factors that influence the decision by adults to visit a museum or to stay away.

As museologists become increasingly aware of the need to offer services to a broader audience, they are examining the historical role of museums to try to understand the ways that museums operate in modern society. These critiques attack museums for not having separated themselves from the beliefs of their originators, who were collecting natural and cultural artefacts as signs of Western dominance over the natural environment and over other cultures (eg. Durrans, 1988, Horn, 1984). The examples often given are the exhibition of indigenous people and their culture in a natural history museum, whereas European culture is exhibited in cultural history museums (Durrans, 1988) and the lack of non-western art in Art Galleries (Nettleton, 1992, Rosen, 1992).

In South Africa the added dimension of museums as colonial imports has fueled critique of their role (Shepherd, 1989, Ritchie, 1990). Museums are examined as sites of struggle or as tools for ideological manipulation. This is said to be due to the authority that museums are able to bestow on certain sanitised versions of the past. These discussions tend to portray museums as popular mediums for idealizing political structures and social constructs (Wallace, 1986). The museum's history is, therefore, perceived as the burden that alienates many people and limits museum-visiting to a minority of South Africans.

The role played by a museum's ideology and history in influencing museum-visiting was examined by Irvine (1989), who used the visitor's book to assess who visited the Bo-Kaap museum. The Bo-Kaap museum is the only museum in South Africa that is not administered by the 'white' House of Assembly but by the House of Representatives for 'coloured' South Africans. It is considered to be a museum about the culture and history of the 'coloured' people of the Cape, specifically the 'Malay community'. The museum is situated in an old house in the so called 'Malay quarter' or Bo-Kaap. Its purpose has been described as the creation of an historical origin for the 'Malay community' (Irvine, 1989). Irvine argues that if a museum so patently does not represent the history and spirit of its community then its only use is as an ideological tool for people who wrote this version of history. Visitors see a version of history that portrays 'Malay culture' as a static component of modern South African culture giving "credence to the apartheid policy of separate development" (Irvine, 1989: 81). The visitor's book reflects an audience consisting largely of foreign and 'white' South African tourists. Irvine proposes that this profile characterises visitors to the Bo-Kaap museum because of its representation of a history written for 'white' South Africans.

It is sometimes true that in South African museums the content, presentation, language and structure of exhibits operate to normalize and historically justify oppressive structures in South African society. While theory that focuses on the historical and ideological role of museums may provide an understanding of the impact of museums in society and offer guidelines for changing exhibit form and content, it does not provide a tool with which museologists can directly influence and alter the behaviour of the public so as to increase attendance. Such theory suggests that all members of the non-dominant social classes are either alienated from museums or reject museums for presenting what they believe is a distorted worldview. However, the sharp social cleavage between visitors and non-visitors suggested by this theory is not borne out by the empirical research presented below. The public, including visitors and non-visitors, is not a static, undifferentiated mass of unthinking people. They differ in their attitudes to museums, what they expect from them and what they get out of museums. By neglecting the role that visitors play in constructing their own museum experience and deciding whether or not to visit museums at all, theory that focuses on the ideology of museums comes short of actually explaining museum-visiting. South African museums will need to come to terms with their history and the extent to which they exclude many South Africans, but there is equally a need to understand the other factors that influence a decision to visit museums.

Some of the research conducted on museum-visiting and non-visiting discussed in the previous chapter attempts to explain why some people visit museums while others stay

away. Hood examined the differences in leisure values between visitors and non-visitors in Toledo in the USA (1981, 1983). She proposed that only people who valued a particular set of attributes of leisure activities would choose to visit a museum. The attributes important to museum visitors but not important to non-visitors were *doing something worthwhile*, *learning something* and the *challenge of a new experience*. Hood's research is valuable in that it indicates certain characteristics that are uniquely attractive about museums. However, this explanation excludes the influence of a variety of socialising factors, such as education and class background, in the development of an individual's values and his or her perceptions of museums.

Hood's research did indicate that socialization as children for an active range of leisure choices influenced participation in leisure activities as adults (1981). This, though, was not seen to be as important in influencing museum attendance as the attributes, such as *challenging* or *worthwhile*, associated with particular leisure activities. Demographic variables were not found to be significantly related to museum-visiting in Toledo despite leisure socialisation as children being related to education and income. Hood did not examine this relationship and it is difficult to identify the effects of socioeconomic factors and socialisation on developing leisure values. These results hint at the problem of simply relating socioeconomic variables with museum-visiting habits. In general Hood makes little comment on the reasons why certain groups value particular attributes of leisure over others and her interpretation, though valuable, is limited (1981, 1983).

Another study in Kingston-upon-Hull, England, also focused on the individual's leisure choices but examined them in the context of the image of museums in the minds of potential visitors (Prince and Schadla-Hall, 1985). The museum experience was described by Prince in terms of the communication between visitor and museum (1983). The visitor interprets the underlying values of the museum in terms of the values that are important to him or her. If these are incompatible the museum will appear stuffy and unattractive because there exists no common ground on which visitor and museum can communicate. A negative image of museums is then constructed and used as an excuse not to participate in a potentially alienating activity (Prince, 1983). Essentially this thesis states that if the image of museums matches the leisure needs and values of an individual, that person will visit a museum. This explanation for museum-visiting is useful despite seeming obvious, but it also falls short of defining the reasons why the values of only some people coincide with what museums have to offer, nor are the factors that construct the museum's image in society addressed.

Merriman suggested the use of a combination of social theory and leisure theory to explain museum-visiting and, in particular, why some people stay away (1988). In this analysis Merriman proposed that the values that form the basis for leisure choices are constructed and reaffirmed through education and socialisation and that participation in certain leisure activities is, therefore, not based on freedom of choice. 'Leisure opportunities' are, therefore, created by access to certain levels of education and peer influences, as well as access to the necessary physical resources such as transport and money.

The basis for Merriman's approach lies in the concept of *cultural capital* (Bourdieu, 1984). Cultural capital is defined as a package developed through social origins and education. Social origins build a disposition towards specific reactions to different forms of cultural activities. Bourdieu calls this predisposition *habitus*. *Habitus* creates the possibilities that define a style of life, offering choices only within a particular lifestyle (Thompson, 1984). The relationship between education and factors such as income and occupation and *habitus* defines social class (Bourdieu, 1984). Although *habitus* itself is not a determining factor the education system tends to perpetuate the trend set by *habitus* by building on only a specific set of values and, therefore, benefiting most those people with the appropriate social-origins. Cultural capital creates distinctions within society because, as it varies with education or family influences, it allows different groups to participate comfortably with certain activities. 'High culture' and its associated activities and institutions, which are defined by particular classes in society, in effect divide people and at the same time identify people as belonging to a particular class. This is effectively illustrated by Waters (1989), who quotes:

I am an educated, white, middle class, middle-aged male. I'm fairly advantaged. But there are activities I can't bring myself to tackle. For example: I've always wanted to place a bet on a horse, but I've never done so-why? I look at those painted doors of betting shops, and I know that beyond that portal, that threshold, is an alien environment in which I would feel vulnerable. One in which I would run the risk of making a fool of myself because I don't know the language... Now if that is true of me with all my advantages confronting something as simple as putting a bet on a horse, what are we demanding of... any disadvantaged group, in approaching our local art institutions, let alone the major ones.

Bourdieu also proposes that consumption of cultural activities, including museums, is part of a process of communication, which in turn is an act of deciphering a code (1984). Possession of a code suitable for such institutions as museums is dependent on the cultural capital an individual has gained. Communication in the museum context is, therefore,

based on a particular vocabulary, without which the visitor cannot effectively enter into dialogue with the exhibits and thus communication or education cannot occur, regardless of the content of museum exhibits. The lack of a common vocabulary or code can, therefore, exclude many people from a satisfying museum experience. The possible exclusivity of a museum vocabulary is one reason why many people may not visit museums (de Villiers, 1987). This was shown to be a factor in South African museums in an analysis of the reaction of visitors to evolutionary exhibits (Mathers, 1990). It is an important aspect of museum-visiting and underlines the need to understand the interaction between museums and their visitors.

Based on his research in England, Merriman proposed that museum-literacy will define the image of museums (1988, 1989a). The person who does not possess an appropriate code will not be able to enter into the museum experience effectively. As a result museums are endowed with a negative image, which is passed onto children and friends. Museum-visiting becomes another form of distinction (Bourdieu, 1984). The distinctions created by the possession of or lack of this museum code influences both the opportunity and the taste for this particular style of leisure. Leisure choices are, therefore, constrained by the possession or lack of a particular code, leading many people to create an image of the museum that is incompatible with what they value during their leisure time. This implies that people are not fully free to choose to visit a museum. For some people visiting museums is a leisure option that they may or may not exercise, while for others it is not an option at all. It may be possible to broaden the audience of museums by providing visitors with the code in which the work is encoded or by changing the staff of museums, thus changing the cultural capital governing museum exhibits (Bourdieu and Darbel, 1991). Yet these same authors state that: "School is the most efficient means of increasing cultural practise-visits to museums, the theatre or concerts, as well as reading, listening to cultural radio programmes or watching cultural television programmes-at the same time as being the necessary condition for the effectiveness of any other means" (Bourdieu and Darbel, 1991:106).

One difficulty with this approach is that it cannot account for the heritage and museum-visiting boom that has occurred in England over the last 20 years (Merriman, 1988). In order to explain the popularity of museums, Merriman focused on the increasing income and leisure time of Britain's working classes, which allows them greater 'leisure opportunities' and on Bourdieu's proposal that cultural capital can be gained without the normally correlated economic capital, particularly through economically attainable activities such as museum-visiting and hiking. In this sense the flexibility of the concept of *habitus* is useful as, although predisposing some people to be non-visitors, it does not

determine that they should never visit. For example, occasional visitors in the Toledo survey were characterised by similar childhood leisure influences to those of non-participants, yet their range of leisure choices had increased as adults (Hood, 1981). This could indicate a certain upward mobility that resulted in an increased interest in trying out 'high culture' activities such as visiting the museum and the theatre. Merriman has correlated the heritage boom in England, where over the last 10 years the number of museums and heritage centers and the number of people visiting them has increased enormously, with the rising standard of living of semi-skilled and skilled workers (1989a). He argues that aspirations to 'middle class' status leads to museum-visiting, a geographically and economically accessible 'high culture' activity. This emphasises the dynamic nature of leisure values and the existence of factors other than socioeconomic status and, through it cultural capital, that influence leisure choice.

Both Dumazedier (1974) and Rojek (1989c) propose that accessible culture is used as a way of improving social status if work cannot play this role. Museums, in particular, can operate as tools for achieving cultural status as they are cheap and readily accessible structurally to a great many people (Merriman, 1989a, Urry, 1990). Merriman, though, like Bourdieu and Darbel (1991), suggests that social background and education continue to limit the opportunities for certain people, thus ensuring that museum-visiting remains a pastime largely restricted to an educated elite.

Merriman's research also examined attitudes towards the past and how these influenced museum-visiting (1988). These attitudes towards British heritage were linked to the image of museums. This is potentially an important factor for explaining museum-visiting and will hopefully be examined in the future in South Africa. Merriman concludes that although many of the cultural barriers restricting museum-visiting can be broken down, only basic social change, giving all people access to the same educational and recreational opportunities, can make museums truly accessible to all.

The social theory of Bourdieu (1984), as interpreted by Merriman in combination with leisure theory, may be useful for examining the phenomenon of museum-visiting in South Africa, particularly as visiting museums is associated with an upwardly mobile 'middle class'. It does not, however, fully explain why museum-visiting is not an exclusive activity for the middle-classes or the upwardly mobile. For example, people, regardless of education or occupation were represented amongst museum visitors, although not proportionally to their distribution in Kingston-upon-Hull (Prince and Schadla-Hall, 1985). Prince found that 'middle class' upper income people were over-represented at all interpretation sites including nature trails, countryside education centers and town

museums, but this feature was less marked at museums, which were visited by far more unskilled workers (1983). Doughty (1968a, 1968b) and Erwin (1971), found no relationship between a high socioeconomic status and participation in museums. A high proportion of Merriman's sample (82%) had at one time or another visited a museum even though frequency of museum-visiting increased with increased income and educational status (1988). This implies that there is no absolute class or social barrier determining why some people will visit and others will feel excluded. Such a contradiction indicates that a wide range of leisure choices are not restricted to a particular class and that museum-visiting may still be a leisure choice for people who lack the cultural capital traditionally associated with 'high culture'.

My review of the theories presented above is not intended as a critique of their internal consistency, but as an evaluation of their applicability to real situations encountered by museums. Merriman's analysis can partly explain why some people do not visit museums but it does not fully account for the wide range of people that do visit museums, nor does it allow that museums may be culturally popular. Theory which focuses on the ideological and historical content of museums indicates much of what is alienating about museums but does not provide an explanation of why some members of the oppressed classes choose to visit museums, nor how the museum should adjust in a society undergoing a process of democratisation. Similarly research focused on identifying the values held by museum-visitors, while useful in itself, does not lead to an understanding of the origin of those values. The existing theory still does not address the crucial moment when a non-visitor decides to become a visitor or not, which is the point at which museums most need to intervene. This is important as the more people who participate in a cultural activity, the less its distinctive power (Bourdieu, 1984). I shall therefore re-examine leisure theory, particularly in the South African context to try to show that museum-visiting can become a choice for many more people.

Museums as leisure opportunities

Modern museums sometimes suffer from an unresolved awkwardness between entertainment and education. Yet an alternative view of the museum's history to the one presented at the beginning of this chapter suggests that museums were institutions that always tried to balance academic research with both entertainment and public enlightenment (Hooper-Greenhill, 1991). This review of the rise of public museums in the early 20th century indicates that their aims were based on a need to offer opportunities for constructive use of leisure time. They were opened to the general public and specifically aimed at the semi-skilled and skilled workforce as a way of teaching the skills necessary to

fit into the mainstream of culture. The concept of recreation as a constructive use of spare time to recuperate for work is associated with a theory of a leisure society in which people need to be educated for leisure (Parker, 1976). Museums do need to guard against the potentially coercive and controlling aspects of this concept of recreation (Parker, 1976), which is a result of an outdated and paternalistic notion of what is good, normal or responsible leisure (Rojek, 1989a).

During the 16th and 17th centuries the 'cabinets of curiosities', that now form the basis of many modern museum collections, were for enjoyment as well as scholarly research (Impey and MacGregor, 1985). These collections started out as the private collections of nobles and natural scientists attempting to create microcosms of the known world as it was expanded by discoverers and colonialists. For the aristocrat they served as metaphors of power and domination over the natural world; for the burgeoning sciences they were an attempt to quantify and exhibit everything known to humankind so as to be able to describe and understand the world around them (Impey and MacGregor, 1985). But these collections moved naturally between scientifically interesting artefact and the exotic curio that attracted large public audiences. Although many of the collections formed the basis for intense research and instruction, they were arranged, not systematically, but in order to please the eye. Such collections may have belonged to powerful princes and respected academics, but their organisational principles were based on the desire to entertain and to please viewers (Impey and MacGregor, 1985).

Other important influences on modern museums are the Great International Exhibitions of the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Greenhalgh, 1989). These exhibitions were overtly political and commercial yet fulfilled their aim to be vehicles for mass education. In England a balance was not always achieved between the educational and cultural exhibits and the fairground attractions. The Parisian *Exposition Universelle* did not suffer from this conflict between learning and entertainment (Greenhalgh, 1989). Their main aim was to ensure that all visitors had a good time and education was firmly integrated into this goal. These *Expositions* show that fun is not antithetical to learning, and that the two roles of museums - education and leisure - can be reconciled. The museum's past, therefore, places its role firmly in the realm of leisure-learning. Much of the theory developed to explain museum-visiting, based on research conducted in and out of museums, has focused on the factors that influence the leisure choice to visit museums.

The theories of Hood, Prince and Merriman all address museum-visiting as a leisure activity for adults and all suggest that there are learning components to this form of leisure. A distinction between pure leisure, leisure-learning or semi-leisure is not made by

these authors. Pure leisure is essentially time spent outside of the obligations caused by work, family and the fulfillment of basic needs. In a country like South Africa, where for some sections of the population basic needs, such as education, housing and health tend to come before considerations of leisure opportunities and where the factors constraining leisure choices are so great, it is necessary to look beyond the limitations imposed on leisure choices to understand the roles that museums can play. Leisure time and space are constantly being defined and redefined by the actions of people (Bishop and Hoggett, 1989, Moorhouse, 1989, Rojek, 1989b). Leisure cannot be defined in terms of the type of activities participated in during leisure time as anything and everything can fulfill the pure leisure needs of individuals. These factors make it difficult to define leisure in terms of work although the general understanding of leisure is as the antithesis of work (Frisby, 1989, Parker, 1976). Despite many social and structural constraints, leisure, no matter what the activity, is associated with a feeling of freedom of choice (Moorhouse, 1989). It is this element of choice, which characterises leisure lifestyles even in South Africa (Richards, 1991), that makes leisure theory so complex.

If leisure is defined in terms of the state of mind associated with participation, it is possible to address the choice made to participate in particular kinds of leisure activities (Moorhouse, 1989). This element of choice means that leisure allows an exploration of identity and personal development not possible through work. Dumazedier offers a useful definition of leisure as any activity that excludes remunerated work, family obligations and socio-spiritual obligations, but includes all activities that achieve a feeling of personal self-fulfillment (1974). Participation in leisure activities provides an identity anchor, defining personality beyond the influence of family and peer groups through allowing self-expression (Prince, 1983). There is no doubt that many constraints influence leisure choices. These include: time, cost, occupation, class, education, car ownership and sex (Parker, 1976). But despite these constraints, which mean that leisure may be socially constructed, leisure is not socially determined as freedom of choice is experienced by the participants (Rojek, 1989a). It is, therefore, important to understand the choices made by people within the constraints imposed by society.

Museums offer leisure-learning opportunities to adults of all generations. Yet, as discussed in chapter 1, they blur the boundaries between work and leisure because of their association with school-work and institutionalised education. Museum-visiting may not provide the feelings associated with other leisure activities but may be a chosen leisure activity because of a need to spend spare time doing worthwhile things, for self-education or for gaining cultural capital. Such a need may be socially constructed (Merriman, 1988)

or be due to necessity, but it seems to play a role in the leisure lifestyles of many South Africans and is, therefore, important in considering museum-visiting in this country.

Research amongst township youth has shown the existence of a *semi-leisure syndrome* (Møller, 1991: 10), which may be typical of teenagers and youth in developing countries. Semi-leisure has two aspects, one related to activity and the other to state of mind. Township youth spend a great deal of their leisure time doing obligatory activities such as housework. But these youth also take their leisure very seriously and believe that their time has not been well spent unless it was spent doing something worthwhile. The obligation then is towards spending time doing tasks that increase their skills for future employment or personal development. Despite the sense of obligation associated with these activities, they provide a personal sense of fulfillment and as such offer the attributes of pure leisure (Møller, 1991). Semi-leisure therefore combines the feelings associated with pure leisure with the obligation associated with the task being undertaken. It is an amalgamation of work and leisure (Dumazedier, 1967) that is not only common to the people normally seen as participating in adult education or museums, but may be typical of societies that need to make up for the deprivations in their schooling and employment opportunities (Richards, 1991). The concept of semi-leisure takes one beyond the idea of 'leisure opportunities' that are undoubtedly limited for many South Africans, and offers the possibility to study the potential choice to visit museums.

Despite this commitment to learning during leisure time, township youth suffer from a lack of leisure-learning or adult education opportunities, which leaves them frustrated, bored and prey for destructive activities (Møller, 1991). This lack of opportunities leads to young people becoming enormously creative in making their leisure more exciting and worthwhile. This is particularly the case with the youth clubs and societies, which young people look to for education and skills development, rather than simply for recreation (Møller, 1991). A similar problem is experienced by retired township residents who suffer from the loss of their traditional roles in the extended family (Møller and Nkosi, 1992), and also seek opportunities for constructive leisure activities that offer them greater respect in their communities.

Although my research has not focused on young people, the concept of semi-leisure can be usefully applied to explain participation in museums. Museums combine leisure-learning opportunities with recreation and as such offer a semi-leisure activity. The sense of obligation associated with doing something worthwhile, such as museum-visiting (Hood, 1981), or aspiring to 'middle class' status through museum-visiting (Merriman, 1988) can be translated into a choice for a personally fulfilling leisure activity or semi-

leisure. Using a framework of semi-leisure to understand museum-visiting, therefore, allows the incorporation of the various theories presented here to build a multifaceted understanding of why people do or do not visit museums. This framework is particularly useful for museums aiming to make adult education and recreation an important component of their role. Each perspective outlined in this chapter cannot fully explain the phenomenon of museum-visiting but the use of an umbrella concept such as semi-leisure offers an opportunity for using each theory where it is most useful. The following chapter describes the research conducted for this project.

THE SURVEY

Information about the role of museums in South African society is based largely on museum-visitor surveys which are specific to particular museums and are only representative of actual visitors. Broader knowledge is necessary to set in motion a process whereby museums change and develop to meet the needs of their public. This understanding can be gained through comprehensive research by museums on their audience and the role that they play in society. This chapter outlines the method used in conducting research on the image of the museum amongst Cape Town parents and on adult attitudes to museums as a leisure choice. A sample of 319 parents from 9 schools representing a broad socioeconomic spectrum was used. Questionnaires addressing a range of issues, including museum-visiting habits and perceptions of the role of museums, were distributed via the schools.

The information obtained from surveys conducted at South African museums, indicates who visits museums and describes them and their reasons for visiting and what they enjoy most about specific museums (eg. Bigalke, 1984, van Zyl, 1976). But there exists almost no information on people who do not visit museums. One survey conducted by the Africana museum asked representatives of a range of organisations why they visited or did not visit museums but this research focused on aspects of history represented in museums (Ben-Guri, 1990). This survey is not sufficient to gain an understanding of the complexity of museum-visiting in South Africa. Although comprehensive research has been conducted in Britain and America (eg. Merriman, 1988, Nash, 1975), South African museums must understand the South African public.

In order to understand non-visiting in South Africa factors that govern potential visitors' attitudes towards museums need to be collected. This can be done by quantitative research, which relies on figures and statistics, or qualitative research, which is more in-depth (Mouton and Marais, 1988). Quantitative research aims to achieve results that are generalizable for a large population. Qualitative research can be useful in both defining the issues that need further, more quantitative study, or in following up on quantitative research by offering a more detailed understanding of issues raised by initial analysis. The knowledge needed of their audiences by South African museums requires exploratory research based on quantitative methods, which does not require the in-depth quality of interviews or focus group discussions but does require large numbers. Quantitative

research can gather the information necessary for more qualitative analysis in the future. A questionnaire that did not demand interpretation or explanation was chosen as the vehicle for this research.

SAMPLE

The area of research was limited to Cape Town. A representative sample of the entire population of the Cape was not possible as methods of identifying a random sample are expensive and not always successful in South Africa. Since South Africa lacks a comprehensive voters' role that includes all South Africans and the majority of the Cape's residents do not possess telephones or cars and are, therefore, not listed in telephone directories or car registration pools, some forms of random sampling are inappropriate in the South African context.

Museums have strong relationships with schools and the majority of their visitors are school children who are on organised trips. However, this survey examines museums as potential leisure or semi-leisure options and, therefore, an adult sample was chosen. Adults can choose to visit museums for their educational or their recreational services. The inequality in the education system and the recent urbanization of a large proportion of the population of the Cape means that it is not possible to assume that all South Africans have visited museums or know about museums through friends or family.

In most surveys conducted in this country and abroad respondents cited their children as the main reason for their visiting a museum (Alt, 1980, Lotter and Botha, 1962, Mason, 1974, Trevelyan, 1991). Museums also often gear their programmes towards young children and their parents. Parents would, therefore, have the greatest potential of having heard about museums and are also most likely to have visited, if only to take their children. The most important demographic factor that influenced museum-visiting in Kingston-upon-Hull (Prince and Schadla-Hall, 1985) was age. Museum-visiting was associated with the time when family and children are major components in an adult's life. Parents of school-going children who are therefore potential museum-visitors were selected as the sample for this survey.

This sample is not representative of a general population of the Cape Peninsula. It is representative of literate parents of school aged children, who have access to schooling. This population may represent a best-case scenario for potential if not active museum-visitors because parents are most likely to have heard of and possibly visited museums in the recent past, and also to feel that museums are important as they have children that could benefit from the museum's resources. The results of this survey should be most

relevant for potential museum-visitors. The return rate of questionnaires from parents would also be high because of the interest that parents are likely to have in what museums may offer them or their children.

The sample does not include the people who are potentially frequent museum-visitors such as childless people, retired people or school children and students. The sample also excludes the many non-literate people who are unable to read a questionnaire or those who have probably never been exposed to a museum or felt the desire or need to visit one.

One of the advantages of a sample of parents of school-going children was that they could be reached through schools. Schools in South Africa have historically been divided on the basis of race and, while apartheid structures are being dismantled, in practise school apartheid still exists. This means that schools operate as economic and educational indices of the parents of the children that attend them. Besides departmental control over attendance, geographic and economic factors also play a role parent's choice of schools. As a result it was possible to select schools, administered by various departments, differently placed geographically and catering to children from families with different economic status.

Table 6: Summary of school characteristics

School	Area	Language	Income	Race ¹
AHS	Suburbs	English	High	White
APS	Suburbs	English	Middle/High	White
APP1	Suburbs	English	High	White
APP2	Suburbs	English	High	White
A/BHS	City	English	Middle/High	White
BHS	City	English	Middle	Coloured
BPS	Flats	English	Middle/Low	Coloured
CHS	Township	Xhosa	Low	Black
CPS	Township	Xhosa	Low	Black

1. Based on Government classification, that defines the department that administers a school.

Nine schools were asked to participate in this project. They were selected in order that the sample would include parents with a range of income and educational levels. Analysis of the results indicates that this was successful, as will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5. Each school differed significantly from the others in terms of the age, education and occupation of their parents. Each school is, therefore, a package representing the socioeconomic status and geographic position of its parents (Table 6). The institutions include 1 high school (AHS), 1 junior school (APS) and 2 pre-primary schools (APP1, APP2) in the Southern suburbs of Cape Town. Their parents were English speaking,

generally educated beyond Matric and worked in clerical or professional jobs. The Southern suburbs are characterised by people in the higher income brackets. Two high schools in the City (A/BHS, a 'white' school and BHS, a 'coloured' school) and 1 primary school (BPS) on the Cape Flats, an area that used to be restricted to 'coloured' people, had fewer parents with tertiary education and they worked largely in clerical, production or professional jobs. These areas denote middle to low income brackets for their residents. The medium of teaching is English but some parents at the latter two schools may have been Afrikaans speaking. The schools requested that their questionnaires be in English. A small sample was also obtained from 1 high school (CHS) and 1 primary school (CPS) in a Peninsula township. Townships are that part of South African towns and cities, that until recently were the only urban areas where black South Africans were allowed to live. The townships consist largely of a combination of cheap housing developments, site and service areas, where limited facilities are provided for shack dwellers and shacklands, where no facilities are available. Few township areas are electrified and there are generally insufficient schools and recreational facilities to cater to the needs of the residents. The majority of their parents had not completed school up to matric, work largely in service jobs and have low or no incomes.

The sample from CPS comes from a range of primary schools in the township, which were approached by an education officer at the South African Museum through the teachers who had brought their classes to the museum. This sample differs from the other township school as the parents would have heard about museums because their children had all visited the South African Museum on a school trip. Differences in results between these schools could indicate the potential influence of museums' school programmes on their parents visiting patterns (See chapter 8).

'White' English and Afrikaans speaking people do not differ in their museum-visiting habits (Mathers, 1990) and numbers of English and Afrikaans speaking visitors do not differ. Any difference between these two populations would be due to possible economic and educational differences, which are addressed by the sample. Differences in attitudes towards the past, which may result from different political and cultural social contexts, would be important to consider in research that addresses the re-representation of history in museums. This issue, though, is not considered by the present research. Since language was not considered to be an important factor in this study no Afrikaans medium school was included in the sample.

DISTRIBUTION

Each school was given between 80 and 300 questionnaires, depending on how many they felt able to distribute. Each questionnaire included a covering letter addressed to parents [Appendix A]. Teachers distributed them to children in different classes. Some schools gave their questionnaires to Std 4 and 5 pupils (APS) or to Std 2 and 3 pupils (BPS), whereas others (A/BHS, BHS) handed out questionnaires throughout the school. Questionnaires were available in English or Xhosa.

Table 7: Response rate from the different schools

School	Distributed	Returned	
	N	N	%
AHS	80	45	56
APS	165	46	28
APP1	20	12	60
APP2	40	17	43
A/BHS	140	30	21
BHS	150	67	45
BPS	150	62	41
CHS	300	16	5
CPS	100	24	24
Total	1145	319	28

Between 20 September and 20 November 1991 1145 questionnaires were distributed to 9 schools and 319 completed questionnaires were returned, a 28% return rate (Table 7). All the questionnaires were taken home by the school pupils to their parents and once they were completed returned to school to be collected by the class teacher. Not all returned questionnaires were completed but those that had sufficient information to contribute to this research were included in the sample. Although it was not compulsory for the children to return a completed questionnaire, the usual practise at most schools of sending notes to parents should have increased the possibility of children returning to class with completed questionnaires. Although principals of the schools were very happy to allow the project to go ahead, they wanted it to happen with minimum disturbance and I did not, as anticipated, get the opportunity of discussing the research aims and methods with the teachers that would actually have to do the work, which possibly reduced the return-rate. The one school (AHS) where I did have the opportunity to talk to the staff did, in fact, achieve a high return rate (56%, Table 6). A greater degree of contact with teachers would ensure that this method of distributing questionnaires would be successful where the sample is appropriate.

It is likely that lower percentages of return rates such as from the township schools (CPS and CHS, see Table 6) are due to qualitative factors, such as less knowledge about museums or lower confidence in their ability to assess them. Some parents may have been less educated than their children. Another factor that may have contributed to a low response rate is that many parents from the Cape Flats and City schools (A/BHS, BHS, BPS) could have been Afrikaanse speaking. The schools, though, had insisted on the questionnaires all being in English. Pupils were encouraged to help their parents to read and complete the questionnaires, but illiteracy may have contributed to low levels of participation. The low return rate from the Township schools is also partially due to the fact that it was only possible to get questionnaires to the school (CHS) after the Matric students had begun to write exams. At this time the rest of the school also stopped operating normally, teachers and pupils did not come to school regularly and it was impossible to control who had been given questionnaires and whether they had been back to school since then. As the students were the only link with their parents this caused a disruption in distribution.

In spite of these difficulties the sample does include parents from groups without the socioeconomic status traditionally associated with museum-visiting. This survey has succeeded in reaching parents with a wide range of educational and occupational status, and particularly parents that would not be reached by a museum-visitor survey.

PILOT STUDY

In the months during which the questionnaire was being devised the topic of museums was discussed with a number of people who were part of the selected sample. This process proved useful in ensuring that the questions asked in the questionnaire did cover the full range of issues pertaining to museum-visiting. Interviews were conducted with residents in the township, as they represented the population that has been most neglected by previous research. These informal discussions were conducted in the course of one afternoon, through introductions by a teacher at the school where the survey would be conducted, and were largely with teachers and community leaders, all of whom were parents. The aim of these interviews was to gather some preliminary information about the attitude of residents to museums. These subjects had a good understanding of the general attitude towards museums and the extent to which museums are used by their community. This did make it possible to anticipate some responses and indicated that although museums were not visited, they were perceived as potentially valuable educational institutions even in the townships.

A combination of these interviews, discussion and literature review contributed to a final draft form of the questionnaire. A pilot study was then conducted with a group of parents of children at a variety of different schools from pre-primary to high school. In a relaxed, informal situation respondents were asked to complete the questionnaire in the presence of the researcher. They were given no more information than would be available to the parents participating in the actual project. This process made it possible to measure the time that it would take someone, on average, to complete the questionnaire (between 15 and 30 min) and indicated problem questions, as the respondents were free to voice any problems that they had with interpreting and answering the questions. This process was followed up by drafting the final version of the questionnaire in English, which was then translated into Xhosa (Appendix A).

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire was divided into three categories, firstly biographical details, including participation in various cultural activities and secondly general attitudes towards museum and basic knowledge and use of museum facilities. The third section dealt with actual museum-visiting habits and the reasons for visiting or not visiting (Appendix A). Almost all questions were precoded and closed, although they did allow a choice under an 'other' category. The use of closed questions facilitated analysis but was also necessary because museums are not a subject that many people think about or discuss much. Open questions would have required a commitment from the respondent in terms of some creative energy. As very few respondents had any other answers than the options suggested, the questionnaire seems to have succeeded in covering most people's attitudes.

Biographical variables were selected on the basis of their potential influence on museum-visiting habits. They were sex, age, education and occupation. The latter was coded on the basis of definitions of occupation used in the Statistical abstract of the United States (US Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1988). The question first asked; What is your occupation? and then asked respondents to describe what they did. This facilitated coding responses into 7 categories: professional, technical, clerical, service, production, housewife and other, which included pensioners and students.

Question 1, the only open question asked: what is the first thing that comes to your mind when you think of museums? It elicited a response before parents could be influenced by other questions, as long as they had not already read through the questionnaire. The answers were coded in terms of categories that would be useful for comparison with the other attitude questions. It was important to obtain some measure of parent's attitudes

that were not adapted to the researchers aims and this question appears to have achieved this.

Questions 2 and 3 were aimed at assessing the cultural literacy of the respondents and their commitment to various cultural pursuits. Question 2 asked how often parents had been to a range of 'high culture' events, such as plays or historical monuments, in the last 12 months. This question was aimed at testing Merriman's (1988) hypothesis that museum-visiting is correlated with participation in 'high culture'.

Question 3 examined participation in activities, mainly around Cape Town, that incorporate educational and environmental qualities by asking parents whether they had visited a range of leisure activities (3a) and also to rank (3b) the 10 activities in order of preference. The questionnaire excluded activities, such as the beach, cinema, reading, TV and other leisure options that either do not require an excursion out of the home or else do not include an educational component. This research specifically focuses on leisure-learning activities as they are the most comparable to museum-visiting. Museums are never going to offer the style of leisure found in cinemas or at the beach, but they do compete with other, perhaps less demanding, leisure-learning activities. It is, therefore, important for museums to understand their audiences participation in such activities. Question 3 was also useful for testing the relationship between lifestyles that include 'high culture', leisure-learning activities and museum-visiting.

Question 3b was not completed by all respondents who often only ranked the activities from 1 to 3 or 5. It is possible that respondents believed that the places had to have been visited in order to rank them. Ranking 10 activities is a difficult task and many respondents may not have wanted to take the time to complete this section. Factors such as memory could also have influenced the responses to questions 2 and 3 as one does not always remember how many times one has attended a play in the last 12 months, particularly if it was not a special event. Aspirations to fit into a particular cultural class may also cause people to exaggerate their participation in such activities, despite the complete anonymity that existed in this research (Schnetler, 1989).

Question 4 asked respondents to choose the most important audience for museums and question 5 asked whether a range of activities were important or unimportant for museums. These questions examined how the museum's role is perceived by parents. They deal with very similar attitudes and reinforce each other. It appears to have been a mistake to include an option for *everybody* in question 4 as most respondents tended to choose this option. This may reflect a healthy notion of the museum as serving everybody but could

The next set of questions addressed actual museum-visiting habits and the factors that may encourage people to visit or discourage them from visiting. Question 9 on the frequency of museum-visiting attempts to separate respondents into groups of non-visitors (never, not as an adult, not for the last 10 or 5 years), occasional visitors (every 2 to 3 years, once a year, about twice a year) or frequent visitors (every 1 to 3 months). Responses could also have been effected by memory gaps or by exaggeration for the sake of appearing enthusiastic museum-visitors. Question 9 was the first point at which various respondents had to branch off to answer different questions. This seems to have worked well with most drop-out seeming to be due to questionnaire fatigue, rather than confusion.

All Cape Town museums were specified in the list in question 10, which assessed which museums were the most popular in Cape Town, in terms of how many parents had visited them. The Air-force museum in Ysterplaat and the Tokai Forest museum, which are not listed in the museums' directory (Kinahan, 1988) had been visited by only 1 or 2 parents. By listing all museums the problem of respondents having to try and remember which museums they had visited was excluded. There was some confusion over names of museums with some parents saying that they had visited the Natural Science museum in the Gardens, which is, in fact, the South African Museum. Question 10c asked respondents how they had heard of the museums that they had visited. This question depended a lot on memory and different museums advertise in different mediums, which may have made it difficult to complete. The options excluded books and TV, which had been sources of information about museums for a small group of parents.

The final questions (10d to 13) all dealt with reasons for visiting or not visiting museums, either locally or while travelling or on holiday. In general, it seems that parents only completed a questionnaire if they had visited museums. Only a small portion of the sample had to answer question 13 on why they had never visited a museum or had not visited as an adult. Visitor surveys (Bigalke, 1982, Mathers, 1990) often indicate that the majority of visitors to South African museums are from out of town. Many people are, in fact, more likely to visit museums in foreign places. Question 12 attempts to pinpoint why this is so. In questions 10d *fun* was crossed out by many respondents of the option *fun/relaxing* and *exciting, new* and *different* were crossed out in another option so that museums were simply *interesting*. These sorts of choices should not have been given as it was not possible to know to which adjectives respondents were actually answering yes.

A last page was left for comments and this was welcomed by many respondents, in particular the parents from the township schools, most of whom made some sort of comment. They were translated by Dumisani Sibayi, education officer at the South

African Museum. The comments suggested that respondents had been conciliatory in answering the questionnaire as the comments indicated a more negative attitude to museums than the responses.

In conclusion the sample used in this research reflects the attitudes of a much broader audience than has previously been reached by research on museums in South Africa. The trends that surface from this survey will tend to be more positive than would be found amongst a more random sample because of the selection of parents of school-going children as the target audience. The response rate may have been higher if some of the questions that did not directly address the issues being explored had been excluded. The results, though, can be useful in formulating ideas about the role of museums in South Africa and, particularly, the factors that could encourage new audiences to participate in what museums have to offer. This survey focuses on adult potential museum-visitors. A more qualitative approach would need to be used by museums to investigate the factors that would draw people who have never had a museums experience into museums.

MUSEUMS AND PARENTS: THEIR RESPONSE TO THE SURVEY

If our visitors reflect our image and our appeal then we appear to have a long way to go before we shake off the musty, dusty, frumpy reputation that we have and start attracting through our doors the younger set, the men, the less well educated and the non-white visitor. Du Toit-Shay, 1987: 258.

This chapter describes the sample that responded to the questionnaire. I discuss who they represent and briefly compare the respondents with the samples from museum-visitor surveys that have been conducted in South African museums. I also describe the sample's museum-visiting experience. The response rate was 28% with a total of 319 questionnaires used for analysis. Private schools and Afrikaans medium schools were not included in the sample, the latter because of practical constraints, the former because they represent an extreme minority of the peninsula's population. Most respondents had visited a museum but the sample does include parents with varying socioeconomic status. It is, therefore, possible, if limitations are taken into account, to use this research for broader analysis of museum participation and non-visiting.

THE SAMPLE

The majority (64%) of respondents were female (Table 1). This is possibly because mothers are the recipients of forms from school or because women are more likely to be single parents. In other South African museum-visitor surveys (Lotter and Botha, 1962, Kerr and Hopley, 1974, Mathers, 1990) men tended to be over-represented. In these surveys men seemed less reluctant than women to fill in questionnaires and were less likely than women to be accompanied by small children, who make it difficult to take the time to complete a questionnaire (Mathers, 1990). The results from these surveys, therefore, do not reflect the composition of museum-visitors but rather questionnaire-response factors (Schnetler, 1989). This is another reason why it is so important to sample people outside of museums.

The majority of respondents were between the ages of 31 and 40 years (56%) or 41 and 50 years (30%, Table 8). This reflects the ages of people with children at school. The small group of respondents older than 50 years (7%) may be grandparents looking after school-going children for working parents. The majority of these (43%) are from the township

schools (CHS, CPS), where it is more likely that both parents work away from home and that grandparents would be responsible for children (Møller, 1990).

TABLE 8: Demographic variables*

% row School	N	Sex		Age					Total 317
		Male 115	Female 203	20-25 11	26-30 12	31-40 178	41-50 95	>50 21	
AHS	44	27	73	2	0	53	36	9	100%
APS	44	26	74	2	0	67	28	3	100%
APP1	12	25	75	0	0	83	17	0	100%
APP2	17	12	88	0	0	76	24	0	100%
A/BHS	30	33	67	6	0	60	27	7	100%
BHS	67	48	52	2	0	45	47	6	100%
BPS	60	45	55	5	8	62	23	2	100%
CHS	15	47	53	6	6	19	25	44	100%
CPS	29	29	71	4	21	50	17	8	100%

* Significant at 0.05 level

The greatest difference between this survey and most museum-visitor surveys is that this sample is not dominated by university/college educated and professional people or housewives (Table 9 and Table 10). Although highly educated professionals are over represented and housewives under represented in terms of the Western Cape population (Population Census, 1985), the sample does include a higher proportion of people without a tertiary education than is normally obtained in museum-visitor surveys (eg. Bigalke, 1982, Immelman, 1972, Mathers, 1990, Van Zyl, 1976). The sample is far more representative of the general population than a cross section of visitors to a museum on a specific day. It is, though, restricted to the literate and urban portion of Cape Town's population due to the nature of the survey methodology. This has resulted in a low representation of unskilled workers, parents with no education or only a primary school education and no responses from farmers and fisherman. The black population of the Cape is also under represented. Students and pensioners were not sampled as they are unlikely to be parents of school-going children. But people who are not generally reached by museum-visitor surveys have been questioned about their views on museums.

TABLE 9: Educational level*

% row School	N	Primary school 23	Std 8 96	Matric 68	College/ Technikon 74	University 58	Total 319
AHS	44	5	20	22	31	22	100%
APS	44	0	8	33	48	11	100%
APP1	12	0	0	0	17	83	100%
APP2	17	0	0	18	35	47	100%
A/BHS	30	17	50	20	7	6	100%
BHS	67	9	33	27	13	18	100%
BPS	60	6	47	11	21	15	100%
CHS	16	31	44	19	6	0	100%
CPS	29	4	46	25	17	8	100%

* Significant at 0.05 level

TABLE 10: Occupation*

% row School N	Professional	Technical	Clerical	Service	Production
	73	38	61	32	32
AHS 44	27	18	27	4	0
APS 48	15	20	24	2	11
APP1 11	75	0	0	0	0
APP2 17	59	12	0	0	0
A/BHS 30	3	17	20	10	13
BHS 67	27	15	21	6	12
BPS 62	23	6	24	13	18
CHS 14	0	0	7	43	14
CPS 24	8	0	9	33	8

TABLE 10 continued

% row School N	Housewife	Other	Total
	59	22	317
AHS 44	22	2	100%
APS 48	28	0	100%
APP1 11	25	0	100%
APP2 17	24	5	100%
A/BHS 30	30	7	100%
BHS 67	15	4	100%
BPS 62	15	1	100%
CHS 14	7	29	100%
CPS 24	0	42	100%

* Significant at 0.05 level

Each school differs significantly from the others in terms of the age, education and occupation of their parents (Tables 8 to 10). Schools define a package of traits due to their geographic position and the socioeconomic status of their parents. For example, township schools had a higher proportion of young (less than 30 years old) and older (greater than 50 years old) parents than the other schools, and parents from the Southern Suburbs were most likely to be educated beyond school and less likely to work in production than parents from the other schools. Schools, rather than the separate characteristics of education or occupation, were, therefore, used throughout this research to assess differences in museum-visiting habits and attitude towards museums.

MUSEUM-VISITING

Few respondents (1%) had never heard of museums and only 8.4% had never visited a museum or had not visited as an adult (Table 11).

TABLE 11: Frequency of museum-visiting

	N	%
Never	8	3
Not as an adult	18	6
Not for 10 years	20	7
Not for 5 years	38	12
Every 2 to 3 years	48	15
Once a year	57	18
About twice a year	93	30
Every 1 to 3 months	29	9
Total	311	100%

The majority of the sample who had visited a museum as adults had visited museums in Cape Town (88%) and fewer (59%) had visited museums outside of Cape Town (Table 12).

TABLE 12

	Museum-visiting In Cape Town		Museum-visiting While travelling	
	N	%	N	%
Yes	280	88	188	59
No	5	1	91	29
Unknown	34	11	40	12
Total	319	100%	319	100%

The sample is not representative of the people who have never visited a museum. This is a function of the fact that few people will fill in a questionnaire on a subject about which they know very little (Schnetler, 1989). This is due partly to a feeling of being tested that may be associated with a questionnaire, and because of a lack of interest in something that is not a part of one's lifestyle. Once again it is clear that the sample represents only museum-literate parents and can only be used to make speculative statements about non-visitors.

The following chapter examines the relationship between the lifestyle of parents and museum-visiting. In particular, it examines the hypothesis that museum-visiting is constrained by the socioeconomic status and education of potential participants and the influence of leisure lifestyles on museum-visiting.

LIFESTYLES AND MUSEUM-VISITING

I'm not really a doer. I'm not the person climbing Mount Everest, I'm the person watching it on television. Non-visitor. Audience Research Consortium. 1990: 26.

This chapter describes the museum-visiting habits of the respondents and discusses the relationship between museum-visiting and other leisure activities. Schools were used to compare the museum-visiting habits of parents with their socioeconomic status. This was an effective way of analysing the results because of the significant relationship between the school from which questionnaires were collected and the package of education, occupation and the income of parents as reflected in the geographic position of schools. Previous research (Merriman, 1988, 1989a, 1989b) has suggested that museum-visiting is dependent on the possession of a particular cultural and economic package. Such a package is developed through schooling and family and peer socialization that encourage education or 'high culture' and worthwhile leisure pursuits. This means that museum-visiting should be strongly associated with a high educational level and with cultural pursuits, such as the theatre, or constructive leisure, such as visiting botanical gardens. But museum-visiting surveys do not always show a static relationship between socioeconomic status and museum-visiting (Prince and Schadla-Hall, 1985, Doughty, 1968). This was also the case with the survey of Cape parents. I, therefore, propose that museum-visiting is equally related to an attitude to leisure-lifestyle.

Museum-visiting frequency was significantly related to the schools from which questionnaires were collected. Museum-visiting is more frequent amongst respondents from schools characterised by parents with higher education and incomes and who work in professional positions (Table 13). This tends to support Merriman's (1988) hypothesis that people without a specific cultural and educational background are excluded from museums.

TABLE 13: Frequency of museum-visiting*

% row School N	Never 8	Not as adult 18	an Not for years 20	10 Not for years 38	5 Every 2-3 years 47
AHS 44	2	0	5	16	22
APS 47	0	0	0	2	33
APP1 12	0	0	0	0	0
APP2 17	0	6	0	0	5
A/BHS 27	7	7	4	22	8
BHS 65	0	7	9	14	12
BPS 59	5	10	8	15	15
CHS 15	13	13	27	13	7
CPS 24	0	8	8	17	9

TABLE 13 continued

% row School N	Once a year 57	About twice a year 93	Every 1 to 3 months 29	Total 310
AHS 44	11	42	2	100%
APS 47	15	39	11	100%
APP1 12	0	33	67	100%
APP2 17	12	53	24	100%
A/BHS 27	7	30	15	100%
BHS 65	28	22	8	100%
BPS 59	22	22	3	100%
CHS 15	14	13	0	100%
CPS 24	33	25	0	100%

* Significant at 0.05 level

Questions 2 and 3 asked parents about their attendance at a range of 'high culture' and leisure-learning activities. They were aimed at assessing the extent to which respondents fitted the proposed cultural profile of a museum visitor so as to be able to test the relationship between museum-visiting and 'high culture'.

The majority of respondents had not attended a ballet (78%) or an opera (81%) over the last 12 months, but 59% had attended a music concert, 69% had been to a play, 63% had visited a Historical Monument and 87% had used a library once, or more than once, over the 12 months before completing the questionnaire (Table 14). Venues and form of entertainment probably differ significantly for parents from the different schools but these results indicates that the sample was familiar with a range of cultural events.

Table 14: Attendance at 'high culture' events

More than one visit in the last 12 months

	Ballet		Opera		Play		Music concert		Historical monument		Library	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	70	22	58	19	216	69	183	59	195	63	270	87
No	243	78	254	81	96	31	129	41	117	37	42	13

Participation in most of these cultural events is positively related to museum-visiting. Frequency of attendance at the opera, music concerts and libraries is significantly related to school and, therefore, to socioeconomic status (Table 1, Appendix B). Opera and ballet attendance is not significantly related to frequency of museum-visiting, probably because of the small sample of respondents that go to such performances. But parents who attend the theatre and who visit historical monuments and libraries are also likely to visit museums at least once every 2 or 3 years and probably more often (Table 15).

Table 15: Attendance at 'high culture' events compared with museum-visiting frequency¹

Frequency	N	Plays*	Music*	Historical*	Library*
		211	180	193	266
Never	7	0	2	1	2
Not as an adult	18	4	3	3	4
Not for 10 years	19	5	6	4	6
Not for 5 years	38	11	11	8	11
Every 2 to 3 years	48	16	12	13	15
Once a year	56	19	19	20	19
About twice a year	93	34	35	37	32
Every 1-3 months	29	11	12	14	11
Total	308	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 15 continued

Frequency	N	Ballet	Opera
		69	57
Never	7	0	0
Not as an adult	18	3	2
Not for 10 years	19	3	0
Not for 5 years	38	11	12
Every 2 to 3 years	48	9	5
Once a year	56	22	26
About twice a year	93	38	37
Every 1-3 months	29	14	18
Total	308	100%	100%

* Significance at 0.05 level

1. Attendance reported if more than once in the last 12 months.

Other activities, listed in question 3, less cultural in character but with educational aspects, were also compared with museum-visiting. They included visits to an Open-Air cultural history museum at Worcester and to Silvermine Nature Reserve, which is simply an opportunity for people to appreciate their environment rather than learn directly about it. Most of the parents (60%) had visited at least one of these activities (Table 16). The majority of parents had visited Kirstenbosch Botanical Gardens (86%), Cape Point Game Reserve (81%) and a Local History Museum (78%).

Table 16: Attendance at leisure-learning activities

	Kirstenbosch gardens		Cape Point Reserve		Local history museum		Aquarium		Tygerberg zoo	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	260	86	245	81	239	78	212	70	211	69
No	44	14	59	19	66	22	92	30	93	31

Table 16 continued

	World of Birds		Snake park		Silvermine Reserve		Maritime Museum		Worcester Museum	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	192	63	191	63	175	58	107	35	46	15
No	112	37	113	37	129	42	197	65	258	85

The Maritime museum in the docks, which had only been open just over a year at the time, had been visited by 35% of the respondents. It has, therefore, attracted a remarkable number of visitors given the limited opportunity that Capetonians have had to visit this museum. It is, though, situated on the Waterfront, a new leisure center in Cape Town so it is possible that a visit to the Maritime museum is part of a day of varied leisure activities. The Worcester open-air museum had been visited by a minority of parents (15%). Although, all places on the list in question 3 require the use of a car for a visit, the Worcester Open-Air Museum can only be visited on a day outing as it takes approximately one and a half hours to get there. This sort of commitment, combined with a possible lack of knowledge about the museum, may have prevented people from visiting it.

Respondents were asked to rank the activities listed in question 3 in order of preference from 1 to 10 (Table 2 Appendix B). Just over half the parents (51%) completed this section. A visit to Kirstenbosch Gardens was the most popular activity on this list and was ranked number one most often (32%). Other popular activities were the Silvermine Nature Reserve (12%), Cape Point Game Reserve (8%) and the World of Birds (8%). The

Snake Park (31% of respondents gave it a 10) and the Worcester Open-Air Museum (23%) were least popular. The Worcester Open-Air Museum, a local History Museum and the Maritime Museum were most often ranked below 5 (Table 2 in Appendix B). Museums do not appear to be a popular leisure choice when compared with other recreational activities.

The respondents who attended cultural events such as the theatre or music concerts also tended to have visited a wide range of other recreational venues (Table 3 in Appendix B). Avid visitors to Historical Monuments, libraries and play-goers appear to have a wide range of leisure choices. Frequent (>10 times a year) spectators at plays and music concerts, though, seem less actively involved in other activities. Such intense involvement could indicate a specialised interest that excludes a broad range of leisure activities. Museum-visiting frequency is positively correlated with having visited a range of recreational and outdoor activities (Table 17). Respondents who had been to such places as the World of Birds, Kirstenbosch, Cape Point and Silvermine had also visited museums and tended to visit more than 2 or 3 times a year.

Table 17: Attendance at leisure-learning activities compared with museum-visiting frequency

Frequency	% column	N	World of Birds*	Gardens*	Zoo Cape Point*	Maritime museum*	
			188	257	206	239	105
Never		6	1	2	2	1	1
Not as an adult		17	2	4	5	4	1
Not for 10 years		18	15	5	5	6	2
Not for 5 years		36	35	11	11	11	10
Every 2 to 3 years		47	18	16	14	17	13
Once a year		54	15	19	20	18	12
About twice a year		92	9	32	33	32	42
Every 1-3 months		29	5	11	10	11	19
Total		299	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 17 continued

Frequency	% column	N	Snake park	Aquarium*	Local museum*	Nature reserve*	Open-Air*
			188	210	237	170	45
Never		6	2	1	2	1	2
Not as an adult		17	4	4	2	3	3
Not for 10 years		18	5	3	5	5	0
Not for 5 years		36	14	11	10	12	5
Every 2 to 3 years		47	13	16	14	16	18
Once a year		54	20	20	20	16	9
About twice a year		92	34	34	36	34	36
Every 1-3 months		29	8	11	11	13	27
Total		299	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Significance at 0.05 level

This survey has not looked at other types of leisure choices such as reading, watching TV, going to the beach, a party or the cinema but it seems that the more varied ones leisure options are, the more likely it is that museums are a part of them. There are, though, many factors at play, including the ownership of a car and access to information about museums, which are associated with income, occupation and education. Schools, which were used for analysis, represent such a multi-faceted package that it is not necessarily possible to tease out the extent to which education, income, social status or lifestyle influence museum-visiting. Accessibility, geography and economy may play a greater role than cultural-literacy. For example respondents with low education and incomes, such as parents from the township and the Cape Flats, are also geographically situated far from museums and are also less likely to own their own vehicles.

The results do indicate a relationship between participation in a range of cultural and outdoor activities and the level of education, occupation and income of parents. Parents from the different schools have different lifestyles related to the area in which they live, their education and their occupations and this seems to influence the type of role that museums play in their lives. A similar relationship between museum-visiting and cultural activities was found in Britain (Merriman, 1988). Education, occupation and participation in a varied range of cultural and educational activities are all significantly related to museum-visiting. Only a small group of parents could be called frequent visitors (visit every 1-3 months) and they tend to have university degrees and to work in a professional capacity. This would support Merriman's (1988) hypothesis.

But many other parents have similar educational qualifications to those of frequent visitors yet do not visit museums as often, and many parents who do not have the education and income associated with 'high culture' do visit museums. It is potentially useful to use the proposals of Dumazedier, (1974), Bourdieu (1984) and Urry (1988, 1990) who have argued that activities such as museum-visiting or hiking are used by the emergent or upwardly mobile 'middle classes' as a means of gaining a particular type of cultural capital without the normally necessary economic capital. Merriman (1989a) has also suggested that the increase in England of white collar workers could explain why so many people who do not have a background or education that would normally encourage museum-visiting are visiting museums. In France Dumazedier (1974) found that it is not the type of work or the actual job that effects choice of leisure activities but a personal attitude towards work and the satisfaction gained from work. This could be a contributory factor to the visiting pattern of parents (eg. BHS, BPS) from the 'coloured' residential areas, who have a lower occupational and educational status than parents from

the Southern suburbs and, therefore, do not have the socioeconomic package normally associated with museum-visiting, yet they attend museums quite frequently.

Frequent visitors differ from other parents in their high attendance at cultural events and in the wide range of leisure choices that they have incorporated into their lives. This suggests that museum-visiting is more a part of a leisure package than directly related to the cultural capital of potential visitors. Although leisure choices are often dependent on the opportunities offered by socialization, education and income, the results do show that it is possible that a wide range of leisure can be available to people without the same levels of socioeconomic status. Museum-visiting does not appear to occur in a vacuum but is part of a lifestyle that is already full of alternative leisure possibilities. If physical accessibility is ensured museums could be a chosen leisure activity for adults in search of semi-leisure opportunities. This, though, depends on the image of the museums matching the needs of potential audiences, which does not appear to be the case, as I will discuss in chapter 7.

Geography also appears to be closely related to museum-visiting as respondents are more likely to have visited museums in their local areas (Table 4 in Appendix B). Parents from a primary school in the Southern suburbs (APS) are more likely to have visited the Natale Labia (45%) and Rhodes Cottage Museum (70%) which are in the vicinity of this school. Parents from the City schools (A/BHS, 48%, BHS, 51%) are most likely to have visited the nearby Bo-Kaap museum. Local museums appear to be important to people who appreciate museums that deal directly with familiar places. Easy accessibility is also an important factor encouraging visiting as was also found by Doughty in Ulster (1968). Local museums can play an important role in their communities, meeting an apparent need for participation in local environmental and historical preservation.

An equally high number of parents from the Cape Flats school (BPS, 57%) as from the local schools (BHS, A/BHS) had also visited the Bo-Kaap museums. This indicates that there is a lot more at play than geography, as parents would have had to travel quite far to visit this museum. The results of my research indicate that contrary to Irvine (1989) parents from 'coloured' areas in Cape Town have chosen to visit the Bo-Kaap museum over and above the many other museums in Cape Town. It appears that the potentially alienating influence of the museum's ideology is cancelled by a community's need to know and understand their past. This indicates the possibility that there does exist a need to visit a museum that, at least, purports to represent one's own or one's local history. Such a need creates the opportunity for museums to involve this audience in developing museums, such as the one in Bo-Kaap, into museums that do actually meet this need for a community history.

The museums that a large proportion of respondents have visited have two other characteristics in common (Table 4 in Appendix B). Firstly, they are often national museums that offer educational trips to a large number of school children. The South African Museum (76%), the South African Cultural History Museum (47%) and Groot Constantia Manor House and Wine Museum (47%) are cases in point. School trips spread the word about museums and may even engender an interest in museums that lasts into adulthood.

Secondly, the museums that have been visited by more than 20% of the sample are often part of a broader leisure experience. The South African Museum, South African Cultural History Museum and the South African Gallery (33%) are in or near the Gardens in Cape Town, where during the week, many people take their lunch and which is visited by many tourists to Cape Town. The Simonstown Museum (28%) and Rhodes Cottage Museum (39%) are 'en route' to Cape Point, a popular tourist venue or day trip for many Capetonians. The Bo-Kaap Museum (32%) and William Fehr Collection (28%) are part of a tourist visit to Cape Town, in one case a tour of the 'Malay quarter', the other a tour of the Castle. A visit to the Groot Constantia Museum is accompanied by a tour of vineyards and winetasting. The Maritime Museum (30%) is in the new leisure center of Cape Town, the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront, and the Hout Bay museum is part of a complex that offers a range of attractions. Museum-visiting for many families appears to be just one aspect of an outing or recreational afternoon that includes other leisure activities.

These observations suggest that museums could profitably establish relationships with other leisure activities as suggested by the research in Ontario (ARC, 1990, 1991). Advertising or exhibiting at places such as the zoo or botanical gardens would ensure that a captive audience could be reached. Many such activities attract audiences that do not normally visit museums and that are more representative of the South African population. For example, buses from the Transkei bring thousands of people to the Pretoria Zoo. These people do not visit museums on their organised trips to Pretoria (Udo Küsel, pers. comm., 1990). Through advertisements at such popular recreational activities awareness of museums could be spread most effectively. A single poster at the aquarium in East London attracted more visitors to the East London museum than expensive promotional brochures (Bigalke, 1982). Family orientated leisure is particularly important to non-participants in America (Hood, 1981) so promotional exhibitions at family entertainment centers would break down the association between 'high culture' and museums, perhaps encouraging non-participants to attempt a visit.

Museum-visiting is associated with a particular cultural and educational package and is influenced by geography and income of potential participants. But an active lifestyle is also a contributory factor that influences museum-visiting. A person who takes part in a wide range of leisure options is most likely to include museum-visiting. This is due both to a tendency to look for different leisure choices amongst families with active lifestyles and because many recreational outings can include a visit to a museum. Semi-leisure or personal development and education through leisure, is a trend that should, therefore, increase museum-visiting. The fact that museums do not attract audiences, such as black youth and seniors, that are in need of semi-leisure opportunities (Møller, 1990, 1991) is possibly due to the image of museums. The following chapter examines the image of museums in Cape Town society and the influence that that image has on museum-visiting.

THE IMAGE OF THE MUSEUM

When I think of those places, I think of families going together, I think they're not for young people of my age. I think if I were married, settled, I would like to go to these places. Young women. Audience Research Consortium, 1991: 9.

This chapter describes the responses of parents to questions about the role that museums play or should be playing. Many parents (39.5%) left comments at the end of the questionnaire. These are used throughout the following chapters to illustrate various points.

Question 1 (What is the first thing that comes into your mind when you think of museums?) was a good indication of general attitudes towards museums as responses matched the categories assessed in the other questions (Table 18). A strong association exists between museums and the past. History or historical things and topics were mentioned by 33% of the whole sample and were often stressed in the comments:

Museums have a very wide information about our past. Housewife from the township.

Teaches about old culture and how people lived in the old days. Woman from the township.

A negative relationship with the past in the sense of old or old fashioned was indicated by 8% of respondents. Learning, education and knowledge were the other aspects that many parents associated with museums (14%). Natural history museums featured in the minds of few parents (10%) and generally only in relation to dinosaurs and stuffed animals. Parents (3%) who found museums fun and exciting were a minority. Some parents (miscellaneous, 4%) also remembered specific exhibits or programmes run by museums. Other parents (7%) simply found museums interesting and nice, although some (5%) expressed negative associations, referring to museums as boring, dusty and cold. These responses set the scene for the following questions by emphasizing the relationship between the past, education and museums.

Table 18: Summary of responses to question 1
 What is the first thing that comes into your mind when you think of museums?

	N	%
History, the past, preservation, learning about the past	56	17
Historical things and subjects, value of the past	49	15
Learning, knowledge	44	14
Natural history, stuffed animals, bones, dinosaurs	32	10
Old things, ancient buildings, negative concept of the past	24	8
Interesting, nice	21	7
Boring, cold, dusty	17	5
Miscellaneous (specific exhibits)	11	4
Fun/exciting	9	3
I have not heard of museums	3	1
Non-response	53	16
Total	319	100

Question 4 asked respondents who they thought was the museum's most important audience by requiring them to circle one option out of a list of 9 (Table 19). Most respondents (49%) stated that *everybody* should be an important audience for museums. It is possible that this is due to an attempt to be conciliatory or to select a response that required minimum commitment (Schnetler, 1989), particularly since other choices reflect a clear bias in who museums should be catering for, specifically *students* (19%) and *children* (15%).

Table 19: The most important audience for museums

	N	%
Everybody	155	49
Students	61	19
Children	48	15
Tourists	22	7
Researchers	10	4
Educated people	9	3
Holiday makers	7	2
The Community around the museums	4	1
Old people	0	0
Total	316	100

The comments made by parents also emphasise the importance of the services that museums offer children:

Important to learn about culture and teach children about heritage. Mother from Cape Flats.

Museums are important. Its where you can take your children and teach them about their origin and science. Nurse from township.

Young people are plainly considered to be the museums most important audience. In contrast, the community around the museum (1%) and old people (0%) were not thought to be groups whose needs should be met by museums. The museums role in the tourist industry did gain some support from parents (7%), who believed that tourists were the museums most important audience, although, a tiny minority, some parents (3%) believed that educated people's needs are met by museums.

It is promising that the respondents appear to want the museum to consider everybody in their programmes. The image of the museum as being for young people could encourage parents to visit with their children, leading to a family learning and recreational experience. This same image, though, could also exclude many younger or older adults from visiting. Responses to other questions emphasised that children are perceived as the museum's most important audience.

Question 5 assessed the importance of the various functions that museums serve. This question used a sliding scale from 1 (important) to 5 (not important). Preserving our heritage (81%) and research (84%), two functions that do not involve audience participation, were perceived as important activities for museums. School tours (83%) were also seen as one of the museum's most important functions (Table 20).

Table 20: Most important activities for museums

	N	N*	%
Research	305	255	84
School Tours	303	250	83
Preserving the heritage	305	246	81
Adult education	303	181	60
Holiday tours	301	159	53
Entertainment	303	125	41

* Measured in number of 1's and 2's

The importance for parents of the museum's role in preserving and representing the past featured in many of the comments:

Immersing oneself in displays, discovery, going back in time, museums make the past accessible. Mother from Southern suburbs.

Important for knowledge of ancient world, museums are our heritage...makes past alive. Housewife from Cape Flats.

Respondents exactly matched, even to the order, what most museums would consider to be their priorities, that is research, school tours and preservation of the heritage (Niemand, 1975). This might have less to do with what parents actually want than with what they get or have simply come to expect from museums. The educational role was particularly important for parents with children at primary school, whereas frequent visitors were more open to museums offering a broad range of activities (See Tables 5 and 6 in Appendix B). Entertainment and adult education were ranked very low most often, which again probably has more to do with what services are offered by most museums than with what parents would actually appreciate. Township parents were most likely to support entertainment as a role for museums. This could be due to a combination of a lack of experience of museums and of a lack of recreational activities available in the townships (Wilson, 1989). Many adults may believe that the museum has nothing to offer them as the functions of museums that are perceived as most important either do not involve audience participation or only include children.

They (museums) are not sufficiently geared to the continued education of adults.
Niemand, 1975: 37.

Question 6 listed a series of statements reflecting a range of views about museums. Responses were characterised by uncertainty, in particular with the statements directly criticising the museum's role (Table 21). For example 87% of respondents were uncertain about whether *museums are irrelevant in today's world* and 75% were uncertain about whether *museums are boring for children*. Some parents did offer criticism as 43% agreed with the statement that *they are full of old and dead things* and 37% agreed with the statement that *museums give tourists a biased idea about South Africa*. Few respondents disagreed outright with these two statements.

Research and heritage were the concepts most often associated with museums with 94% of parents agreeing with the fact that *they are important for research* and 93% agreeing with the statement *museums preserve our history*. Other positive responses echoed the importance that parents give to museums as educational institutions; *museums teach me about my past and culture* (87%) and *they teach about the environment* (73%). The latter statement was particularly supported by township parents (See Table 7 in Appendix B). This could either be because Natural History museums are the only ones with which they are familiar or because they see the environment as an important but missing part of their education. The importance of environmental education to parents was echoed in some comments:

It gives that child who has never been on a farm or out of his own environment a chance to see a piece of the world away from him. Father from City.

Teaches children about conservation and to love animals, expands our knowledge, education important to live in harmony with the environment. Mother from township.

Table 21: Attitudes towards museums

	% row	N	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree
They are important for research		310	94	2	4
Museums preserve our history		310	93	4	3
Museums teach me about my past and culture		312	87	6	7
Museums teach about the environment		310	73	11	16
Museums are the cultural center of their communities		310	56	20	24
Museums attract tourists		310	85	4	11
Its worth spending money to visit museums		310	83	9	8
Museums are a fun way to spend a rainy Sunday		310	54	32	14
I would visit museums if they were open in the evenings		310	43	31	26
Museums display real things		310	69	15	16
You know that museums always show the truth		310	62	12	26
Museums remind me of school		311	51	41	8
They are full of old and dead things		310	43	44	13
Museums remind me of libraries		310	42	43	15
Museums are boring for children		310	9	76	15
Museums give tourists a biased idea about SA		310	37	33	30
They use up too much taxpayers money		310	8	56	36
Museums are irrelevant in today's world		310	6	88	6

Museums are believed to successfully attract tourists; *museums attract tourists* (85%). Support for museums' potential to attract tourists through presenting and preserving the historical and natural heritage of this country could prove to be an important factor in continued support for museums. Surveys in South Africa have shown that visitors would not mind paying for a museum visit (van Zyl, 1976). Most parents in this survey also expressed a willingness to pay; *its worth spending money to visit a museums* (83%), though the township parents were least likely to agree with this statement. As they were the least frequent museum visitors and had the lowest incomes it is not surprising that they should be reluctant to spend money on a service that they know little about.

Some agreement was voiced for the statement; *I would visit museums if they were open in the evenings* (43%). Although this is not a majority it is important as one reason often given for not visiting museums in response to question 11b is that they are not open when one has time to visit. Comments from respondents also expressed demand for evening openings;

Should open at night and during the holidays, in this way we can take our visitors.

Mother from township.

Times are not always available, Friday evenings are a free evening for most people.

They should consider that as part of family entertainment so we can share experience with our young ones. Mother from City.

Perhaps closing on slow weekdays but opening on week night evenings would encourage potential participants to visit.

Despite strong agreement (62%) with the statement; *you know that museums always show the truth*, some parents (26%) disagreed. More parents (37%) agreed with the statement that *museums give tourists a biased idea about South Africa* than disagreed (30%). This indicates that some visitors do question museum exhibits and do not succumb to the authority of the context, illustrating the way in which visitors construct their own museum experiences. The parents most likely to disagree with this statement are not regular visitors but come from schools in the City (BHS) or on the Cape Flats (BPS) (Table 7, Appendix B). Some of these parents (A/BHS, in particular as well as BHS) are also most likely to agree that *museums use up too much of taxpayer's money*. Museums are not generally perceived as community based institutions; *museums are the cultural center of their communities* (24% disagreement, 56% agreement), especially as *the community around the museum* was not thought to be an important audience for museums in response to question 4. Some parents did support the museum's potential role within its own community:

Make the exhibits more transitory and responsive to issues in the community. Adult educator.

The schools that are most likely to see museums as the cultural centers of their communities are those whose parents have visited many local museums (eg. APS) or those (eg. A/BHS and BPS) who have tended to visit the Bo-Kaap Museum, which purports to present their own community's history.

These responses reflect fairly high levels of disagreement and uncertainty about the positive aspects of museums which along with the ambivalent responses to statements that *museums remind me of school* (41% were uncertain), *museums remind me of libraries* (44%

were uncertain) indicate that the museum's image may not be working in its favour. Fun is not a word associated with museums or thought appropriate for museums as only 54% of the respondents (Table 21) agreed that; *museums are a fun way to spend a rainy Sunday*. The comments, in particular, reflected a negative image of museums:

Think of old things-dusty, musty, dark, silent halls. Mother from Southern suburbs.

Despite a generally positive attitude towards the role that museums could play, the expected experience of a museum visit is of a negative one. Most criticism expressed in this survey tended to focus on the physical atmosphere of museums and a perceived lack of change in what they have to offer:

If there was more light in museums I'll go more often even if nothing has changed over the years. Mother from Cape Flats.

One other point of criticism was the lack of guides, particularly in Cultural History museums. Respondents felt that exhibits should be put into some sort of context or that friendly faces should be at reception ready to answer questions or give directions. Many of the comments reflected this problem:

I wish there can be people who explain in all the galleries. How are these animals made, are they stuffed or real? Are they alive when stuffed? Father from township.

Can appear daunting, a guide means that you can appreciate exhibits without being a student on the subject. Housewife from Southern suburbs.

One often finds that the "doorman" is very abrupt or disinterested... It should be done by an enthusiastic person who will happily help you. Housewife from Southern Suburbs.

The most critical group of parents were largely non-visitors from the township schools who were most likely to find the museum *irrelevant in today's world, as offering a biased view of South Africa, to be full of old and dead things and to be reminded of libraries and schools* by museums. Township parents were also least likely to believe that *museums preserve our heritage*, considered to be an important part of a museum's role by other respondents.

Both Prince and Schadla-Hall's (1985) and Merriman's (1988) research show that the image of the museum, though associated with factors that museums would wish to be associated with, namely learning or doing something worthwhile, is interpreted differently by different people. For some people the potential of learning something is a valuable and attractive leisure option, for others it is a reason for staying away. At this level the work of Prince and Schadla-Hall (1985) on the image of museums and Hood (1981, 1985) on leisure attributes valued by the museum's audience is important. This can be seen from the results of my survey, which show that, despite a general image of museums as institutions

that preserve heritage (See Table 20), some parents find this image appealing, whereas other find the actual heritage portrayed by museums unattractive. This underlines the need for museums to work on developing an image that appeals to a broader range of people, for example, shifting the emphasis from learning to family-orientated discovery. Dissatisfaction with the history presented in museums was voiced in some comments:

Museums depict cultural heritage of whites, not of the majority of South Africans.

Teacher from City.

Please go into the true history of our country. Father from City.

It is unlikely that a visit to a museum will change this image as South African museums do not represent a history that these respondents would call their own. By promoting the museum's role in preserving everybody's past and heritage non-visitors could be encouraged to participate in rewriting the past presented in museums and to become visitors.

Important for youth to learn about their tradition and culture and how to do them.

Pensioner from township.

Question 7 attempted to obtain a more straightforward reaction from respondents about their perceptions of museums. Parents were asked to what extent a series of adjectives reminded them of museums on a sliding scale from 1 (very much) to 5 (not at all). Reluctance to be critical accompanied by a lack of a truly positive reaction was again seen in the responses to question 7 (Table 22). There was no clear cut rejection or acceptance of any of the words used to describe museums except for *learning* which reminded 72% of the respondents of museums very much.

Table 22: Words that remind parents of museums

	% row	N	Very much			Not at all		Total
			1	2	3	4	5	
Learning		308	72	15	6	3	4	100%
Relaxed		307	44	26	15	10	5	100%
Exciting		302	33	21	30	10	6	100%
Friendly		302	25	18	37	11	9	100%
Conservative		300	23	19	38	9	11	100%
Active		305	21	15	35	13	16	100%
Old-fashioned		301	15	9	25	16	35	100%
Gloomy		303	11	10	27	20	32	100%
Intimidating		301	7	11	25	15	42	100%
Hassle		301	5	5	17	24	49	100%
Boring		301	5	4	18	25	48	100%

The museum's educational role dominates its image in the minds of visitors and non-visitors alike. Respondents rejected *boring*, *intimidating*, *hassle* and *gloomy* as words that they associated with museums, although they also expressed a high degree of uncertainty

about these words. The comments indicated that for many parents the negative image reflected in these words is true for museums:

Buildings that house museums often seem dull to children. Housewife from Southern suburbs.

Exciting to see old things and how people lived before but surrounds are off-putting. Father from Cape Flats.

The stereotypical image of museums as dark, dusty places appears to be largely rejected by visitors, although there are indications in the comments that a more relaxed, friendly atmosphere would be appreciated by potential visitors:

A touch of colour here and there could enhance more visitors. Mother from Cape Flats.

Research in America (Nash, 1975) and Canada (Audience Research Consortium, 1990, 1991) has found that a negative image of museums plays far less of a role in discouraging visiting than does a previous negative experience. Many of the comments made by Cape Town parents reflects a similar problem:

If anyone is negative about museums such as myself its because of the dullness and the inability to understand 3/4 of what was being presented as a child. Mother from Southern Suburbs.

As a child couldn't read huge words. Atmosphere unexciting, dark, old-fashioned. Mother from Southern suburbs.

Township parents were the most likely to be reminded of museums by the negative concepts but they were also most positive about museums (See Table 8 in Appendix B). The negative image that non-visiting parents (have not visited museums for more than 10 years or since childhood) have of museum is likely to be due to a bad experience at museums in the past. As many of these parents are black this illustrates the alienating experience that museums offer black South Africans.

In conclusion the role of collecting and researching the South African past was considered to be the museum's most important role. It is not possible to distinguish whether these are the roles that museums are perceived to play or whether they are believed to be important functions that museums must continue to fulfill. The museum as educator of student and child, not of adult, as well as its contribution to tourism, are considered important functions. This could reflect the role that museums are perceived to play, rather than what their audience want from them. There was a general reluctance to be critical of museums, although the comments did indicate that parents are not entirely satisfied with the service offered by museums.

Once I visited museums, I didn't think it interesting enough to go back to, very soon. I would allow considerable amount of time to pass before visiting again. Father from City.

Many museums end up with displays that though informative, are sterile and unexciting. Father from Southern suburbs.

Parents were most critical of the museum's tendency to be conservative and old-fashioned and to deal with subjects that are no longer relevant.

Respondents who were least likely to have visited museums were not only most critical but often the most positive about museums as well. This may mean that the results are partly indicative of what these parents would like to get out of museums rather than what they have experienced in museums and partly reflect an outdated image of museums, namely as institutions where only children learn about a particular version of the past in a sterile environment. The emphasis on the museum's role in exhibiting the past indicates the importance of insuring that this past does not only have meaning for white South Africans. The museum's image excludes many people who do not see their heritage in museum or who have no children who could both enjoy and benefit from participation in what museums' have to offer.

Despite the museum's potential to offer semi-leisure opportunities to adults, its image acts to exclude many people. The museum's image focuses on non-participatory functions such as preserving the heritage and research. Parents believe that museums offer services mainly for children.

I rarely used to go to museums before my son was old enough to go to them.

Housewife from Southern suburbs.

As the sample consisted of parents some bias may have caused the museum's role as an educator of children to be emphasised. The questionnaire, though, was aimed at the adult and respondents had the opportunity to express their own interest in museums. This, though, was not forthcoming. It seems that most adults who visit local museums do so for the sake of their children and, although this may be a worthwhile experience for the whole family, the adult is not using museums to their full potential. All these factors combine to alienate many adults who could benefit from the leisure-learning opportunities offered by museums. By recognising these barriers museums can come a step closer to changing their image and their role so that it can meet the semi-leisure needs of their audiences.

THE MUSEUM'S ROLE IN THE LIVES OF PARENTS

They (museums) are luxuries instead of essential services and will remain so unless they make a move toward community involvement in an attempt to establish themselves as being essential services. Van Zyl, 1976: 85.

This chapter describes in more detail the visiting patterns of parents of school going children. I examine their knowledge about museum facilities and their use of these services. I discuss the reasons given by parents for visiting or staying away from museums. The issues raised in this chapter do not deal with the broader social aspects of museum-visiting but are practical factors that museums need to take into account on a day to day basis when dealing with their public.

Question 8 assessed how familiar respondents were with various services offered by different museums and to what extent parents had taken advantage of these facilities. A high proportion of the respondents knew about the facilities offered by museums in the Western Cape (Table 23).

Table 23: Knowledge and use of museum services

	N	Know		Use	
		%	N	%	N
Help for school projects	304	83	252	49	123
Tourist information	303	75	226	42	95
Free information booklets about the museum's research	302	72	218	60	131
Venue for film or music shows	303	69	209	54	112
Bookshop	302	66	200	59	117
Resource center	303	61	186	28	53
Courses for children	302	56	170	33	56
Lecture series for adults	302	55	167	30	50
Library	304	51	156	55	86
Meeting place for societies	304	48	145	26	38
Behind the scenes tours	302	35	106	25	27

In particular, parents were familiar with services such as: help for school projects (83%), tourist information (75%) and free information booklets about a museum's research (72%). Frequent visitors are both well-informed about the services offered by museums and make good use of them (Table 9, Appendix B). Fewer respondents knew that societies could use the museum for meetings (48%), that some museums offered behind the scenes

tours (35%) or courses for children (56%) and adults (55%). Taking into account that 92% of the respondents had visited museums as adults their knowledge of what museums have to offer is low. The lack of advertising was expressed by parents in their comments:

Enriching but do not know what is offered, need bright adverts. Teacher from Southern suburbs.

The courses and workshops that are often offered aren't advertised enough. Teacher from Southern suburbs.

Even if the museum visited does not offer all these facilities visitors should come away from a museum-visit with information about all the services offered by other museums in the area. It is after all much easier to encourage someone who has already visited a museum and has, therefore broken down some of the barriers that discourage visiting, to visit other museums. Although museums are offering many important services there appears to be a lack of communication between different museums in Cape Town and between museums and their visitors.

Even fewer respondents had actually used the facilities that they knew existed (Table 23). The only services that had been used by more than 50% of the parents who knew about them were the library (55%), a venue for films or music shows (54%), the bookshop (59%) and free booklets about the museum's research (60%). Township parents were familiar with the facilities available and many had used them despite not being regular museum-visitors (See Table 10 in Appendix B). Their responses could be a reflection of which services these parents would like to use or otherwise township parents make very good use of museums when they do visit.

Question 10c asked respondents how they had heard about the museums that they had visited in Cape Town (Table 24). The majority of museum-visitors had heard of museums at school (53%) or through friends (46%).

Table 24: Comparison of how parents had heard about museums

% row	School	N	School	Friends	Newspaper	Magazine	Children
			144	126	112	85	71
AHS	44	40	64	44	38	49	
APS	44	41	52	45	30	34	
APP1	12	33	92	67	33	8	
APP2	16	31	63	69	44	25	
A/BHS	22	41	36	32	36	23	
BHS	58	78	47	38	30	19	
BPS	49	71	35	37	29	14	
CHS	12	36	0	36	9	18	
CPS	17	47	0	12	18	24	
Total	274	53%	46%	41%	31%	26%	

Table 24 continued

% row School	N	Tourist Posters Radio office		
		55	49	36
AHS	44	27	18	13
APS	44	43	18	16
APP1	12	17	33	8
APP2	16	31	44	6
A/BHS	22	9	14	18
BHS	58	16	14	12
BPS	49	14	22	14
CHS	12	0	0	27
CPS	17	0	6	0
Total	274	20%	18%	13%

* Significant at 0.05 level

A stimulating museum-experience for both school children and adults would bring back the child to museums as an adult and adults would leave the museum determined to encourage their friends to visit. Some parents indicated in their comments that this had not been the case:

Forced to go at school so never went until kids needed lifts. Mother from Southern suburbs.

Parents who had not visited a museum for many years had generally last heard about museums when they had been at school. So for people who are not actively looking for information about museums, publicity does not appear to have much impact:

Would visit museums elsewhere if I knew where to go. Young woman, Cape Flats.

Did not know about all the museums in Cape Town-should be advertised. Father from the Cape Flats.

Newspapers (41%) and magazines (31%) were also quite effective at informing the public about museums. Children at school do seem to bring information home about museums (26%) but the radio (13%) and posters (18%) either had not been used by museums sufficiently, or did not attract the attention of most potential museum visitors. Radio had had the most influence on parents from the township (CHS, CPS) and City schools (A/BHS, Table 24). Different publicity material should, therefore, be aimed at specific audiences. Comments indicated that advertising about opening times and such facilities as tea-rooms is lacking:

Only have time on a Sunday but then they are closed so don't bother anymore.

Housewife from Southern suburbs. (Many museums are, in fact, open on Sundays.)

Geography also plays a role in advertising. Parents who had most often gained information about museums from a tourist office live in a suburb that has a CAPTOUR,

a tourist information office. Word of mouth through school, children at school and friends is by far the best form of advertisement for museums, as was found to be the case in most visitor surveys in South Africa and abroad (eg. Bigalke, 1984, Van Zyl, 1976, Mason, 1974).

Question 10d assessed the reasons that encouraged parents to visit museums (Table 25). The most popular reasons for visiting local museums given by the parents who answered this question were that: *its good for the children* (90%), *to learn something* (88%), *its exciting/new/different/interesting* (85%), although many of these respondents crossed out all adjectives except *interesting*) and *its fun/relaxing* (70%). Comments did indicate that parents believed that the museum learning experience should be active and participative:

Keep Discovery Room open, children learn more through touch. Housewife from Southern suburbs.

Important for children, science with a hands-on, not hands-off experience. Housewife from Southern suburbs.

Make them more fun for young people, physical contact, present day and futuristic exhibits-participation. Father from Southern suburbs.

Table 25: Reasons for visiting a local museum

	N	%YES	%NO
Its good for the children	268	90	10
To learn something	269	88	12
Its exciting/new/different/interesting	270	85	15
Its fun/relaxing	268	70	30
Its a worthwhile thing to do in my spare time	267	68	32
Its somewhere interesting to take visiting friends	268	61	39
Its peaceful and quiet	268	60	40
I was taken on a school trip	270	56	44
Its stimulating/challenging	269	51	49
There was an interesting exhibit on show	267	45	55
I was visiting the Planetarium	268	42	58
For research/study/work	268	39	61
I felt that I should	267	28	72
It was a rainy day	268	20	80
Nothing else to do	267	14	86
All my friends had been	267	13	87
I like the shop	268	11	89
I walk past one everyday	269	8	92
I was waiting for someone	268	4	96

Learning, specifically for children, is seen as an important factor associated with museums. Parents from the township schools, though, were less likely to have visited museums for

their children or to learn something (Table 11, Appendix B). The majority of these parents had visited museums on school trips, a trip that does not appear to have encouraged future visits.

Many visitors to museums are not from local areas (Bigalke, 1984, Immelman, 1973, Lotter and Botha, 1962) and there is an impression that people are more likely to visit museums while on holiday than to visit their local museums. Question 12 asked respondents whether they visit museums while travelling or on holiday and why. Not as many parents (67%) had visited museums while on holiday or travelling as had visited local museums (88%).

Economic constraints would limit the numbers of people who could afford to go away on holiday and thus visit new museums. Most parents who had visited museums while travelling or on holiday are, in fact, from the schools in the high income Southern suburbs (Table 10, Appendix B). The main reasons given by respondents for visiting museums while travelling or on holiday (Table 26) were *to learn about the history of the area* (89%), *to learn about the culture of the people* (82%), *because its important to visit museums in new places* (78%), *to learn something about the environment* (77%). Only 31% of parents visited museums while travelling *because of their children*, which is in contrast to the reasons given for visiting local museums.

Table 26: Reasons for visiting museums while on holiday or travelling

	N	%YES	%NO
To learn about the history of the area	184	89	11
To learn about the culture of the people	183	82	18
Its important to visit museums in new places	183	78	22
To learn something about the environment	185	77	23
They offer something different	187	69	31
They always look interesting	183	67	33
It keeps the children busy for a day	183	31	69
It was part of an organised tour	183	25	75
Somebody always takes me to one	183	10	90
It was raining	183	7	93
There was nothing else to do	183	6	94

Respondents seem to believe that museums offer information about the local environment, history and culture and that this is an important function for museums. Such an image of museums may equally put people off visiting local museums in the belief that they know the local culture and environment. This contrast between reasons given for visiting local and foreign museums may explain why so many adults only appear to visit museums while travelling. Adults are attracted to museums while on holiday in order

fulfilling this role. The perception that museums show the history and culture of local people is least common amongst parents from the township schools (Table 12, Appendix B). Again the lack of representation of black people in South African museums is seen to affect the image of museums.

Question 11 asked respondents whether they had visited a local museum in the last 5 years and if not, why not (Table 27). Respondents (18%) who had not visited a local museum in the last 5 or more years, mainly from A/BHS, CHS and CPS schools (Table 13 in Appendix B) stated their reasons as; *museums are never open when I have free time* (53%) and *it probably has not changed* (51%).

Change your exhibits from time to time so that we can visit annually. Teacher from township.

Museums were considered boring (16%), uninteresting (16%) and tiring (18%) by some respondents. Some parents (16%) thought that their children were not the right age for museums.

Table 27: Reasons for not visiting museums for 5 or more years

	N	%YES	%NO
Its never open when I have free time	45	53	47
It probably has not changed	47	51	49
It was tiring	44	18	82
It was boring	44	16	84
The museums here are not interesting	44	16	84
My children are not the right age	44	16	84
I never learnt anything there	44	14	86

The final question, which was completed by respondents who had never visited a museum or had not visited as adults, examined their reasons for never visiting (Table 28). The main reasons given by respondents (7%) who completed this question were that; *museums are for a different type of person* (45%), *it was too difficult to get there* (43%) and *there is nothing in museums that interests me* (41%).

Table 28: Reasons for never having visited a museum

	N	%YES	%NO
Museums are for a different type of person	22	45	55
It is too difficult to get there	23	43	57
There is nothing in museums that interest me	22	41	59
Museums are too quiet	22	27	73
They are too big	22	23	77
Museums are boring	22	18	82
I do not know where they are	22	14	86
It is a waste of time	23	13	87
They are too dark	22	9	91

Many township parents filled in questions 11b and 13, when they were not meant to, and these responses were used as comments on why they did not visit museums. It is clear from these responses and other comments that many parents do not know where museums are, have difficulty getting there and do not have time to visit museums when they are open:

If only buses were available for transporting upcountry school children for a visit to the museum. Father from Cape Flats.

Difficulty of access prevents some parents from ever visiting a museum but the main cause of non-participation given by respondents was their belief that museums are for a different type of person:

Lets hope that as the situation changes in this country people will feel more comfortable when visiting our museums and not made to feel like common thieves. Housewife from City.

This has enormous implications for the image of the museum as despite the positive attitude about the role of museums expressed by visitors and non-visitors, there is evidence that museums alienate a proportion of their potential audience.

Age of school-going children could be a factor influencing the museum-visiting patterns of their parents. It is, therefore, interesting to compare the use of museums by parents of pre-primary, primary and high school children. In order to keep demographic variables stable, samples from four Southern suburbs schools, AHS (14,1%), APS (14,4%), APP1 (3.8%) and APP2 (5.3%) were compared. These samples differ in age profiles of their parents but are similar in terms of variables such as education, occupation and sex. They differ slightly in their attendance at operas, libraries and music concerts, to which pre-primary parents are more likely to have been. Respondents with children at pre-primary school have all visited a much wider range of outdoor or educational activities such as the World of Birds or Kirstenbosch Gardens. Pre-primary school parents are also much more frequent museum visitors. It is therefore difficult to separate the influence of age of children from the effect of an active lifestyle on museum-visiting. This sample is therefore not suitable for assessing the influence of age on museum-visiting.

The sample from the township schools had been distributed in different ways. Whereas the high school (CHS) was approached in the same way as the other schools, the primary school (CPS) consisted of a number of schools that had visited the South African Museum in the gardens. This meant that CPS parents may have been influenced by their children's visit to a museum. As the majority of the museum's audience are in fact children on a school trip it is worthwhile examining how this influences adult museum-visiting.

These samples are in fact not much different in their use of or attitudes towards museums. CPS parents do visit more often, they are more likely to have visited museums once to twice a year and are less likely to have not visited for 10 years or since childhood than CHS parents. Not surprisingly, they are more likely to have heard about museums from their children, although they are not more likely to have visited the South African Museum. These samples are very small and it is difficult to assess the significance of these differences but it does appear as if a school visit could influence groups who are not characteristically museums-visitors.

An important factor is that the primary school parents (CPS) are far more critical of the museums' role than the high schools parents. The former group is more likely to consider museums to be biased, not be full of real things, to be reminded of libraries and to perceive of museums as being full of old and dead things. This does seem to indicate that it takes some experience of museums before a negative view is developed. Museums are, therefore, not having to change an image based on false media representation but actually have to change the experience that visitors get in a museum. This is particularly so for groups who are not generally seen amongst visitors to museums.

In conclusion, parents' knowledge about the services that museums offer is low relative to their visiting frequency. Museums are therefore not taking advantage of the opportunity to encourage more frequent museum-visiting and greater participation in museum programmes by people who already visit museums. Word of mouth is the most effective way of advertising museums and school trips seem to encourage parents to visit museums. This means that the experience that museums offer their visitors must be dynamic.

I saw so much that I shared my knowledge with friends and discussed what I saw.

Domestic worker, township.

Not surprisingly due to the sample used in this research, children were the most important reason given for visiting museums followed by the opportunity to learn. The image of the museum as offering children learning opportunities dominates the other services that they do or could offer. Another important role for museums was seen to be the preservation and exhibiting of local culture and environment, which encouraged museum-visiting when in a new place.

The main factors that appear to discourage visiting are the museum's opening times and physical accessibility of museums, their conservatism in both atmosphere and content and a sense that museums are for a specific type of person. The latter point may be an obvious factor explaining why some people do not visit museums but this research shows that it is

a factor recognised by non-participants themselves. It is only through more qualitative research that museums will be able to identify what they can do to make more people believe that museum are for them and, of course, to ensure that museums do have something to offer everyone.

LEISURE-LEARNING: NEW POLICY FOR MUSEUMS

Leisure is a critical issue... which can either spell hope and opportunity or frustration and regression into crime and violence. Møller, 1991: 4

The ultimate goal of this research was to understand the role of museums in South African society. Research conducted abroad contributes valuable information and helps to develop an understanding of museum-visiting in South Africa. However the issues facing museums in South Africa are specific to this country and need to be addressed through local research and consultation. The survey reported here provides for the first time information on the attitude towards museums of one section of the South African public. This research specifically focused on the museum's role as a leisure activity for adults. The sample consisted of literate, museum-aware parents of school-going children and is not representative of the broad South African population. It is, though, not restricted to parents in the higher socioeconomic brackets with tertiary education, which is the case for most museum-visitor surveys, but includes parents with a broad range of educational qualifications and occupations. I have, therefore, used the results to make general statements about the museum's role as a leisure activity for adults in South Africa and in this chapter I re-examine the main points that the survey raised about museum-visiting in Cape Town and discuss possible policy developments suggested by the results.

Museum-visiting is not a frequent activity for adults and ranks low in popularity in comparison with other leisure activities. Knowledge about and use of the various services offered by museums is also limited. The main factors mentioned by parents that discourage visiting are the lack of publicity and the problems of physical access to museums. A particular problem for many parents was not knowing where museums are, how to get there and museum opening hours. Museum opening hours were frequently mentioned in the comments as being incompatible with the lifestyles of families. Evening openings were suggested as a possible solution to the problem of insufficient leisure opportunities for families on week-end evenings. The South African Museum in the Gardens is often open in the evenings for music or theatre performances but the museum, itself, is closed. One of the township residents interviewed mentioned the fact that he had seen the museum open in the evenings but felt excluded. These are practical issues that could be rectified through the establishment of better communication between museums and their potential audiences, not just their frequent visitors.

Museums were generally associated with the preservation of cultural heritage but not of the environmental heritage. At the most, stuffed animals (or Bushmen) and dinosaurs were aspects of Natural History museums familiar to parents. Responses to other questions reflected an emphasis on learning about the past and cultural background of local or foreign people. Such an image excludes the important role played by museums in preserving the natural heritage of South Africa and educating their audiences about the environment.

Parents from the township schools were most likely to be aware of the value of environmental education offered by museums. Many of their comments dealt with the importance of introducing children to the rural and wilderness environment that they never encounter in the urban townships. This means that the museum has an important service to offer township residents. Recent research with teachers from schools in a Cape Town township that had visited the South African Museum revealed that the environmental issues important to township residents are not the same as the popular media campaigns taken up by most public organisations (Harrison, 1992). Conservation issues resonate in the white community but township residents have to deal with basic environmental problems in their everyday lives. Issues that need to be addressed include lack of water, sewage, litter, smoke pollution, soil erosion and water pollution (Lekgetho, 1992). This underscores the importance for museums to address issues that relate directly to the lives of their visitors and to involve their audiences in choosing the topics that they would like to see addressed in museums. The environmental problems faced by people in their everyday lives are ideal ways for museums to start addressing issues that bring a broader range of people into contact with museums and what they have to offer.

Township, Cape Flats and City parents were least likely to believe that one of the museum's important roles is preserving the heritage or to think that museums teach them about the past. The comments from non-visiting parents reinforce that they believe that museums do not deal with the past of black South Africans or preserve their heritage. This, of course, reflects the reality of some South African museums which are largely restricted in their collections and exhibits to the history and heritage of colonial occupation and to the events and personalities that figure in white South African histories. This perception is vital for understanding why these parents do not feel that museums are for them. The museum's role in preserving the heritage and teaching about the past is an important reason for other parents to visit museums. Where a museum, such as the Bo-Kaap, offers some glimpse into a community's history, that community will support the museum, despite the bias often found in such presentations. It is clear that if museums

wish to attract a broader audience they must redress the imbalances in museum collections and exhibits. Museums can meet these through working directly with their audiences to develop future collections and exhibits that reflect a common past. Research on attitudes towards the past in relation to museum-visiting, such as that conducted in Britain, would shed more light on the role played by museum's representation of the past in discouraging visiting (Merriman, 1988). Museums also need to correct the imbalance in their staffing structures. Few black South Africans are employed by museums and, although it is not an instant remedy, increasing their numbers in all fields of museum research, education and public relations would allow museums to develop exhibits compatible with the interests and cultural capital of more black South Africans

Museums were strongly associated with learning in the minds of respondents. The museum also has an image that it is an institution largely for children. Such an image is supported by the fact that many adults visit museums mainly for their children's sake. Although it is not a negative factor that museums are seen as serving the educational needs of children and families, it is a problem as this image could operate to exclude adults from the museum experience by making museums unattractive for young adults and seniors. These results indicate the validity of the, perhaps obvious, suggestion that museum-visiting is influenced by the image of museums (Prince and Schadla-Hall, 1985). This image is independent of the common perception of museums as worthwhile institutions and relates to a personal impression of what museums have to offer a specific individual. It is this impression that influences a decision to visit or to stay away, rather than the general image of museums as worthwhile learning institutions.

Parents from the townships, City and Cape Flats schools were discouraged from visiting museums by the perception that museums are for a different type of person. Such a sense of not belonging in such institutions as museums could be due to the vocabulary of 'high-culture' found in museums, that can only be gained through a particular combination of education and socialisation (Merriman, 1988). It may be possible to attribute museum-visiting by some City and Cape Flats parents, despite their perception that museums are not for them, to an attempt to gain cultural capital by these upwardly mobile communities. Museum-visiting is a relatively accessible 'high-culture' activity and thus ideal for economically constrained communities to breakdown cultural barriers (Rojek, 1989c, Urry, 1990). Although these parents visit museums it is possible that they are gaining neither education nor enjoyment from the experience. Museums need to make their museum visit more accessible, taking advantage of whatever reason has caused them to visit, by interpreting the code of exhibits for these visitors (Bourdieu and Darbel, 1991).

Despite a relationship between socioeconomic status and leisure opportunities, museum-visiting appeared to be related to a specific attitude to leisure over and above any particular socioeconomic package; there is a clear relationship between museums and leisure lifestyles. The form of analysis used for this research, that is the package of education, occupation and income represented by each school, makes it difficult to separate the influence of these different variables on museum-visiting or on the lifestyles of parents. Yet the relationship between an active lifestyle that includes a wide range of leisure activities and museum-visiting is clear as was the case in Ontario (Audience Research Consortium, 1990, 1991). It also seems as if families visit museums as part of a broader leisure trip that involves other activities. This indicates that museums are simply part of an active lifestyle and, as such, could appeal to everybody regardless of their education or occupation or family and peer background.

Museums are therefore most likely to attract active people into their halls and to their programmes. This has two implications. Firstly, it means that the most profitable advertising would be done at other leisure activities, particularly those that involve some cultural or environmental and educational characteristic. Many people attending these activities may not be museum visitors but they would potentially be attracted to museums. Secondly, it means that museums can move out more effectively into different communities through linking up with such organizations as youth groups or seniors clubs or community and art centers. These organizations, which could benefit from the museums resources are joined by active, enthusiastic people, who are likely to consider making museums a part of their lifestyle (Møller, 1991, Møller and Nkosi, 1992). Such a process, though, would only be successful if museums set out to meet the specific needs of these groups for leisure or for learning by incorporating them into their planning process (Kies, 1982).

Museum-visiting, although more common amongst parents with tertiary education, professional occupations and high incomes, is, therefore, not restricted to this group. Parents with varying levels of education and a range of occupations and incomes have at some time visited a museum. Certainly socioeconomic factors do influence museum-visiting but it appears as if lifestyle has an independent effect on whether one visits museums or not. The constraints that socialization and education place on leisure choices are important and museums need to be sensitive to these factors (Parker, 1967, Merriman, 1988, 1989a). Leisure activities are generally defined as activities undertaken outside of work, family or other obligations. An important aspect of leisure, though, is that it offers participants a sense of fulfillment and a perception of choice. This element of choice

associated with leisure activities offers an alternative understanding of museum-visiting, that is useful in the South African context.

The emphasis that respondents placed on the museum's educational role and the worthiness of visiting museums, particularly for children, seems to indicate that there exists a sense of obligation associated with visiting a museum. This might remove museum-visiting from the realm of pure leisure but places it amongst possible semi-leisure opportunities. Semi-leisure activities combine aspects of work with aspects of leisure. Although the activity itself may be done with a certain sense of obligation, the reason for doing it is for self-fulfillment (Dumazedier, 1967). The feelings associated with semi-leisure are, therefore, the same as those associated with pure leisure. The fact that semi-leisure, despite being associated with a sense of obligation, also offers fulfillment to participants may explain why museum-visiting remains a popular activity. The importance of semi-leisure to township youth (Møller, 1991) and their need for leisure opportunities (Wilson, 1989, Butler-Adams, 1986) opens up a valuable role for museums. The museum's focus on supplementary education for school-children, though important for developing an appreciation for museums amongst children, has meant that their potential for being leisure-learning activities has not been sufficiently developed. The constructive attitude towards leisure found amongst youth in the townships (Møller, 1991) gives museums the opportunity to expand their role and to broaden their audience. In a nationwide survey of youth all population groups expressed a need for a multi-purpose neighborhood center offering both educational and recreational leisure opportunities (Møller, 1991). This is a need that museums already meet for their visitors and could offer to a broader audience.

The lack of adequate townplanning and funds for the urban townships, where an increasing proportion of South Africans are living, has led to incredible deficiencies in most resources, including housing and sanitation but, also, in leisure resources (Wilson, 1989). Distance from available leisure facilities and lack of income have drastically limited the leisure opportunities of black South Africans (Butler-Adams, 1987). Museums are in a position to meet the demand for semi-leisure choices, which they already meet for parents and school-children. Research with both youth (Møller, 1991) and seniors (Møller, 1990, Møller and Nkosi, 1992) has shown that township residents would value the opportunity for leisure-learning that museums offer, particularly if the museum's programmes are geared towards learning social and communication skills or more practical skills that contribute to finding employment. For example I spent some time as a museum volunteer learning silk-screening skills and applying them by helping to complete an exhibit. Museums could develop valuable relationships with art centers by offering their facilities

to teach people various skills, which they can then in return apply to the museum's exhibition needs.

Møller (1991) found that black youth formed youth groups or choirs and sports clubs in order to be able to gain skills and support for life and work (See also Franks and Vink, 1990). These groups are ideal points at which museums can start meeting the needs of the youth, without having to wait for a new generation to grow up with museum-active schooling. Museums have the resources and the personnel to develop programmes with these organizations that address their particular problems. These range from gaining skills for work, teenage pregnancy, entertainment needs and, more pragmatically, obtaining venues for their activities.

Merriman found a significant relationship between age and museum-visiting (1988). Retired people tended not to visit museums. This is associated with the marginalisation of old people from society, as well as structural factors such as immobility and income. Museum-visitor surveys at South African museums also show that seniors are markedly absent from museums (eg. Immelman, 1973, Bigalke, 1984). This is important given the amount of leisure time available to retired people who could benefit from leisure or leisure-learning programmes offered by museums. Research into the role of excursions for seniors (Møller and Nkosi, 1992) and skills training at a township old-age home (Møller, 1990) also show the value that seniors place on doing something different or learning new skills. Excursions, although ultimately a luxury, had a profound effect on the self-esteem and well-being of seniors. Gaining new skills and experiences was seen as a way of reasserting the respect that the younger generation have lost for their elders in the community. Museums can offer seniors the opportunity of new experiences and exciting leisure-learning programs, from crafts to environmental awareness.

Museums neglect youth and seniors yet they have much to offer both young and old adults (Voigt, 1972). Perhaps leisure is not a priority in a country where so many more basic needs have not been met, but the general benefits gained from a fulfilling leisure lifestyle cannot be overlooked and museums, which already have the facilities and resources, should be offering them for this purpose. In the words of Greenhalgh museums can offer the people of this country: *Entertainment without lewdness, information without struggle* (1989: 85). Throughout this thesis I have made the basic assumption that museums in general wish to become popular institutions and to serve a broader audience than the one that they currently reach. This, though, may not be possible without a fundamental shift in museum policy, which may lead to museums becoming almost unrecognisable.

This research has focused on parents of school-going children, most of whom already are museum visitors yet it has raised many questions about adult communities that do not use museums at all. The ideas that I have presented about how these communities could become involved in museums need to be tested in two ways. Firstly, creating links between leisure-learning facilities and museums would allow museums to take advantage of the audiences that attend these facilities. Secondly marketing strategy can be improved by taking into account the need to involve potential audiences in the creation of programmes aimed at them. This process demands research, preferably qualitative and directly aimed at the different audiences which the museum would like to reach and, in particular, the non-visitors. Research can also spread knowledge about the role of museums and their services. Comments made by parents indicated the impact that this survey has had on encouraging museum participation:

I didn't know there were so many local museums. I now have a list of 24 to explore in the holidays. Housewife from Southern suburbs.

Research should also facilitate further involvement by the community in the museums proposed programmes (Ward, 1992). Assessment of programmes needs to become an integral part of all projects that museums undertake (Wolf, 1990). This includes assessment of educational and recreational value of the programmes, impact on the people at whom the particular programme was aimed and its potential for drawing people into the museum experience. The historical value of museums is no longer sufficient to insure that they remain an integral part of society. Museums need to justify their existence and they can do that by addressing the role that they play in people's lives. Research on public attitudes offers museums the opportunity of a greater understanding that role and of developing it so as to meet the changing needs of South Africa.

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APPENDIX A

Covering letters and questionnaires

QUESTIONNAIRE

OFFICE USE

School:

--	--	--

			1-2
--	--	--	-----

What sex are you?

Male	1
Female	2

		3
--	--	---

How old are you?:

20-25 Years	1
26-30 Years	2
31-40 Years	3
41-50 Years	4
Older than 50 Years	5

		4
--	--	---

Which is the last educational institution that you attended. Tick one:

Primary School	1
High School up until std. 8	2
Matriculated from High School	3
College or Technikon	4
Attended University	5

		5
--	--	---

What is your occupation?

Describe what you do:

		6-7
--	--	-----

1. What is the first thing that comes to your mind when you think of museums:

	I do not know what a museum is	1
		2
	

		8
--	--	---

If you have not heard of museums do not continue with the questionnaire. Please return it to your child's school. If you have heard of museums please continue with the questionnaire even if you have never visited a museum.

2. How many times have you attended any of these things in the last 12 months? Answer each row.

	Never	Once	2 to 5 times	6 to 10 times	More than 10 times
Ballet	1	2	3	4	5
Opera	1	2	3	4	5
Plays	1	2	3	4	5
Music Concert	1	2	3	4	5
Historical Monument	1	2	3	4	5
Library	1	2	3	4	5

	9
	10
	11
	12
	13
	14

3a. Indicate which of the following places you have visited as an adult.

3b. And also please number each place, even those that you have never visited, so that the thing you would most like to do is number 1 and the activity you would least like to do is number 10: Answer every row:

EXAMPLE:	Visit the beach	10	Like the beach least
	Visit a pub	1	Enjoy the pub most
	Visit a friend	2	

B RANK	PLACE	A	
		I have visited	
		Yes	No
	<i>The World of Birds</i>	1	2
	<i>Kirstenbosch Gardens</i>	1	2
	<i>Tygerberg Zoo</i>	1	2
	<i>Cape Point Game Reserve</i>	1	2
	<i>Maritime Museum in the Docks</i>	1	2
	<i>Snake Park</i>	1	2
	<i>An aquarium</i>	1	2
	<i>Local history museum</i>	1	2
	<i>Silvermine Nature Reserve</i>	1	2
	<i>Worcester Open-Air Museum</i>	1	2

			15-17
			18-20
			21-23
			24-26
			27-29
			30-32
			33-35
			36-38
			39-41
			42-44

4. Who do you think is the museums most important audience?
 Circle one number only:

<i>children</i>	1
<i>students</i>	2
<i>tourists</i>	3
<i>old people</i>	4
<i>educated people</i>	5
<i>holiday makers</i>	6
<i>everybody</i>	7
<i>the community that lives around the museum</i>	8
<i>researchers</i>	9

45

5. How important or unimportant do you think it is for museums to concentrate on these activities? Circle one number for each row.

ACTIVITY	Important					Not Important				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
<i>research</i>	1	2	3	4	5					
<i>school tours</i>	1	2	3	4	5					
<i>holiday tours</i>	1	2	3	4	5					
<i>adult education</i>	1	2	3	4	5					
<i>entertainment</i>	1	2	3	4	5					
<i>preserving our heritage</i>	1	2	3	4	5					

46
 47
 48
 49
 50
 51

6. These are some of the things that people say about museums. Indicate whether you agree or disagree with each statement. Answer every row:

STATEMENTS	AGREE	DISAGREE	UNCERTAIN		
Museums teach me about my past and culture	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	52
Museums are irrelevant in today's world	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	53
Museums are boring for children	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	54
Museums display real things	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	55
They use up too much Taxpayers money	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	56
I would visit museums if they were open in the evenings	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	57
Museums attract tourists	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	58
Museums remind me of school	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	59
You know that museums always show the truth	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	60
Its worth spending money to visit a museum	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	61
Museums are a fun way to spend a rainy Sunday	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	62
Museums preserve our history	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	63
Museums remind me of libraries	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	64
Museums give tourists a biased idea about South Africa	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	65
They are important for research	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	66
Museums are the cultural center of their communities	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	67
They teach about the environment	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	68
They are full of dead and old things	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/>	69

7. To what extent do the following words remind you of museums; very much or not at all? Answer each row by circling one number.

WORDS	VERY MUCH					NOT AT ALL				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Boring</i>	1	2	3	4	5					
<i>Active</i>	1	2	3	4	5					
<i>Intimidating</i>	1	2	3	4	5					
<i>Old-fashioned</i>	1	2	3	4	5					
<i>Hassle</i>	1	2	3	4	5					
<i>Relaxed</i>	1	2	3	4	5					
<i>Learning</i>	1	2	3	4	5					
<i>Gloomy</i>	1	2	3	4	5					
<i>Exciting</i>	1	2	3	4	5					
<i>Conservative</i>	1	2	3	4	5					
<i>Friendly</i>	1	2	3	4	5					

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8. Which of the following facilities, (A) did you know were offered by local museums and (B), which ones have you used? Answer each row by ticking yes or no:

FACILITIES	A		B	
	I know that this is offered		I have used this facility	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
<i>Library</i>				
<i>Resource Center</i>				
<i>Tourist information</i>				
<i>Venue for film or music shows</i>				
<i>Bookshop</i>				
<i>Help for school projects</i>				
<i>Free information booklets about the museum's research</i>				
<i>Meeting place for societies</i>				
<i>Behind the scenes tours</i>				
<i>Courses for children</i>				
<i>Lecture series for adults</i>				

		81-82
		83-84
		85-86
		87-88
		89-90
		91-92
		93-94
		95-96
		97-98
		99-100
		101-102

9. How often do you visit museums? Circle one number:

<input type="checkbox"/>	Have never visited a museum	1
<input type="checkbox"/>	Have never visited as an adult	2
<input type="checkbox"/>	Every 1-3 months	3
<input type="checkbox"/>	About twice a year	4
<input type="checkbox"/>	Once a year	5
<input type="checkbox"/>	Every 2 to 3 years	6
<input type="checkbox"/>	Haven't visited for 5 years	7
<input type="checkbox"/>	Haven't visited for 10 years	8

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If you have never visited a museum or if you have not visited as an adult, go directly to question 13 on the last page of this questionnaire.

10a. Have you visited any museums in Cape Town?

No	1
Yes	2

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10b. Which ones? Only tick the museums that you have visited:

<input type="checkbox"/>	William Fehr Collection (Castle, Rust en Vreugd	<input type="checkbox"/>	Michaelis Collection (Old Town House)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	105-6
<input type="checkbox"/>	South African Museum	<input type="checkbox"/>	Jewish Museum	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	107-8
<input type="checkbox"/>	Bo-Kaap Museum	<input type="checkbox"/>	Bertram House	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	109-10
<input type="checkbox"/>	Suid-Afrikaanse Sendingestig	<input type="checkbox"/>	Koopmans de Wet Huis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	111-12
<input type="checkbox"/>	Civic Gallery	<input type="checkbox"/>	Clock Tower	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	113-14
<input type="checkbox"/>	Cape Medical Museum	<input type="checkbox"/>	Fort Wynyard	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	115-16
<input type="checkbox"/>	UCT Irma Stern Museum	<input type="checkbox"/>	Josephine Mill	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	117-18
<input type="checkbox"/>	South African Rugby Museum	<input type="checkbox"/>	Philippi Museum	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	119-20
<input type="checkbox"/>	Hout Bay Museum	<input type="checkbox"/>	Simonstown Museum	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	121-22
<input type="checkbox"/>	Rhodes Cottage Museum	<input type="checkbox"/>	Martello Tower Museum	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	123-24
<input type="checkbox"/>	Stempastorie Museum	<input type="checkbox"/>	S.A. National Gallery	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	125-26
<input type="checkbox"/>	Maritime Museum	<input type="checkbox"/>	Police Museum	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	127-28
<input type="checkbox"/>	Natale Labia	<input type="checkbox"/>	Toy Museum	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	129-30
<input type="checkbox"/>	S.A. Cultural History Museum	<input type="checkbox"/>	Groot Constantia Manor House and Wine Museum	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	131-32
<input type="checkbox"/>	Other	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	133

Please specify:

.....

Go to question 12a

10c. How did you hear about them? Circle all applicable numbers:

School	1
Children at school	2
Newspaper	3
Information from tourist office	4
Radio	5
Magazine articles	6
Posters	7
From friends	8
Other Specify: _____	9

<input type="checkbox"/>	134
<input type="checkbox"/>	135
<input type="checkbox"/>	136
<input type="checkbox"/>	137
<input type="checkbox"/>	138
<input type="checkbox"/>	139
<input type="checkbox"/>	140
<input type="checkbox"/>	141
<input type="checkbox"/>	142-43

10d. Which of these factors have been a reason for you to visit local museums? Answer each row:

FACTORS	Yes	No
Its fun/relaxing	1	2
Its exciting/new/different/interesting	1	2
I walk past one everyday	1	2
Its stimulating/challenging	1	2
To learn something	1	2
I was waiting for someone	1	2
For research/study/work	1	2
I like the shop	1	2
I was taken on a school trip	1	2
Its good for the children	1	2
I was visiting the Planetarium	1	2
Its somewhere interesting to take visiting friends	1	2
It was a rainy day	1	2
I felt that I should	1	2
There was an interesting exhibit on show	1	2
All my friends had been	1	2
Its peaceful and quiet	1	2
It is a worthwhile thing to do in my spare time	1	2
Nothing else to do	1	2
Other Specify:.....	1	2

<input type="checkbox"/>	144
<input type="checkbox"/>	145
<input type="checkbox"/>	146
<input type="checkbox"/>	147
<input type="checkbox"/>	148
<input type="checkbox"/>	149
<input type="checkbox"/>	150
<input type="checkbox"/>	151
<input type="checkbox"/>	152
<input type="checkbox"/>	153
<input type="checkbox"/>	154
<input type="checkbox"/>	155
<input type="checkbox"/>	156
<input type="checkbox"/>	157
<input type="checkbox"/>	158
<input type="checkbox"/>	159
<input type="checkbox"/>	160
<input type="checkbox"/>	161
<input type="checkbox"/>	162
<input type="checkbox"/>	163

Go to question 12a

11a. Have you visited a Cape Town museum in the last 5 years?

Yes	1
No	2

164

11b. If No why have you not visited a Cape Town museum in the past 5 or more years? Answer each row

REASONS	Yes	No
<i>It probably has not changed</i>	1	2
<i>It was boring</i>	1	2
<i>It was tiring</i>	1	2
<i>Its never open when I have free time</i>	1	2
<i>I never learnt anything there</i>	1	2
<i>The museums here are not interesting</i>	1	2
<i>My children are not the right age</i>	1	2
<i>Other</i> Specify:.....	1	2

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 172

12a. Have you visited museums outside of Cape Town when you were living somewhere else or when you were on holiday or travelling?

Yes	1
No	2

173

If No, you are finished, if you would like to comment on anything about museums that you feel was not covered by this questionnaire please go to the last page.

Go to question 12b

12b. If yes, which of these reasons explain why you visit museums when you are travelling? Answer each row:

REASONS	Yes	No	
To learn something about the environment	1	2	174
To learn about the history of the area	1	2	175
They offer something different	1	2	176
Somebody always takes me to one	1	2	177
It was raining	1	2	178
Its important to visit museums in new places	1	2	179
It keeps the children busy for a day	1	2	180
To learn about the culture of the people	1	2	181
There was nothing else to do	1	2	182
They always look interesting	1	2	183
It was part of an organised tour	1	2	184
Other Specify:.....	1	2	185

Only answer the following question if you have never visited a museum or if you have not visited as an adult.

13. Why have you never visited a museum? Answer each row:

REASONS	Yes	No	
I do not know where they are	1	2	186
It is too difficult to get there	1	2	187
It is a waste of time	1	2	188
Museums are boring	1	2	189
There is nothing in museums that interests me	1	2	190
They are too dark	1	2	191
Museums are too quiet	1	2	192
They are too big	1	2	193
Museums are for a different type of person	1	2	194
Other Specify:.....	1	2	195

16 October 1991

Mzali Obekekileyo

Ingaba unolwazi onalo ngemuziyamu? Wakhe wawatyelela na la magumbi azaliswe zizinto zamandulo? Utyelelo lasemuziyamu luluncedo luni kuwe?

Le mibuzo liandelayo zizifundo eziphanda ngenxaxeba nokubaluleka kwemuziyamu eluntwini. Iququzelelwa licandelo lizifundo eSouth African Museum kunye ne Univesithi yaseKapa. Singavuya ukuba unokuphendula le mibuzo ilandelayo ukuze sikwazi emasikwenze ekuzameni ukuphucula usebenziswano phakathi kwethu noluntu. Akuyomfuneko ukuba ube wakha watyelela imuziyamu ukuze ube nokuphendula le mibuzo. Ukuze ezizifundo zibe nemphumelelo bhala oko okucingayo ungabhali oko ucinga ukuba sifuna ukukuva. Bhala lonto wena uyicingayo noyaziyo ngokungafihlisiyo wakugqiba uyithumele ngomntwana wakho esikolweni.

Akunyanzelekanga ukuba uphendule lemibuzo xa ungafuni kodwa nceda ubuyisele iphepha esikolweni. Sovuyiswa kukufaka kwakho isandla ekwakheni usebenziswano lwethu nolunthu.

Ozithobileyo

Kathryn Mathers

Isikolo:

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Isini?

Tata	1
Mama	2

--	--	--	--

Iminyaka?

20-25 Years	1
26-30 Years	2
31-40 Years	3
41-50 Years	4
Ngapehezulu ko 50 years	5

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Uphelele phi esikolweni? Ketha ibe nye:

Primary School	1
High School ukuya ku std. 8	2
Uphumelele u Std 10	3
College or Technikon	4
Uye eDyunisethi	5

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Yintoni umsebenzi wakho?

--	--	--	--

1. Yintoni ethi qatha engondweni yakho xa ucinga ngemuziyamu?

	I do not know what a museum is	1
	2

--	--	--	--

Ukuba akuzange uve ngemuziyamu ungadluleli phambili ngokuphendula le mibuzo kodwa buyisela eliphepha esikolweni. Ukuba wakha weva ngemuziyamu qhubeka nemibuzo elandelayo.

6. Olu luhlu lwezinto ezithethwa ngabantu ngemuziyamu. Chaza ukuba uya vumelana okanye akuvumelani nabo kusini na.

OKUTHETHWAYO	EWE	HAYI	AKUQINISEKANGA
<i>Iimuziyani zifundisa ngezembali nezithethe</i>	1	2	3
<i>Imuziyamu azisabalulekanga kule mihla siphila kuyo</i>	1	2	3
<i>Imuziyamu ziyabadika abantwana</i>	1	2	3
<i>Imuziyami zibonisa izinto zokwenyani</i>	1	2	3
<i>Zisebenzisa imali eninzi yabahlawula iTax</i>	1	2	3
<i>Ndingatyelela iimuziyamu xa zinokuvulwa ebusuku</i>	1	2	3
<i>Imuziyamu zitsala abakhenkethi</i>	1	2	3
<i>Imuziyamu indikhumbuza isikolo</i>	1	2	3
<i>Uyazi ukuba imuziyamu zibonisa inyani</i>	1	2	3
<i>Ufumana ukwaneliseka ngemali oyisebenzisileyo</i>	1	2	3
<i>Zindawo zokonwaba xa kusina imvula ngeeCawa</i>	1	2	3
<i>Zigcine ezembali</i>	1	2	3
<i>Zindikhumbuza iilibraries</i>	1	2	3
<i>Zinika abakhekhethi icala elinye ngelilizwe</i>	1	2	3
<i>Zibalulekile kwezenzululwazi</i>	1	2	3
<i>Zindawo zembali yamasiko nezithethe zalo ndawo</i>	1	2	3
<i>Zifundisa ngendalo</i>	1	2	3
<i>Zigcwele izinto ezafayo zakudula</i>	1	2	3

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7. Ingaba la magama alandelayo akukhumbuza okucingayo ngemuziyamu? Yenza isangqa kwinombolo nganye.

102

IGAMA	KUNJALO			AKUNJALO	
	1	2	3	4	5
Ziyadika	1	2	3	4	5
Zinomdla	1	2	3	4	5
Ziyoyikisa	1	2	3	4	5
Ziphelelwe	1	2	3	4	5
Zipholile	1	2	3	4	5
Ziyakhuthaza	1	2	3	4	5
Ziyafundisa	1	2	3	4	5
Zinobuhlobo	1	2	3	4	5
Exciting	1	2	3	4	5
Conservative	1	2	3	4	5
Friendly	1	2	3	4	5

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8. Ziziphi izinto obuzazi ukuba zikhona?

IZINTO	A		B	
	Ubusazi ukuba ikhona		Wakhe wayisebenzisa	
	Ewe	Hayi	Ewe	Hayi
Library				
Resource Center				
Tourist information				
Indawo yomculo nefilms				
Ivenkile yencwadi				
Uncedo kumsebenzi wesikolo				
Incwadana ngezifundo ezenziwe emuziyamu				
Indawo yokubambela intlanganiso zemibutho				
Utyelelo lwamagumbi ekwenziwa kuwo izinto ezilapha				
Izifundo ezinikezelwa ebantwaneni				
Izifundo ezinikezelwa kwabadala				

		81-82
		83-84
		85-86
		87-88
		89-90
		91-92
		93-94
		95-96
		97-98
		99-100
		101-102

9. Uyityelele amathuba angaphi imuziyamu? Khetha inombolo ibenye:

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	Zange	1
	Zange ebudaleni bam	2
	Qho emva kwenyanga ezi 1-3	3
	Kabini ngonyaka	4
	Kanye ngonyaka	5
	Qho emva kweminyaka emi 2-3	6
	Andikayi emva kweminyaka emihlanu	7
	Andikayo emva kweminyaka elishumi	8

103

Ukuba akuzange utyelele imuziyamu okanye akuzange ebudaleni bakho dlulela kumbuzo 13.

10a. Ukhe watyelela enye imuziyamu apha eKapa?

Ewe	1
Hayi	2

104

10b. Xela okhe wayityelela kwezi?

<input type="checkbox"/> William Fehr Collection (Castle, Rust en Vreugd	<input type="checkbox"/> Michaelis Collection (Old Town House)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	105-6
<input type="checkbox"/> South African Museum	<input type="checkbox"/> Jewish Museum	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	107-8
<input type="checkbox"/> Bo-Kaap Museum	<input type="checkbox"/> Bertram House	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	109-10
<input type="checkbox"/> Suid-Afrikaanse Sendingestig	<input type="checkbox"/> Koopmans de Wet Huis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	111-12
<input type="checkbox"/> Civic Gallery	<input type="checkbox"/> Clock Tower	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	113-14
<input type="checkbox"/> Cape Medical Museum	<input type="checkbox"/> Fort Wynand	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	115-16
<input type="checkbox"/> UCT Irma Stern Museum	<input type="checkbox"/> Josephine Mill	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	117-18
<input type="checkbox"/> South African Rugby Museum	<input type="checkbox"/> Philippi Museum	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	119-20
<input type="checkbox"/> Hout Bay Museum	<input type="checkbox"/> Simonstown Museum	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	121-22
<input type="checkbox"/> Rhodes Cottage Museum	<input type="checkbox"/> Martello Tower Museum	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	123-24
<input type="checkbox"/> Stempastorie Museum	<input type="checkbox"/> S.A. National Gallery	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	125-26
<input type="checkbox"/> Maritime Museum	<input type="checkbox"/> Police Museum	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	127-28
<input type="checkbox"/> Natale Labia	<input type="checkbox"/> Toy Museum	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	129-30
<input type="checkbox"/> S.A. Cultural History Museum	<input type="checkbox"/> Groot Constantia Manor House and Wine Museum	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	131-32
		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	133

Ezinye izizathu:.....

Go to question 12a

10c. Uzazi njani zona?

Esikolweni	1
Ngomntwana esikolweni	2
Kwiphepha ndaba	3
Eofisini yabakhenkethi	4
Kunomathotholo	5
Emaphepheni azichazayo	6
Kwizihlobo	7
Ngenye indlela. Chaza	8
Ezinye izizathu:	9

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	142-43

10d. Nguwuphi unobangela wokuba utyelele imuziyamu kwidolphu ohlala kuyo?

UNOBANGELA	Ewe	Hayi
Ixesha lokuzipholela	1	2
Ngumdla	1	2
Ndidlula kwenye yonke imihla	1	2
Inomtsalane	1	2
Ukuyakufunda	1	2
Ndandilinde umntu	1	2
Ndiye kukwenza izifundo	1	2
Ndithanda ivenkile yayo	1	2
Ndandiye nesikolo	1	2
Ilungele abantwana	1	2
Ndandiye ePlanetarium	1	2
Yindawo yokusa indwendwe	1	2
Yayiyimini enemvula	1	2
Ndaziva ndifuna ukuya	1	2
Kwakukho umbonisa onika umdla	1	2
Abahlobo bam bakha baya bonke	1	2
Kuthe cwaka yaye kuzolile	1	2
Yinto ebalulekileyo xa ungenzi nto	1	2
Ndandingenanto yakwenza	1	2
Ezinye izizathu:	1	2
.....		

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	146
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Go to question 12a

11a. Ukhe watyelela imuziyamu eseKapa kuleminyaka mihlanu idlulileyo?

Ewe	1
Hayi	2

164

11b. Ukuba akuzange utyelele imuziyamu kule minyaka idlulileyo nika isizathu?

ISIZATHU	Ewe	Hayi
<i>Iseyilanto indala ayitshintshanga</i>	1	2
<i>Yayidika</i>	1	2
<i>Yayidinisa</i>	1	2
<i>Ayivulanga xa ndinexhesha endingenzinto ngalo</i>	1	2
<i>Zange ndifunde nto kuyo</i>	1	2
<i>Ezalapha imuziyamu aziniki mdla</i>	1	2
<i>Abantwana bam abakakaviki emgangathweni</i>	1	2
<i>Ezinye izizathu:</i>	1	2

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168

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172

12a. Wakha watyelela imuziyamu kwenye indawo ngexesha leholide nelokundwendwela kwakho?

Ewe	1
Hayi	2

173

Ukuba zange ugqibile, ukuba kukho into ofuna ukuyibhala yiya ekugqibeleni.

Go to question 12b

12b.Sesiphi isizathu esenze ukuba utyelele imuziyamu?

ISIZATHU	Ewe	Hayi	
<i>Ukufumana ulwazi luphela</i>	1	2	174
<i>Ukufunda ngezembali zaloo ndawo</i>	1	2	175
<i>Inezinto ezahlukileyo</i>	1	2	176
<i>Ndandithathwa ndisiwe</i>	1	2	177
<i>Kwakusina</i>	1	2	178
<i>Kubalulekile ukutyelela imuziyamu yenye indawo</i>	1	2	179
<i>Inika abantwana into yokwenza</i>	1	2	180
<i>Ukufunda ngamasiko abantu</i>	1	2	181
<i>Kwakungekho nto yakwenza</i>	1	2	182
<i>Zikhangeleka zinomdla</i>	1	2	183
<i>Yayikuluhlu lotyelelo lwam</i>	1	2	184
<i>Ezinye Izizathu:</i>	1	2	185

Phendula lo mbuzo xa ungazange utyelele imuziyamu ebudaleni bakho.

13.Kutheni ungazanga watyelela muziyamu?

ISIZATHU	Ewe	Hayi	
<i>Andizazi apho zikhoyo</i>	1	2	186
<i>Kunzima ukuzifikelela</i>	1	2	187
<i>Yincitha xesha</i>	1	2	188
<i>Iimuziyamu ziyadika</i>	1	2	189
<i>Akukho nto indinika umdla</i>	1	2	190
<i>Kumnyama phakathi kuzo</i>	1	2	191
<i>Kuzolile kuthe cwaka phakathi</i>	1	2	192
<i>Zinkulu kakhulu</i>	1	2	193
<i>Iimuziyamu zezabantu abathile</i>	1	2	194
<i>Ezinye Izizathu:</i>	1	2	195

Ukuba kukho into ofuna ukuyithetha ngamava akho neemuziyamu nceda wenze oko apha:

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Enkosi kakhulu ngokuxasa ezizifundo.

APPENDIX B

Tables

TABLE 1a: Frequency of attendance at 'high culture' activities by parents at the different schools.

Opera % row N	Never 253	Once 37	2-5 Times 16	6-10 Times 3	>10 Times 3	Total 312
AHS 44	78	16	4	2	0	100%
APS 47	87	7	6	0	0	100%
APP1 12	50	50	0	0	0	100%
APP2 17	82	6	12	0	0	100%
A/BHS 29	79	10	7	0	4	100%
BHS 66	79	15	4	0	2	100%
BPS 62	90	7	3	0	0	100%
CHS 11	100	0	0	0	0	100%
CPS 24	71	9	8	8	4	100%

* Significant at 0.05 level

TABLE 1b: Frequency of attendance at 'high culture' activities by parents at the different schools.

Music % row N	Never 97	Once 69	2-5 Times 94	6-10 Times 24	>10 Times 29	Total 312
AHS 44	49	24	20	2	5	100%
APS 47	37	33	15	9	6	100%
APP1 12	25	25	50	0	0	100%
APP2 17	29	47	18	6	0	100%
A/BHS 29	42	41	10	4	3	100%
BHS 66	45	15	25	6	9	100%
BPS 62	52	25	15	5	3	100%
CHS 11	9	9	18	0	64	100%
CPS 24	29	9	8	4	50	100%

* Significant at 0.05 level

TABLE 1c: Frequency of attendance at 'high culture' activities by parents at the different schools.

Library % row N	Never 41	Once 24	2-5 Times 47	6-10 Times 27	>10 Times 173	Total 312
AHS 44	13	0	16	9	62	100%
APS 47	4	4	13	9	70	100%
APP1 12	0	0	0	8	92	100%
APP2 17	0	5	12	12	71	100%
A/BHS 29	14	14	10	14	48	100%
BHS 66	16	9	19	5	51	100%
BPS 62	13	13	16	11	47	100%
CHS 11	27	0	45	10	18	100%
CPS 24	33	13	0	4	50	100%

* Significant at 0.05 level

TABLE 2: Preferred leisure activities

% column Rank	Kirstenbosch Gardens 139	World of Birds 136	Silvermine reserve 135	Cape Point reserve 137	Aquarium 135
	1	32	8	12	8
2	22	20	15	18	7
3	11	12	10	15	11
4	9	10	10	14	16
5	9	9	10	15	10
6	6	14	13	7	9
7	4	12	10	7	7
8	3	5	7	9	12
9	1	9	10	4	7
10	3	1	3	3	6
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 2 continued

% column Rank	Tygerberg Zoo 134	Local History museum 137	Maritime museum 128	Open-air museum 124	Snake Park 133
	1	11	4	3	6
2	5	7	7	3	3
3	14	8	12	9	1
4	9	12	11	7	5
5	10	10	10	10	7
6	10	10	15	7	10
7	12	17	12	5	14
8	10	15	12	16	8
9	7	10	14	14	17
10	12	7	4	23	31
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 3: Comparison of attendance at 'high culture' and leisure-learning activities

% row Have also visited	N	Attendance greater than once in last 12 months					
		Ballet	Opera	Plays	Music Concert	Historical Monument	Library
		68	56	209	175	191	265
World of birds	Y 192 N 110	28 14	22 12	73 62	62* 59	72* 48	93* 79
Gardens	Y 258 N 45	25 7	21 7	73* 48	51 50	69* 32	91* 68
Zoo	Y 209 N 94	23 20*	22 12	75* 56	60 54	64 61	89 84
Cape Point	Y 245 N 58	26 7	20 12	73* 55	60 48	67 48	90* 78
Maritime museum	Y 106 N 197	29 19	22 16	73 67	62 56	79* 55	91 86
Snake park	Y 190 N 113	25 11	20 16	74* 62	62 51	65 60	89 86
Aquarium	Y 212 N 92	27* 19	23 9	72 64	61* 52	70* 47	92* 77
Local museum	Y 236 N 67	25 12	22 8	72 61	65* 48	72* 33	91* 76
Nature reserve	Y 176 N 127	25 19	23* 13	76 60	63* 41	72* 51	93* 81
Open-air museum	Y 45 N 258	30 21	30 16	85* 66	63 57	85* 59	96 86

* Significant at 0.05 level

TABLE 4: Museums visited in Cape Town by parents from different schools

column %		AHS	APS	APP1	APP2	A/BHS	BHS	BPS	CHS	CPS
Have visited: 280 N		45	45	12	16	23	59	50	11	20
South African Museum	213	80	77	92	81	74	87	76	27	50
SA Cultural History Museum*	132	56	61	67	81	57	43	33	9	15
Groot Constantia Rhodes Cottage*	132	71	77	100	88	30	33	16	0	20
SA National Gallery*	109	44	70	33	63	30	27	35	9	15
Bo-Kaap*	92	36	36	83	50	26	42	24	0	0
Maritime Museum*	90	9	11	8	13	48	57	51	27	25
Simonstown Museum*	84	36	50	58	50	22	28	14	0	5
William Fehr Collection*	78	40	43	25	44	26	27	18	9	0
Koopmans de Wet Huis*	78	27	41	42	56	26	20	29	9	10
Josephine Mill*	62	22	25	33	31	22	32	14	0	0
Hout Bay Museum*	59	38	23	58	56	9	18	4	0	0
Civic Gallery*	56	20	18	42	50	22	17	20	0	10
Natale Labia*	45	11	7	25	6	13	30	20	0	15
Irma Stern Michaelis Collection*	42	18	45	25	44	0	5	4	0	0
Clock Tower	39	18	5	83	31	4	12	2	18	15
Toy Museum	31	13	14	42	6	4	12	10	0	0
Cape Medical Museum	28	16	9	8	19	13	10	2	9	10
Martello Tower*	23	11	11	17	19	9	7	2	0	5
Fort Wynyard	22	4	9	17	0	9	10	4	36	0
Police Museum*	19	13	20	0	6	0	2	4	0	0
Jewish Museum	17	2	8	0	13	9	12	2	0	0
Suid-Afrikaanse Sendingstig	16	7	16	0	6	13	3	0	0	0
Bertram House*	15	11	2	8	6	0	7	4	9	0
SA Rugby Museum	14	7	0	17	6	0	10	2	9	0
Philippi Museum*	12	2	7	8	25	0	3	0	9	0
Stempastorie	9	4	2	0	6	4	3	4	0	0
	8	7	0	0	0	9	2	0	18	0
	3	2	0	0	6	0	2	0	0	0

* Significance at 0.05 level

TABLE 5: The museum's most important audience for parents from different schools*

column %		AHS	APS	APP1	APP2	A/BHS	BHS	BPS	CHS	CPS
316	N	45	48	12	17	29	66	60	15	24
Everybody	155	53	76	67	53	41	51	43	20	17
Students	61	5	5	0	12	28	24	23	40	46
Children	48	31	7	17	29	17	13	10	7	13
Tourists	22	7	4	0	6	7	7	11	7	8
Researchers	10	2	4	0	0	0	0	8	7	0
Educated People	9	0	4	0	0	4	5	3	6	0
Holiday Makers	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	13	16
The Community around the museum	4	2	0	16	0	3	0	0	0	0
Old people	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	316	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

* Significance at the 0.05 level

TABLE 6a: The museum's most important activity for parents from different schools*

		Research					
		Very important			Not important		
% row	N	1	2	3	4	5	Total
		215	40	21	9	20	305
AHS	46	69	20	7	0	4	100%
APS	46	78	11	5	2	4	100%
APP1	12	50	33	9	0	8	100%
APP2	17	94	0	0	6	0	100%
A/BHS	27	81	7	4	4	4	100%
BHS	67	67	16	9	2	6	100%
BPS	58	73	10	10	2	5	100%
CHS	12	50	0	8	17	25	100%
CPS	20	55	10	5	10	20	100%

* Significant at the 0.05 level

TABLE 6b: The museum's most important activity for parents from different schools*

		School tours					
		Very important			Not important		
% row	N	1	2	3	4	5	Total
		203	48	33	3	16	303
AHS	46	60	22	11	0	7	100%
APS	46	72	11	11	0	6	100%
APP1	12	58	17	17	0	8	100%
APP2	17	71	24	5	0	0	100%
A/BHS	27	67	26	7	0	0	100%
BHS	67	60	21	13	1	5	100%
BPS	58	78	7	7	3	5	100%
CHS	12	75	0	0	8	17	100%
CPS	18	61	6	22	0	11	100%

TABLE 6c: The museum's most important activity for parents from different schools

		Holiday tours					
		Very important			Not important		
		1	2	3	4	5	Total
% row	N	87	72	103	23	16	301
AHS	45	20	27	40	6	7	100%
APS	45	26	22	33	4	15	100%
APP1	12	25	17	33	25	0	100%
APP2	17	18	47	23	12	0	100%
A/BHS	27	37	22	30	11	0	100%
BHS	66	22	25	39	9	5	100%
BPS	60	32	20	39	5	4	100%
CHS	12	45	36	9	10	0	100%
CPS	17	59	12	24	0	5	100%

TABLE 6d: The museum's most important activity for parents from different schools

		Adult Education					
		Very important			Not important		
		1	2	3	4	5	Total
% row	N	94	88	70	21	30	303
AHS	46	24	38	22	9	7	100%
APS	46	30	26	28	7	9	100%
APP1	12	50	25	9	8	8	100%
APP2	17	35	41	24	0	0	100%
A/BHS	27	30	44	15	0	11	100%
BHS	67	24	28	30	9	9	100%
BPS	58	41	20	24	7	8	100%
CHS	12	33	17	8	0	42	100%
CPS	18	28	17	21	17	17	100%

TABLE 6e: The museum's most important activity for parents from different schools

		Entertainment*					
		Very important			Not important		
		1	2	3	4	5	Total
% row	N	67	57	88	36	55	303
AHS	46	22	16	31	13	18	100%
APS	46	22	13	28	15	22	100%
APP1	12	50	25	25	0	0	100%
APP2	17	12	47	35	0	6	100%
A/BHS	27	22	11	45	11	11	100%
BHS	67	15	25	25	16	19	100%
BPS	58	15	19	27	10	29	100%
CHS	12	36	27	27	0	10	100%
CPS	18	47	5	26	11	11	100%

* Significant at the 0.05 level

TABLE 6f: The museum's most important activity for parents from different schools
Preserving the heritage*

% row	N	Very important			Not important		Total
		1	2	3	4	5	
		224	22	28	10	21	305
AHS	46	80	7	11	0	2	100%
APS	46	80	7	9	0	4	100%
APP1	12	75	8	9	8	0	100%
APP2	17	88	0	12	0	0	100%
A/BHS	29	62	21	7	3	7	100%
BHS	67	67	9	10	5	9	100%
BPS	58	73	3	12	5	7	100%
CHS	12	67	8	0	17	8	100%
CPS	18	72	0	0	0	28	100%

* Significant at the 0.05 level

TABLE 7: Parents attitudes towards museums

% column	N	AHS	APS	APP1	APP2	A/BHS	BHS	BPS	CHS	CPS
		46	46	12	17	29	68	59	14	22
Museums teach about past and culture	A ¹ 272	91	93	83	88	97	79	88	79	83
	U 19	2	4	8	0	0	11	7	7	13
	D 21	7	3	9	12	3	10	5	14	4
Museums are irrelevant today	A 20	2	0	0	6	10	4	9	14	23
	U 270	98	100	100	94	69	90	79	65	77
	D 20	0	0	0	0	21	6	12	21	0
Museums are boring for children	A 29	11	11	0	6	10	9	7	14	14
	U 234	67	63	100	88	83	72	83	65	86
	D 47	22	26	0	6	7	19	10	21	0
Museums display real things*	A 214	80	91	92	100	66	46	48	93	77
	U 46	11	2	0	0	20	27	23	7	14
	D 50	9	7	8	0	14	27	29	0	9
They use up too much money*	A 24	4	4	0	0	17	12	7	7	10
	U 174	76	61	92	82	55	42	52	22	45
	D 112	20	35	8	18	28	46	41	71	45
I would visit in the evenings	A 133	38	33	33	29	45	54	53	29	36
	U 96	38	33	25	30	24	24	28	57	46
	D 81	24	34	42	41	31	22	19	14	18
Museums attract tourists*	A 265	69	83	83	71	90	90	97	100	82
	U 11	11	4	0	5	0	0	0	0	14
	D 34	20	13	17	24	10	10	3	0	4
Museums remind me of school*	A 159	36	28	33	29	52	55	64	80	86
	U 127	51	65	50	59	38	39	31	7	14
	D 25	13	7	17	12	10	6	5	13	0

TABLE 7 continued

% column			AHS	APS	APP1	APP2	A/BHS	BHS	BPS	CHS	CPS
N			46	46	12	17	29	68	59	14	22
They always show the truth*	A	192	53	61	25	51	79	51	67	86	77
	U	37	11	11	58	12	17	12	7	0	14
	D	81	36	28	17	37	4	37	26	14	9
Its worth spending money*	A	257	78	85	92	94	86	82	93	71	50
	U	29	20	2	0	6	10	9	2	8	32
	D	25	2	13	8	0	4	9	5	21	18
Its a fun way to spend a Sunday*	A	170	60	72	100	88	52	42	47	36	32
	U	99	31	24	0	6	20	40	37	28	59
	D	41	9	4	0	6	28	18	16	36	9
Museums preserve our history*	A	288	98	93	83	100	97	91	93	79	86
	U	12	2	0	17	0	0	2	3	21	14
	D	10	0	7	0	0	3	7	4	0	0
Museums remind me of libraries*	A	130	36	33	25	18	52	43	52	29	64
	U	136	53	61	67	65	34	43	31	14	22
	D	44	11	6	8	17	14	14	17	57	14
Museums show a biased idea about SA	A	115	18	17	25	6	55	46	55	29	55
	U	102	49	50	17	59	31	24	16	29	36
	D	93	33	33	58	35	14	30	29	42	9
They are important for research	A	291	91	98	92	100	83	94	98	100	82
	U	7	4	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	9
	D	12	5	2	8	0	14	3	2	0	9
Museums are cultural centers*	A	174	56	61	33	24	76	54	62	43	55
	U	62	20	11	42	29	7	16	24	36	36
	D	74	24	28	25	47	17	30	14	21	9
Museums teach about the environment*	A	226	69	65	83	76	66	70	72	93	100
	U	34	9	11	17	24	17	8	16	0	0
	D	50	22	24	0	0	17	22	12	7	0
They are full of old and dead things*	A	133	49	33	42	18	55	36	45	50	68
	U	136	42	57	33	82	41	48	34	36	18
	D	41	9	10	25	0	4	16	21	14	14

* Significance at the 0.05 level

1. Agree, Uncertain, Disagree

TABLE 8: Words that remind parents at the different schools of museums¹

% row N	Boring Active* Intimidating* Old-fashioned* Hassle*				
	29	110	53	72	30
AHS 45	14	29	7	22	7
APS 45	9	24	11	11	4
APP1 12	0	25	8	33	0
APP2 17	18	30	12	24	6
A/BHS 28	10	42	27	35	10
BHS 66	11	32	17	21	6
BPS 57	9	27	20	36	4
CHS 13	0	85	54	8	46
CPS 18	0	82	23	17	50

TABLE 8 continued

% row N	Relax Learn Gloom* Excite* Conservative* Friendly					
	215	268	63	163	126	130
AHS 45	60	84	22	49	47	46
APS 45	69	92	7	44	31	35
APP1 12	58	75	17	34	17	58
APP2 17	58	95	35	41	36	24
A/BHS 29	79	79	24	65	56	56
BHS 66	70	89	17	52	47	40
BPS 57	69	88	13	59	47	38
CHS 13	92	93	61	85	46	69
CPS 18	78	82	40	63	29	48

* Significant at the 0.05 level

1. Recorded in numbers of 1's and 2's

TABLE 9: Knowledge and use of museum services by parents at each school

% column			AHS	APS	APP1	APP2	A/BHS	BHS	BPS	CHS	CPS
N			46	46	12	17	28	67	58	13	19
Library*	K ¹	156	44	48	33	53	57	40	46	92	95
	U	85	18	24	17	41	29	22	26	67	59
Resource Center	K	185	69	61	75	76	63	52	61	58	55
	U	52	16	17	17	18	19	15	16	17	32
Tourist information	K	227	76	70	75	82	78	77	77	42	77
	U	94	31	37	17	49	30	35	25	17	23
Venue for shows	K*	209	76	74	92	76	63	65	51	83	86
	U	112	47	35	42	24	33	42	23	50	50
Bookshop*	K	199	69	67	100	71	62	54	58	92	86
	U	118	51	41	83	59	27	28	26	50	41
Help for school	K	252	82	70	67	88	89	83	89	92	86
	U	124	31	39	17	35	41	51	37	50	55
Booklets on research	K*	217	71	65	50	41	88	77	81	75	68
	U	130	31	37	33	29	54	58	42	42	41
Society meetings	K	146	44	52	67	65	50	38	37	67	63
	U*	39	9	7	8	18	27	6	9	42	27
Behind the* scenes tours	K	106	38	39	58	24	58	23	28	50	36
	U	27	9	4	17	6	15	5	5	33	18
Courses for children	K*	169	51	39	83	47	73	49	63	75	68
	U	57	18	7	25	24	23	20	14	42	27
Lectures for adults	K	166	60	48	75	53	65	51	53	58	59
	U	51	11	7	17	24	23	18	18	25	23

* Significant at 0.05 level

1. K: I know that this is offered

U: I have used this facility

TABLE 10: Reasons for visiting museums for parents at each school

% yes			AHS	APS	APP1	APP2	A/BHS	BHS	BPS	CHS	CPS
	269	N	45	43	12	16	21	59	48	9	16
For the children*	236		87	91	100	100	86	97	98	33	38
To learn*	234		84	89	67	100	90	91	94	44	81
Its interesting	230		82	91	100	81	90	86	83	80	71
Its fun/relaxing	188		60	75	100	75	81	71	75	33	44
Its worthwhile	182		58	70	67	56	80	72	79	33	56
Interesting to take friends	163		60	64	50	50	71	71	57	33	56
Peace and quiet*	161		51	55	67	38	81	69	74	22	44
School trip*	151		53	36	42	38	67	66	66	80	59
Its challenging	137		42	50	75	69	52	43	48	67	69
An interesting exhibit*	120		38	52	83	69	40	50	28	44	38
Planetarium*	113		47	30	42	63	48	67	30	0	6
For research*	105		33	27	17	13	29	57	49	33	56
I felt that I should	75		20	20	25	13	35	34	38	22	25
A rainy day*	54		18	25	83	56	10	16	11	0	0
Nothing else to do	37		13	9	17	0	20	19	11	11	31
My friends had been*	35		13	2	17	6	20	12	11	11	56
I like the shop*	30		13	9	42	0	5	12	11	0	13
I walk past one	21		7	5	0	6	0	12	10	0	19
I was waiting for someone	11		2	2	0	0	0	12	2	0	6

* Significant at 0.05 level

TABLE 11: Frequency of museum-visiting by parents at each school*

% row	School	N	In Cape Town		N	While travelling	
			Yes	No		Yes	No
			278	6		187	92
AHS	46		100	0	45	75	25
APS	46		96	4	45	80	20
APP1	12		92	8	12	100	0
APP2	16		94	6	16	100	0
A/BHS	23		100	0	19	68	32
BHS	60		100	0	61	57	43
BPS	48		100	0	50	51	49
CHS	12		92	8	10	90	10
CPS	21		100	0	22	36	64

* Significant at 0.05 level

TABLE 12: Reasons for parents to visit museums while on holiday or travelling

% yes	184 N	AHS	APS	APP1	APP2	A/BHS	BHS	BPS	CHS	CPS
		33	37	12	16	13	33	26	7	7
To learn about history of area*	164	85	95	83	100	92	91	96	29	71
To learn about the culture*	148	76	84	83	94	85	91	76	57	33
Its important	143	73	73	75	88	69	85	92	71	50
To learn about the environment	142	67	68	92	88	85	88	80	56	67
Something different	123	64	65	67	75	69	79	64	43	50
They look interesting*	123	67	59	67	44	38	88	76	71	67
It keeps the children busy*	57	24	32	42	6	31	35	36	43	50
Part of a tour*	46	6	8	25	19	46	41	32	71	33
Somebody always takes me	18	9	5	0	0	8	12	16	29	33
It was raining	12	9	11	17	13	0	3	0	0	0
Nothing else to do	10	3	5	8	6	8	6	4	0	17

* Significant at 0.05 level

TABLE 13: Reasons for parents not having visited museums for more than 5 years

% yes	44 N	AHS	APS	APP1	APP2	A/BHS	BHS	BPS	CHS	CPS
		6	2	0	0	5	15	10	2	4
It has not changed	23	57	50	0	0	80	47	40	0	50
It is not open if I have time	23	33	50	0	0	40	60	50	50	75
It was tiring	8	33	0	0	0	0	20	20	0	25
It was boring	7	33	50	0	0	0	20	10	0	0
They are not interesting	7	17	50	0	0	0	20	10	0	25
Children not right age	7	33	0	0	0	0	7	30	0	25
I never learnt anything there	6	0	0	0	0	40	13	10	0	25